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The DAWN

FOUNDER: MR. M. A. JINNAH

Under the Supervision of NAWABZADA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, Hony. Secy. All-India Muslim League.

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Mirror of Muslim India

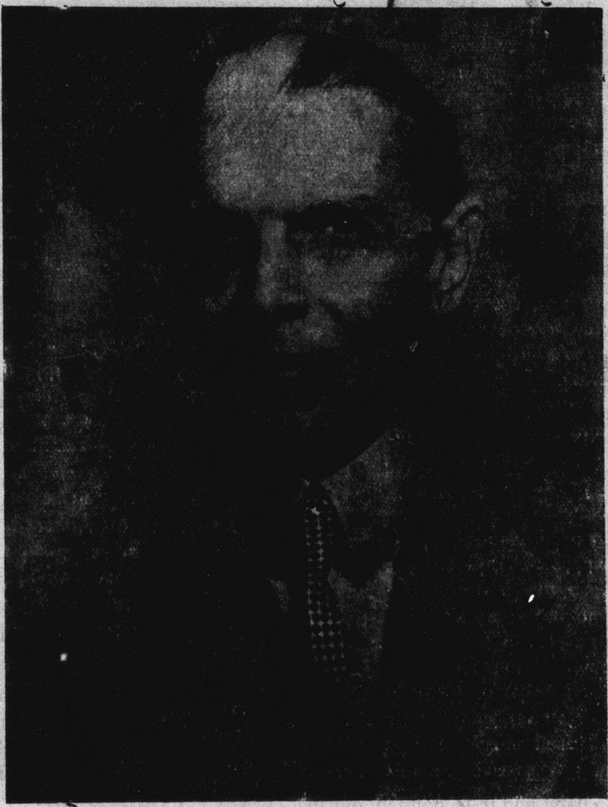
Fearless Champion of People's Cause

Mr. JINNAH'S APPEAL FOR "THE DAWN'S"

"DURING the last few years the All-India Muslim League and the great Muslim nation have been fully organised suce as they have never before been in the history of British India. Constant appeals have been made to me for some time past that this great organisation should have a property controlled and supervised English Daily which would authoritatively expound the views and express the opinion and sentiments of Muslim India, the latter being handicapped for want of such a channel, so essential in these days. In response to these appeals from all quarters of the country, I am glad that at last, an English Weekly, 'The Dawn', is founded and established in Delhi, the capital city of India, which is at present the nerve centre of all political activities.

"The Dawn will mirror faithfully the views of Muslim India and the All-India Muslim League in all its activities—economic, educational and social and more particularly political—throughout the country, fearlessly and independently and while its policy will be, no doubt, mainly to advocate and champion the cause of the Musalmans and the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League, it will not neglect the cause and welfare of the peoples of this sub-continent generally.

"I may make it clear that 'The Dawn' has nothing to do with the scheme of the Bombay Presidency Press and Propaganda Fund, which was only confined to the Western zone, nor will it, in any way, be financed from the funds of the All-India Muslim League. It is entirely an independent venture as an effort made by a few individuals in the shape of a small beginning.



"I, therefore, fervently appeal speaially to every Musalman to support this venture in every way he can, and become its subscriber and reader. It will entirely depend upon the public now to prove the earnestness and desire which they have exhibited so long for an organ of this character by supporting it, and upon their support and sympathy will depend the consideration of converting this small paper into a first class English Daily.

"I sincerely trust that the Musalmans will realise the importance of this effort. It is the small beginnings that lead to great things and with all the support that I expect from the Musalmans. I cannot see any reason why we should not be able to convert 'The Dawn' into a first class English Daily very soon."—Sd. M. A. Jinnah.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Russian War Front.

Fighting has flared up furiously along the whole Russian front and German forces appear to have broken through the outer defences of Moscow from the south-west and west, reaching a point 38 miles from Moscow, according to reports appearing in the press till Friday.

The Germans have begun a furious offensive at the approaches to the Crimea and have pushed back the Russians who offered determined resistence.

The Russians have evacuated Taganrog on the Sea of Azov.

General Zhukov, former Soviet Chief of Staff, has been appointed to command the western sector of the Russian front including Moscow, Marshal Timoshenko. who formerly commonded the central sector of the front has been transferred to another post.

Japan in fighting Mood.

Reports appearing in the press indicate that Japan is in fighting mood and that Japanese troops have been moved to Thai border in the south in addition to those already sent to Manchuko-Russian border in the north.

Mr. Lloyd George.

A move to bring back Mr. Lloyd George in the British Cabinet has been started afresh in England and it is pointed out in this connection that a triumvirate of Messers Churchill, Beaverbrook and Lloyd George should prove a very powerful ombination.

Ex-Shah of Iran.

A *cammunique* says that owing to the war situation it has been found desirable that H. I. M. the ex-Shah of Iran should proceed temporarily to Mauritius where he has arrived.

Official Inquiry.

An official inquiry into the Amraoti communal disturbances has been ordered by the Provincial Government. The date and place of the opening of the inuqiry will be announced later.

HAJ PILGRIMAGE.

Sailing in November and December.

Arrangements have been made for sailings during November and December of pilgrim ships for the approaching Haj pilgrimage, states a press *communique*.

Inspite of the demands on available shipping by war needs there will be several sailings from Bombay and Karachi and one from Calcutta. Owing to war conditions actual sailng dates cannot be given, but intending pilgrims should reach pilgrim ports by the dates mentioned below and should come prepared to maintain themselves for a delay which may extend to five days.

Though ships are being proprovided to make available accommodation for pilgims to a number considerably in excess of those who travelled last year, pilgrims are advised in their own interests to travel by the earliest convenient sailing, as in war conditions it will probably not be possible to provide an extra ship in the event of a last minute rush at the ports.

For the first sailings from Bombay and Karachi pilgrims should reach those ports at the latest by November 10 and November 11, respectively. For the Calcutta sailing pilgrims should reach Calcutta by November 17. Pilgrims should reach Bombay on November 17 and Karachi on November 18 for the second sailing from these ports, An announcement will be made later about subsequent sailings from Bombay and Karachi.

The *Communique* gives details of the rates and total cost of the trip in different classes.

With a view to Encourage Haj pilgrimage to Mecca this year, the Government of Saudi Arabia have announced a reduction of 25 percent in all dues and fees paid by pilgrims. The road between the Red Sea port of Jedda and Mecca has been macadamized.

"FAITH, UNITY AND DISCIPLINE"

Quaide Azam's I'd Message to Muslims

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has issued the following statement to the Press as a message to the Musalmans on the occasion of *Id-ul-Fitr*.

"I wish the Musalmans a happy and prosperous I'D",

"The month of *Ramazan* is the month of fasting, prayer and communion with God. It is in this month that the holy Quran was revealed. It is primarily a spiritual discipline enjoined upon the Musalmans, but in the performance of this duty, its value in regard to the moral discipline, and its social and physical value follows in no small degree. It teaches you what hunger means. It teaches you the lesson that you should be prepared for privation and to undergo a hard trial in the performance of duty. That lesson is repeated from day to day for a whole month and its exercise develops in no small degree the moral, physical and ethical side of lifes. It enables you to feel that you are not a slave of food or appetite, but that you should be its master. Its physical value also cannot be underrated; for the rest given to the digestive organs of the body for the whole month only gives them additional health and strength, like the fallow ground which by rest becomes more productive. It is a scientific fact that all organs of the body are so made that the rest only increases their capacity for work, and better the capacity of the digestive organs the more healthy is the physical growth of man. Nor can its social value be underrated.

Social Side.

"Islam lays great emphasis on the social side of things. Every day the rich and the poor, the great and the small living in a locality are brought five times in a day in the mosque in the terms of perfect equality of mankind and thereby the foundation of a healthy social relationship is laid and established through prayer. At the end of *Ramazan* comes the new moon, the crescent as a signal for a mass gathering on the *I'd* day, again in perfect equality of mankind which affects the entire Muslim world.

"You have gone through the regime and the discipline of Ramazan for one whole month, and now comes the *I'd-ul-Fitr*, which means recurring happiness. It is a day of happiness followed by the performance of duty in order to incalculate upon you and to show to you that the true happiness lies in the successful performance of duty. At this moment of your joy, vast congregations will join you all over the world, and while you all should thank the Almighty that he has enabled you to perform your duty and given you strength to make a sacrifice that was required from us by him, let us prepare ourselves for another duty no less important and make a firm resolve on this great day that we will do our duty by our nation that is struggling for its freedom in this country. Let us pray to God that he may give us strength to prove ourselves worthy of this resolve and fulfil it.

"But while we are engaged in our own struggle for freedom, let us not forget our brethren who, in other parts of the world, are doing like-wise. Let us pray for their success. Let us also pray for the Muslim States who are independent and soverign that God may help them to preserve and maintain their independence and sovereignty.

Resolve.

"I feel confident that you all will, at this moment, reaffirm your resolve to do every thing in your power and to make every contribution in the shape of time and money and make every sacrifice that is possible to consolidate, harness and make Muslim India really a great, nation, specially by building up all departments of national and individual life, such as educational, economic and ocial uplift and thus help further its onward progress in the realisation of our political goal, namely---PAKISTAN.

"Our watchword should be faith, unity and discipline".

Special Article.

Dangers of Aggressive Nationalism

BY

M. R. T.

I.

MODERN nationalism has the tendency to develop into Imperialism of the worst type. It can be proved by numerous examples that the cult of nationalism has always been followed by a desire for the exploitation of weaker peoples and has generally come into conflict with the interests of others.

True nationalism, as an ideal, has never been so far attained in any country with the exception of the Muslim States of the Middle East. Modern Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Iraq have no aggressive designs on their neighbours, though they have every moral right to reclaim lands of which they have been forcibly dispossessed. In view of the fact that they have strong arguments in their favour for territorial expansion, the conduct of these Muslim States is all the more commandable in exercising a general restraint on their political aspirations.

The Muslim press of these countries has always been a strong advocate of the right to self-determination of every nation, big or small, and has never missed an opportunity to express its sympathies for the oppressed nations.

MINORITIES IN TURKEY

The minorities in these Muslim countries are numerically very small, but still they command power and influence out of proportion to their numbers. The lot of Jews is everywhere enviable. There is no racial or religious prejudice, which divides a Jew from a Christian in some countries of Europe. The Zorostrians of Iran, the Nestorians of Iraq, the Armenians and Greeks of Turkey,—all enjoy the protection of their respective States and share in common with Muslims the benefits accruing from an ordered and progressive government. This happy change in the condition of minorities has resulted from the separation of unnatural parts from the parent States.

Before the last war Turkey had double its present population and resources. But even then she could never enjoy eternal peace and security. The minorities of the old Turkish Empire were concentrated in certain compact areas, apart from being intermixed throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. The Greeks mustered strong in the islands of the Agean coast, while the Armenians claimed national homelands on the eastern border. The Arabs formed an overwhelming majority in the Southern Provinces of Iraq, Syria, Hejaz and Yemen.

The post-war settlement reduced the former limits of the Turkish Empire and separated all predominantly non-Turkish parts to form States of their own. Thus Syria, Iraq, and Palestine came into existence as mandatory States. Greece and Armenia were allowed to exchange their nationals with those of Turkey as far as practicable.

As a result of these changes, the heterogeneous Turkish Empire of 1914 became the homeland of a single coherent nation in 1921 by a re-adjustment of its geographical frontiers. The Turks rose from the position of the ruling minority in the Empire to the position of the dominant majority which was free to manage its own affairs without interference from the European powers which had formerly assumed the role of Protectors of the Christian minorities of the Empire. At present Turkey has no minority problem to solve in the strict sense of the word---the Muslims numbering over 17½ millions as against less than half a million Christians and Jews.

TURKISH NATIONALISM

For us in India, the minority question has assumed the same importance as it held in the former Turkish Empire. The nationalists in Turkey who had enlisted themselves as members of the Committee of Union and progress, and stood for the unity, integrity and indivisibility of the old Ottoman Empire lost their fervour and zeal at the very first crucial test they had to face. The Empire was shaken to its very foundation when the divergent interests of the various elements in population came into actual conflict.

The Greeks, Armenians and Arabs, all in turn worked secretly for dismemberment of the Empire which they were pledged to defend. The open revolt of the Arabs and Armenians shattered for ever the hopes of the Turkish nationalists who finally assumed the role of true nationalism and declared before the world that the Turks demanded nothing but the right to govern their own people in those parts of the Empire where they formed a majority.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha, later known as the Ataturk, became the first exponent of this new mission of the Turkish people. He recognised the right to independent existence of the non-Turkish peoples of the former Turkish Empire and abolished Caliphate which, in his opinion, was a survival of the old order when the Turkish Sultan claimed to exercise spiritual and temoral power on behalf of the Muslim World. The Turks have nobly stood by the true mission of their leader and have fraternised with all their neighbouring states as members of the same family.

Turkish nationalism has proved to the letter that a self-respecting community can hardly conceive that it exists for its own interests only. "A nation which exists for liberty or order or any element of civilisation cannnot be satisfied unless other nations too may share what is believed to be of value.

LESSON FOR INDIA

Our Congress friends in India have a real lesson to derive from the Turkish parallel. The Turks had lived together with Arabs for centuries as citizens of the same Empire. They benefited by a common system of government and law, acknowledged the House of Ottomans as the undisputed spiritual and temporal head of the Muslim world, shared together in the glorious achievements of the Empire and entertained the same political aspirations as to their future and, above all, were united by ties of religion, history and tradition. The desire for nationalism, instead of unifying the two peoples, gave them new and distinct characteristics and separated them for ever to develop in their own way.

If the fusion of Arabs and Turks has not been possible in any part of the Turkish

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Turkish Relief Subscriptions

No Part of Viceroy's War Fund

It is reliably understood that the subscription towards the Turkish Earthquake Relief Fund are not being used "for any purpose other than the one for which they were made".

It will be recalled that a report was circulated some time back by the *Associated Press* that H. E. the Viceroy had decided to close the Turkish Earthquake Relief Fund and that all promised donations as well as any balances still held by local committees or collectors were to be remitted to the Joint Honorary Treasurers, H. E. the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund.

Pakistan Conference.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has accepted the invitation to preside over the Pakistan Conference at Lucknow in the last week of October. Arrangements for the Conference are well in hand and about 500 prominent Muslim League leaders have been invited.

The Meerut Muslim Students Federation Pakistan Conference will be held on October 20th, 29th and 30 in the Town Hall. Muslim leaders from outside are expected to attend the conference. A debate is also included in the programme, the subject being:---

Jalale padshahi ho ki Jamhoori tamasha ho;
Juda hovain siyasat se to rah jati hai Changezi.

I'd celebrated in Delhi

I'd celebrated in Delhi on Thursday and congregational prayers were held in the mosques in the morning. There was a gathering of nearly 1,00,000 at the Idgah. The accommodation inside. although spacious, was inadequate and late-comers prayed on the uneven waste land outside. The Juma Masjid and the Fatehpuri mosques were also packed.

Mr. Jinnah

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, joined the I'd prayers at Jama Masjid yesterday morning. In response to a general desire of the congregation, Mr. Jinnah addressed a few words from the *mimber*. He said that was no time for any speech making. He warmly wished a happy I'd to the Indian Muslims and particularly to those present.

In the evening an I'd reception was held in the Willingdon Pavilion grounds and was attended among others by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Sir Akbar Hydari Mr. Abdul Aziz, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, Mr. Zahid Hussain, Dr. Zakir Hussain, Mr. A. S. Bukhari, Khan Bahadur Shaikh Mohd. Abdullah, Khan Bahadur Haji Rashid Ahmed and Mr. Najmul Hussain, M. L. A. (Behar).

Flag Unfurled.

At a largely - attended public meeting held on Thursday evening in Urdu Park, Mr. Jinnah unfurled the Muslim League flag. He emphasised the greatness and the spiritual character of the month of Ramzan and declared: "To-day, unfurling the Muslim League flag, I want to re-affirm with all the emphasis at my command that we stand for Pakistan, and far faith, unity and discipline.

"I am confident that we will acquire a place in this land where we may live honourably, according to Islamic tradition and culture, and it is in your hands.

You have seen how recently the Muslim League had to face a grave internal crisis and how we succeeded in maintaining and vindicating our honour and prestige and held aloft the flag of the Muslim League. This should be an eye-opener for our opponents and enemies who wanted to create disruption in our ranks.

"You and I have heard many people say that this was a triumph for Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League; this was not a triumph for Mr. Jinnah or the Muslim League but a triumph for Muslim bublic opinion from one end of the country to the other. You have demonstrated that no man, however big he may be, can defy the decision of the Muslim League; that he has to bow before public opinion.

"To-day I appeal to you all to keep this flag flying. Unite, organize, and maintain discipline, and no power on earth can stop you from achieving the goal which you have placed before yourselves." (cheers)

Dangers of Aggressive Nationalism (*Contd. from p. 3*)

Empire, how can it be possible to unite Hindus and Muslims as members of a single united nation which never existed in India in the past. The Hindus must recognise that nationalism, as they misinterpret it, is not always a unifying force. It has more often than not been a disruptive force.

IMPERIALISM.

Before the dawn of nationalism it was possible for various national or racial groups to live under a common system of government and law. In modern times all attemps towards Imperialism are bound to fail in the long run. Abnormal circumstances may arise when a strong and powerful nation may suppress the liberties of weaker nations, but the conquering nation will never, for long, keeps its hold on the oppressed nation. A united Europe under the hegemony of Germany is as impossible of attainment as a united India at the dictates of the Congress.

UNWORKABLE IDEAL.

Those who pin their hopes in a scheme of Federation, which in future will unite the nations of the world as members of the same family, forget the essential condition that this ideal will always remain unworkable so long as every national group, big or small, which occupies a compact part of a territory, is not canceded the right to self-government according to its own peculiar conditions.

A nationalist in China may appeal to the moral force of world opinion in general in the fight for the liberation of his motherland, but this appeal will always be misunderstood as long as millions of Muslims of the Chinese Empire are groaning under the tyranny of Chinese Imperialism. It is an apt question to ask what right have the Chinese nationalists to keep under abject subjection the Turkish Muslims of Chinese Turkistan who, judged by every modern standard, are entitled to full national independence. No strategic or economic considerations can be held valid to deprive a people of their legitimate political rights.

The Finns were a mere minority in the former Czarist Russia, but this factor could not be advanced as an argument against their national independence.

RIGHT OF DISRUPTION

Indian nationalists have every moral justification to liberate this vast sub-continent from foreign yoke but their actions will be misunderstood if they deny to others the application of the very principles which they claim for themselves. When it is admitted that Hindu-Muslim differences are fundamental and can not be bridged over except by resort to force, why should we appeal to a third power for intervention and not meet together to adjust them in a spirit of compromise and accommodation.

It is a recognised principle in Politics that where political differances have taken a serious turn and there is no hope of a mutual settlement, then the group desiring secession from the bigger unit, of which it has been kept a part, has every right to fight for its emancipation. This principle becomes still more binding in force where these differences divide the people in a non-homogenous State.

In a country inhabited by two or more distinct national groups the right to disruption becomes a national duty for the group which occupies a compact part of territory and feels that its interests can better be served by separation than by union with other groups. In such a country the right of majority to rule must always be limited by the right of a minority to secede.

(This is the first part of the article which, we hope, will be of some interest to our readers. More will follow in subsequent issues---Editor.)

Special Article.

A CONGRESS APOLOGIST

By---**Syed Hasan Reyaz**

Appealing to the Congress to change its policy, Mr. Jayakar in his Madras speech urges on the gentlemen of the non-party in India to start a strong agitation in the country with the double purpose of compelling the Congress to resume offices and the Government to appoint Indian Defence and Finance members in the Central Government.

According to Mr. Jayakar there are four parties in India. The first is the Government. The second is the Congress whom he considers as the predominant political party. The third imortant party is the League. The fourth is the group of men who belong to "no-party." He, however, concedes about the last group that although large in number it did not count at present because it was not organised. In analysing as to which of the four parties were responsible for the present state of things he is reported to have said as follows:

> For the moment he wanted to leave out the Muslim League, not because he failed to recognize its importance but because he felt it was hopeless and futile to make any suggestion to that party. Under its present leadership it was impossible to hope that it would agree to any negotiations. Its attitude in short was one of 'touch me-not'. The leadership of that organization had been saying, "no talk at all" except with the leader of the Congress; and that too on the condition that the Muslim League was recognized as the only organization representative of the Muslim Community and negotiations were proceeded only on the basis of an acceptance of Pakistan. Perhaps the first condition might not have been difficult to accede if it stood by itself; but the second made all negotiations impossible.

Negotiations

The Hindu leaders have made it a point to be anything but fair when talking about the League. Not very long ago Mr. Jinnah had made it clear in unequivocal terms that he was prepared to negotiate with any Hindu Leader who would come to him as a representative of the Hindu Community. There was no demand on his part that the leader should or should not belong to any particular Hindu organization, but Mr. Jinnah was perfectly justified in insistsng that he should have the representative capacity of the Hindus.

The Indian Political Problem is nothing but a Hindu-Muslim question. It is a matter of common knowledge that all the Hindu political parties in India, irrespective of internal differences, are perfectly unanimous in their desire, for which they have also been working, that all powers of Government should pass into the hands of the Hindus on the basis of their numerical majority, reducing the Muslims, the Dravidians and other nationalities to a state of serfdom.

(Continued on page 8)

Special Article.

ISLAM'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIA'S CULTURE

By—**Raj Kumar Sinha**

In the following article, which we reproduce from the 'Hindustan Standard', the author has done his best to persuade the Indians—Hindus and Muslims—to believe that theirs a is common culture, thereby suggesting that all Indians are one nation. We wish they were. Not a mere nation. But the proud members of the all-embracing brotherhood of Islam. They have, however, not merged, so far, even into one nation, in spite of Islam's immense contributions to what is called India's culture for the last one thousand years, as the author himself admits. Nor have their different cultures yet lost themselves in "self forgetful embrace", save that or those "solidified" into mud or "marble". That relentless flier—Time—is not going to oblige them by coming to a standstill till that consummation is reached. The die is cast. The course is set. *Bon voyage! Au revoir!*—EDITOR.

In the heat of controversy many of us forget that the Hindus and Muslims of India have a remarkably common cultural parentage which cannot be denied simplv because some of us go to the temples and others go to the mosques. Our culture is a complex affair which mirrors the joint effort of the Hindus and the Muslims undertaken during the last one thousand years or so. Islam's contribution to India's culture is immense. There is hardly any wing of the nation's cultural domain where Islam's vivifying influence might not be easily traced.

Few people seem to know that the greatness of the classical Hindu literature came to be known to Europe's learned societies to a very large extent through Persian translations of the texts encouraged and at times even personally undertaken by enlightened Muslim patrons of India.

The well-known historical personality, Prince Dara Shikoh, loved India and things Indian so intensely that he spent many years of his life in Benares, learning Sanskrit. His voluminous Persian rendering of the Upanishads which reached Europe through Baghdad and Constantinople created a stir there and, indeed, thanks to the same that Indology was founded as a special subject for research and study. Prince Dara had also translated Jog Vashishtha and Bhagvad Gita and was the author of a learned treatise on the philosophical terminology of the Hindu Shastras.

Tolerant Attitude.

The tolerant attitude on the part of a noted Mohamedan individual was not an accidental or stray phenomenon without any relation to his community. What we know of Mohamedan period of India's history is replete with such instances which cut through denominational barriers and encouraged cultural interpenetration.

The Muslim contribution towards the growth of a popular Bengali language has been remarkable. As far back as 1325, Commander Paragal Khan commissioned one Nasir Khan to translate the Mahabharat in the spoken language of the province. For a long time this edition of Mahabharat composed in easy rhymes was popularly known as Paragali Mahabharat. Hussain

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RATES

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The Dawn

DELHI

Sunday, October 26, 1941

I.

THE DAWN

THE Dawn supplies the long felt want of a suitable medium for the Muslims and others whose voice could not be heard above the din of the clamorous pro-Congress propaganda going on around. We stand for the right of the different nations inhabitting the Indian sub-contient to determine their own polity and for justice to oppressed minorities. We do not grudge their due to other races or creeds so long as they do not covet what belongs in all fairness to their neighbours, To promote equality and brotherhood of all mankind---with justice. fairplay and toleration in their dealings. notwithsanding differences of faith or ideology—shall be our earnest endeavour, All for One and One for all is the spirit underlying true democracy which was tried out in the early days of Islam and with conspicuous success. The same success, even now, awaits democracy run on like lines. Hypocrisy, otherwise called 'diplomacy', and selfishness, miscalled 'nationalism', have been tried long enough, and overdone, in the affairs of man, making "confusion worse confounded". While the world is muddling through the confusion of its own making, "some great voice", as Dr. Tagore wrote in April last and as a little-known writer expressed himself even earlier to the same effect, "is waiting to be heard which will usher in the sacred light of truth in the dark region of the nightmare of politics". And that is the dawn of a new but tried world order which we have taken upon ourselves to herald,

We refrain from recounting the obstacles we had to surmount before bringing out this issue in the month of 'Ramzan,' quite apart from the difficulty of obtaining this or any kind of paper. We naturally expect the Mussalmans and those others who have common cause with us to offer co-operation and to extend that support which will sustain us through initial stages.

II.

BRITAIN AND INDIA.

Mr. Churchill's recent reference to India that the latter was not included in the list of beneficiaries of what is called the Atlantic Charter has given rise to angry outbursts in the Hindu press which wants to have things all its own way. Greed on their part has called forth this candid declaration which serves to disabuse the Hindu mind of comfortable assumptions. The Atlantic charter, as it stood, did encourage such assumptions. In his over-eagerness to clear the point one of their leaders proceeded to improve his case by cross-examination of the authors which spoiled the advantage accruing from the original declaration. One party to the declaration administered a deserved snub by deliberately ignoring the existence of the self-appointed examiner, while the other interpreted it to the utter discomfiture of the bargaining bania.

HINDU GAME

The Hindus, nevertheless, have not given up the game of getting Britain to prejudge, contrary to solemn pledges, the wohle constitutional issue by declaring that the entire sub-continent of India, whether the component parts like it or not, shat have a uniform constitution by a specified date. It does not matter at all whether that constitution does or does not give "complete independence" or even "Dominion status" to this continent. All that matters is that there must be one governing centrethrough which the Hindu hegemony by reason of their numbers in the continent taken as a whole, could rule over those regions as well where they are in a minority e.g., the Muslim homelands of the N.-W. Frontier Province, the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, Assam and Bengal —an area about five times as large as Great Britain with Muslim population strength of nearly double that of Great Britain,

British statesmen thought that a Parliamentary system of government, with one centre, will suffice for the whole of India. And on that assumption they proceeded to frame a federal constitution with provincial autonomy. But experience has proved that system is not suited to India because the two major nations inhabitting the continent. Hindus and Muslims, do not trust each other.

WISE DECLARATION

The British Government, therefore, wisely declared in August last year its readiness to examine the whole constitutional question de novo and invited the peoples of India to come to an agreement between themselves on the constitutional issue and promised not to rope them all in under one all-India constitution, imposed upon them against their will. The initiative thence onward in the matter of constitutional progress passed into the hands of the Indians themselves who like the Europeans, are not and have never been one nation. But so far, Indian nations have not reached an agreement.

While the British Government, in the absence of such a settlement, find it impossible to move in the matter, the Hindus under different labels---Liberal, Congress, Mahasabha, non-party etc,---are pressing them hard to declare that India as one single unit shall have some democratic form of Government by a specified date. The emphasis on date is actuated by a sinister desire on the part of the Hindus to hustle Britain into throwing Muslim and other interests overboard,

FREEDOM

Let India have freedom by all means but that freedom must not be allowed to swallow other peoples' freedom. There are region in this sub-continent each one bigger than Britain, where Muslim population is predominant, and there are others where Hindus form the majority. But taken as a whole India has nearly three times as many Hindus as Muslims. Any measure of self-government with one governing centre for the whole of India, where the ratio of Hindu and Muslim representation will be roughly three to one, will place other nations of the continent at the mercy of the Hindus, reducing autonomy in Muslim provinces to a flagrant farce. And that is why the Hindu is so insistent upon a democratic form of Government. even if it does not amount to Dominion status, for the whole of India taken as one single unit.

The Muslims are certainly more enthusiastic than other sons of the soil about India's emancipation, provided that emancipation doesnot cost them their own freedom. They do not want just a change of masters. They want independence for themselves in their

zones as well as for others in theirs. To be on surer ground they want first of all a geographical division of the continent between themselves, the Hindus and other rightful claimants, so that freedom when it comes may benefit all concerned and not only one section of the population. Such a division does not amount to "vivisection" of India, as Hindu scare-mongers would have the world believe. For, a natural division already exists---the Punjab, the N.-W. Frontier Province; Baluchishtan and Sind, forming together one Muslim zone with Karachi as the chief outlet to the sea; and Bengal and Assam, forming another, with Calcutta as the chief outlet; the Madras Presidency being the homeland of the Dravidians.

SHAPE OF INDIA

The complexion and dimensions of India have always been changing according to the convenience of the ruler or rulers from time to time. Even the present shape of India is not natural but British-made—moulded according to administrative convenience. Once the British bayonet is withdrawn the component parts will find their balance which the Hindus, having cherished all these years the fond hope of substituting "Hindu Raj" for British Raj, want to prevent at all costs. At no period of History was this continent one homogeneous unit, as now claimed by Hindu propagandists who want thus to usurp other peoples' lebensraum in the continent by decrying any talk of division as sacrilege, Their attitude is all or none. They don't seem to believe in live and let live.

The "akhand" (indivisible) Hindustan idea appeals to Hindu dreamers, for by this ruse they hope to establish "Ram Raj" over the whole of British as well as Indian India. We wonder whether they would have relished the 'akhand' idea if Muslims had been the majority party in India and had refused to "vivisect mother India" even for the benefit of the Hindus.

HONEST DEMAND

Although the Muslims have been the ruling nation in the Indian sub-continent for close on seven hundred years they welcome the Hindus to rule over them, for the first time in Indian history, in no fewer than six provinces. And on the principle of give and take they demand to be the rulers in those parts where they form the majority. That honest demand of the Muslim nation in India popularly known as "Pakistan", is being deliberately misrepresented by the Hindus who openly talk of the possibility of their territory being overrun by the Muslims, once the latter are allowed to establish homelands of their own in certain parts of the continent. But how ridiculous it is for a people numbering about 2,00,000,000 to claim to rule ovor the whole of the Indian continent with that lack of confidence in themselves.

NOTES

Amraoti

Press reports are significantly silent over the cause or causes of the recent communal rioting at Amraoti in the Central Provinces, a predominantly Hindu district. Eight killed and about eighty injured is all the outside world has been told to believe without giving details of communal casualties—and wisely too. But the wise exercise of the discretion is conveniently abandoned by an important section of the press whenever it serves their purpose to do so. Telegraphic advices received in our office go to show that the majority community there, taking advantage of Dassehra processions, proceeded to test the might of their numbers by way of exercise and the resulting non-non-violent rehearsal took a toll of several lives, while the police played their favourite role of disinterested onlookers. To brighten up the show, shops houses and other property were looted and set fire to. The pious pent up fury of the "twice-born," reserved through the year for the *rakshas R*, was let loose this time on the *maliksha M*. From the lifeless *rakshas* to the virile *maliksha* is an amiable turn on the part of the sister community which is bound to provide good exercise for both.

Urdu in U. P. Schools.

Urdu, as at present taught in the schools of the U.P. and other provinces, seems to have escaped the notice of Muslim leaders. The language of text-books, crammed with Hindu mythology, is anything but Urdu. Deliberately distorted, it is more akin to Hindi–in Persian script, of course--- than Urdu. Generations of Muslims passing through these schools will have grown up with Hindi, not Urdu, as their mother tongue, without realising what they were being clerverly forced to accept. This painless process of killing Urdu in its homeland and elsewhere, devised by Congress Governments in their provinces, is still going on there unchecked under gubernatorial control. Nor there is reason for the Governors to interfere in the absence of complaints. The complacency of Muslim leaders in this regard amounts to criminal negligence and posterity will hold them responsible for the resultant damage to Muslim culture.

Sir Sikander's Latest.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan is unmindful while making public utterances that he owes allegiance to the Muslim League. This attitude of the Punjab Premier is always embarrassing and there is no grace in it. In his statement of October last he has demanded an immediate declaration for the conferment of Dominion Status on India within a specified time after the war. This is opposed to the very spirit of the Lahore and Madras resolutions of the Muslim League which from the creed of the All-India Muslim League. Dominion Status, or any other status, without Pakistan, will amount to Hindu Raj in India. Nor do we agree with Sir Sikander that Mr. Churchill's statement has the effect of cancelling all the previous statements made from time to time with regard to the future of India on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Despite some latest irresponsible talk of Mr. Amery the Declaration of August 8 still holds good, Any going back on the solemn promises given out to India in the said Declaration would be construed as a breach of faith and cause widespread discontent. The suggestion for the appointment of a select committee of their own choice by the British Government to frame the constitution of India is equally uncalled for in face of a clear provision in the August Declaration both for the method and machinery for framing the constitution.

"One of the paradoxes of the present time is that people may be able to change the world so rapidly that they fail to understand what they are doing. Another is that, while more has been found out at large and in the past thirty years than in the whole of history, there is less general appreciation of this knowledge and worse use of it than ever before."—*Prof. J. D. Bernal.*

NOTES *(Contd.)*

Belated Greetings.

Belated though it is, we again wish our readers *I'd Mubarak*. As though we had already wished them the same, which went unnoticed, Well, if intention counts for anything, we did. And not only in thought but indeed in print. It is altogether a different story if that print does not leave the press in time. The exasperating vagary of man-and-machine in refusing to budge once that queer combination gets stuck at the eleventh hour leaves "nothing to report" on that front, save to wait and pray. Having gone through that gruesome, and perhaps sublimest, test of mental endurance, which we do not claim to have passed, we have emerged wiser for the experience that it is not always the dog that wags the tail but that sometimes it is *vice versa* ---however irksome this reversal of the process be for the dog and for those others who have no patience to witness or even to hear about that nauseating phenomenon. The thought of inconvenience thus caused to friends who have been looking forward to an early appearance of "The Dawn" weighs heavily on us, which we hasten to "bypass" by taking this opportunity of thanking our well-wishers for sending us messages of goodwill and encouragement and by offering our readers for the "umpteenth" time hearty greetings for the *I'd* of the recent past and of the not-very-distant future.

Islam's Contribution to India's Culture *(Contd. from p. 5)*

Shah, the well-known potentate of Bengal who ruled about 1500 A. D., was renowned for his patronage of Bengali language. He was himself a literateur of no mean merit. For his tolerant attitude Bengal's Hindu populace conferred on him the title of Gunaraj Khan. The well-known Krittiyas Ramayan, which is as popular in Bengal as Tulsi's Ramayan is an Hindi-speaking areas of our country, owes its existence to direct patronage received from enlightenedMuslim quarters of Bengal. It was, therefore, not without reason, that Vidyapati, the renowned poet sang no few songs about those great Muslim songs of Bengal. It might surprise many to learn that the grand tradition of the Bengali poetry, which to the wonderment of the entire civilised world blossomed forth in our days as a prodigal rose in the works of Tagore, was nourished in the past by no small number of Muslim Bengali poets. A representative anthology by Bengali poems would not be complete unless the valuable composition of Akbar Ali, Kabir Mohammed, Kamar Ali, Fakir, Ratan, Sheikh Jalal, Sheikh Vheek, Sheikh Lal, Nashu Mahmud or Syed Murtaza find their proper places in the same. This great tradition has been well kept right up to-day by such Bengali men of letters as Humayun Kabir, Sofia Khatoon, Kazi Nazrul Islam and Hishamuddin. This conscious effort on the part of Bengali Muslims indirectly enriched Bengali vocabulary which contains no less than two thousand and five hundred words of Persian and Urdu origin.

What was true in Bengal was essentially so in other areas specially of Northern and Central India where languages other than Bengali holds way. It was during the Moghal period that a written prose easily to be understood by the vast Hindustani speaking populace of our country began to be developed under the direct inspiration of the Muslim rulers. This endeavour resulted in giving to the world that dynamic and elegant language of Urdu. The Hindi prose which is of recent growth may well be taken as an

(Continued on page 10)

A Congress Apologist *(Contd. from p. 5)*

Mr. Jayakar says there are two insurmountable difficulties in the way of Hindus in starting negotiations with the Muslim League—firstly the insistence of its leader to negotiate only with the Congress which must first recognise the League as the sole representative organization af the Muslims, and secondly the acceptance of "Pakistan". He further says that in case Mr. Jinnah had put forward only the former condition there would have been no difficulty in accepting the same. Perhaps Mr. Jayakar does not remember that when in 1938negotiations had been started by Mr. Bose (the then Congress President) and Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress the Pakistan issue had not been raised nor had it been accepted as the League's creed, and Mr. Jinnah had put forward only the former condition but it was not agreeable to the Congress High Command who broke off negotiations unceremoniously. There is, therefore, absolutely no force in Mr. Jayakar's assertion and his subtle suggestion is rather belated. There is no reason why the League should not press for the acceptance of those reasonable conditions as the basis of any talks? Mr. Jayakar, the Congress and the Hindus in general insist on the acceptance of their two conditions by the League—namely that India is one indivisible country and that all Indians, Hindus, Muslims and Dravidians are one nation---which are advantageous to the Hindus to the exclusion of every other nation. This is obviously an impossible attitude to take. It is untrue to say that the Muslims always avoided negotiations. On the contrary the Hindus do not really want negotiations and put forward impossible conditions to avoid it.

League Demand

The League demand that it represents the entire Muslim India is an established fact and is not designed to encroach upon the rights of others. Similarly, its other demand that it would negotiate with the Hindus on condition that the Hindus should accept the partition of India on the basis of the Lahore Resolution of ihe League is based on sheer justice. While the Hindus assert that owing to their numerical seperiority they are entitled to rule over the whole of India, the Muslims demand that India be partitioned into Hindu and Muslim zones where the two nations would be left free to rule in their respective areas without any interference from the one to the other. The latter proposal is based on justice and eliminates possibilities of future friction. Thus the Pakistan scheme of the League is based exactly on the same principle which is relied upon by the Hindus---the majority rule. But while there is justice and fair-play on the side of the Muslims, tyranny and opression is on the other.

In case, as desired by the Hindus, India is taken as one indivisible country and Indians as one nation, and a Central Government is established on the lines of the British Parliamentary system, it will have the effect of reducing the Muslim majority in Bengal, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind to a minority. Should this ever happen it will be a great calamity to the Muslims of India.

Hindus and Muslims differ from each other in all their characteristics which

(Continued on next page)

PRESS

Window Dressing.

We have made a good many mistakes in this war and paid the penalty with a good many failures, but our most gratuitous mistake, and therefore in some ways our worst failure, has been and is in India. Has been and still is, for the Viceroy's new declaration about the widening of his Council and the creation of yet another Indian body with no political power is the same again, the same dreary business that has been going on now in the India Office and India for the better part of two years. It is imperial window dressing in the approved British twentieth-century style, and, as is usual in war-time, the shop window even when dressed, has precious little in it - three dozen extremely worthy, but entirely irrelevent, Indian and Anglo-Indian gentlemen. New Statesman & Nation.

Progress?

Reproduced from Current History & Forum.

Afghanistan.

Because of friendly representations made to them by the British and Russian Governments the Afghan Government have agreed to send away all Axis nationals not possessing diplomatic status from the country, the two Governments having agreed to give them safe conduct to Germany through Iraq and Turkey. An official spokesman of the Government of India contrasts the friendly response of the Afghan Government with the attitude of the late Government of Iran. But Afganistan did not have much of a choice in the matter. With the example of Iran before her, she knew what the alternative to graceful compliance would be and hence has agreed to expel the Germans and Italians from the country. But the fact that Afghanistan went to Germany and Italy for technical personnel and not to Britain is proof of the suspicions which the past policy of his British Government had aroused in that country—Hindustan Times.

Week-ful of League Activities

A.-I. Council & W.C. to Meet

The Council of the All-India Muslim League is meeting here this (Sunday) afternoon at 2-30 p.m. in the Anglo-Arabic College Hall, Ajmere Gate, Delhi. The President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, will preside over the meeting which is likely to continue on the next day. A number of resolutions have been tabled and momentous decisions are expected to be reached at the meeting.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League is also meeting this (Sunday) morning at which several important matters will come up for consideration.

There will be a special meeting of the Presidents and the Secretaries of the Provincial Muslim Leagues to take stock of the present situation in the various provinces.

A meeting of the Committee appointed to inquire into the affairs of the Provincial Muslim League in the Central Provinces and the Muslim League in Bulandshahr is also being held soon after the meeting of the Council.

The committee appointed in connection with the Muslim National Guard is to meet at the Marina Hotel, New Delhi, tomorrow or the day after.

The last week of October, therfore, is full of activities connected with the All-India Muslim League and a large number of members of the Working Committee, of the Council and of the various committees, reffered to above, are attending the meeting. Great importance is attached to the semeetings which are being held on the eve of the session of the Legislative Assembly.

A Congress Apologist

(Continued from p. 8)

are the essentials of nationality. There is nothing common in their cultures, traditions, and general outlook. The Muslims are a nation by themselves. There is no sense in treating the Indians collectively as one nation, and the Muslims a religious minority.

No Going Back

Great Britain is under an obligation by the Declaration of August 8 not to make any commitments on the constitutional issue unless there is previous agreement between the Hindus and the Muslims with regard to their respective positions and the distribution of power in the future constitution. Any going back on the part of Britain would be construed as a breach of faith and vehemently opposed by Muslims.

Hindu propaganda would have the world believe that the Muslims are obstructing the progress of India towards freedom. As a matter of fact Muslims are no less anxious for freedom than the Hindus. But mere change of masters from Englishmen to Hindus is no freedom.

The present Muslim attitude is a defensive attitude, adopted in the face of Hindu manoevres to usurp all powers in the continent. The whole constitutional tangle can be solved if they give up this idea and come to an agreement with the Muslims.

Great Britain is bound by the declaration of August 8 not to restore the Congress Ministries in the centre unless there is previous agreement between the Hindus and the Muslims in the central and provincial spheres. But if according to the interpretation of Mr. Jayakar the Congress can resume offices if they so desire, such a move will be resisted by the whole of Muslim India.

ISLAM'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIA'S CULTURE *(Contd.)*

offshoot of that traditional effort. The picturesque institution of *Mushaira* and *ghazal* style of poetry developed by Urdu are nation's cultural jewels. The institution of *Mashaira* also inspired the developement of the institution of *Kavi Sammelan* in the domain of Hindi. Through the vehicle of Urdu thousands of choice Persian words and not a few Arabic ones were acclimatised. These gradually percolated amongst the masses and were thus preserved in the eternal archives of the nation.

The classical Hindi literature, as we understand it, was also enriched by numerous Muslim contributors whose services were smybolised in the unsophisticated yet time-defying compositions of that legendary figure Kabir who sang for entire humanity. We know of many other Muslims who through their pen or otherwise have served Hindi. Raskhan, Malik Mohammed Jaysi, Abdul Rahim Khankhanan, and thousands of Muslim *'ustads,'* by their rendering of classical songs have, incidentally, kept Hindi as a living vehicle of expression round about our vast land.

And thus as we proceed westwards and come across the areas where Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Punjabi or Pashto is spoken a little digging of the lingual and the literary bedwork would unearth the remarkable Muslim influences. Over the Deccan area on similar grounds Islam's influence, though lesser, can be traced all the same.

Great Akbar

In the field of Indian Music the Muslim contribution is so vast that it staggars one's imagination and defies measurement. It was not accident that India's musical achievement attained its pinnacle during the reign of the great Mughal whose almost religiously passionate patronage of Indian art is known to all students of Indian history. The prodigy Tansen, has to be admitted as a product of favourable surrounding diligently reared by the great Akbar whose action in the wider fieldofculture was theprototype of Islam's great contributiontowards India's spiritual and culturalmake up. As far as music is concerned Akbar himself was the composer of not a few Indian raginis. Some of them are known as *Jal shaht, Mahamir, Karat* and *Nauroz*.

Much earlier than the period of Akbar we hear of Amir Khusroo, the musician and the poet, who flourished in the time of Alauddin Khilji. It was poet Khusroo who introduced *Khayal* and *Tarana* style in Indian music and thus gave to the latter that characteristic feature which has made it famous all over the world. The Khayal style was further developed later by Sultan Hassain of Jaunpur during the hey days of the University of Jaunpur ---that centre of culture which was known abroad in the fifteenth century as Shiraz-i-Hind.

The Muslims enormously influenced *Thumri* and *Baul* styles while the imprimature of their virile genius can be easily seen on the styles of *Ghazal* songs and *Kawali*. They also introduced in India many sweet foreign strains particularly of Persian origin. Right till to-day the great tradition of Muslim cultivation of and devotion for music has been magnificently maintained by Muslim giants in the field, whose names are household word in India, & by thousands of humbler sons and daughters of Islam.

Architecture

And then when we think of Islam's unique contribution towords the architectural style evolved in India, we find the ungrudging give-and-take that has been going on for so many centuries in the past and has resulted in magnificent synthesis to the beautification of the entire civilised world. As we go round Agra, Sikri, Sikandra, Delhi, Lucknow, Benares, Lahore, Gaur, Rajgir, Bijapur, and Aurangabad and, indeed, north, south, east and west of India, this synthesis not rarely smiles at us and, incidentally,speaks to us all about the composite nature of our lives undertaking in India. Round about our homeland are scattered literally tens of thousands of temples which have assimilated Saracenic domes and we can seldom come across a mosque in India which does not show pre-Islamic Hindu architectural traces. The Muslim historical monuments are also generally all architecturally composite in style and add to the status of the entire Hindustan.

So far we have tried to locate Muslim influences in our languages and literature, our music and architecture. And as we carry on ahead, our conclusions will be further sustained without a single exception. Weather we think of our painting, wrestling cooking (*pulao, dopiaza* and *kabab* etc.), dress (*achkan*), ornaments, utensils (*pandan*, smoking bowl and water jug etc.), or again our shawls, carpets durries, chintzs or our footwear and, indeed any of our arts and crafts we shall find Islam's contributory genius looking straight into our face.

The movement for filling off the angularities of the separate Hindu and Muslim cultures sprang centuries before, out of an inexorable historical necessity. Society in India could not possibly grow without a cultural synthesis. Both the Hindus aud the Muslims have voluntarily taken part in that movement and have succeeded in evolving a tolerant code of life which cuts through parochial religious barriers. Unfortunately some historians have erroneously over emphasised the denominational veneer of happenings which were neither Hindu nor Muslim but were essentially political. This has at times befogged our historical perspective. But despite that history does provide us with not a few recorded facts which suggest that the movement, as outlined above, of effecting a cultural homogenity, defied space and time and effected people of all creeds and of any social stratum from the highest to the lowest. The following facts taken at random fromhistory will corroborate our line of thinking.

Facts

Bairam Bin Masood, the grand son of Mahmood of Ghazni had got translated in Persian from the original Sanskirt the famous text of Panchatantra. And even the redoubtable Mahmood had a general whose name was Tilak who had supressed many rebellions among the Muslim subjects of the former. One of the many pillars with the edicts of Asoka which are extant right to-day was salvaged from a heap of debris by Firoz Shah. The famous Kutab Minar was built by Sultan Iltamush in the Jayastmbha style of the Jaini architecture. Akbar was very fond of the Ganges water which would be brought for his use by dak system irrespective of what particular part of the country he was in at a given time. The same practice was followed by Aurangzeb who used to regularly partake in the Dashera festival which many Mohamedans of the time had nicknamed as Hindu I'd. Aurangzeb had many trusted Hindu generals while Shivaji had a Muslim cavalry. Siddi Semble, Siddi Misri, Siddi Halal and Daulat Khan were a few of the trusted Muslim lieutenants of Shivaji. Many of us will be surprised to learn that Shahji and Sharifji, the father and the uncle respectively of Shivaji derived their names from Shah Sharif, a Muslim saint, who was the guide of the family of which Shivaji was the scion. Shivaji himself used to frequent another Muslim devine, named Baba Yakub of Bankote. Jehangir also had a favourite Guru whose name was Gossain Jairup.

Cultural Fusion

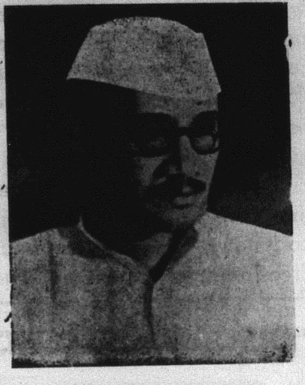
Facts like these tell us that even centuries before now cultural fusion in India was well under way and that the separatist standards were gradually liquidating themselves in developing merger. It was not by accident that during the middle ages appeared such Hindu or Muslim seers as Kabir, Chaityana, Dadu Dayal, Nizamuddin Aulia, Pirana Sahib, Namdev or Ramanand who through their messages indirectly preached the gospel of tolerance and reminded India of her essential unity. The Hindu seers of that age were to no small extent influenced by Islam' monotheism. Through their songs or otherwise vast changes were wrought in the very thought-world of the Hindus.

We are now coming to the end of this short discourse. The point which has been sought to be stressed is that twentieth century culture of India is a sesult of a grand Hindu-Muslim endeavour covering a vista of ceturies. Our differences are merely superficial. In our life, whether on the material or on the spiritual side we draw inspiration or sustenance from sources which are singularly alike. May be, we have so far not been able to effect a perfect cultural homogenity, but the movement for years back by our forefathers has not yet outlived its dynamics and must fulfil its task in future by a resultant cultural synthesis as flawless beautiful and grand as the Taj Mahal that self-forgetful embrace of two cultures solidified into marble.

GOODWILL MESSAGES

Dawn of a New Era

The Dawn of a new area—metaphor suggested by the name of the paper—when the Muslim viewpoint will not go by default can no longer be delayed. The Dawn has the unique distinction of being founded by the Qaide Azam; other Muslim papers have received his blessings but this periodical is under his direct patronage. May the Dawn grow into an intrepid exponent and upholder of our cause, and may its great founder live long to guide and direct it.—*Raja M. Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad.*



Raja M. Amir Ahmad Khan.

Champion of common cause.

I am extremely glad to learn that Mr. Jinnah is starting an English Weekly at Delhi, "The Dawn". I cordially welcome the advent of this champion of our common cause at this juncture. I am sure that under his able and inspiring leadership and guidance. "The Dawn" will be the leading radical and revolutionary journal in India. It is most appropriate that it should be started at Delhi, for it is there that wisdom should dawn.---*Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Periyar, President, South Indian Liberal Federation.*

True Voice of Islam.

I wish our paper should shine out and spread the true voice of Islam all over the world in the interest of our people and the country and impress upon the other political organizations, that the ultimate goal of Musalmans, which is known as Pakistan, is the only solution to make India free and independent. No useful purpose can ever be served by simply having the anti-Pakistan feeling without realising the true significance and bessing of the said scheme for this sub-continent.---*Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim.*

A Powerful Weapon.

So far as the Muslim masses are concerned, they are thorougly infiltrated with the propaganda and Pakistan creed of the Muslim League. But the greatest need of the day is an authoritative organ of the Muslim League to counter and effectively deal with the mischievous lies deliberately and sedulously spread by the advocates of the so-called Akhund Hindustan movement regarding the aims and objects of Pakistan, as also to remove and dispel the misunderstandings that exist on the subject in quarters such as English public opinion who, in ignorance and in the absence of propaganda from our side, readily believe all that the prejudiced Hindu Press says. I trust that "The DAWN" will prove a powerful weapon in placing the Muslim view poin before the English-knowing public and in completely dispelling the illusions and misunderstandings which Hindu leaders are deliberately spreading about our perfectly nationalist and patriotic movement. I wish "The Dawn" all success and a bright journalistic career.---*Malic Barkat Ali Advocate, Lahore.*

Harbinger of Truth.

"Here shall the 'Dawn' the peoples right maintain,
"Unaw'd by influence, and unbrib'd by gain.
(J. Story)

"With the advent of 'The Dawn' the happy harbinger of the glorious sun of truth, there is sure to disappear altogether the darkness of ignorance and misunderstanding. Started and patronized by our Qaid-i-Azam, Mr. M A. Jinnah, the Weekly bids fair to prosper and serve the purpose for which it has been started. It will no doubt be an exponent of the cause of Muslim Nation in India. The journal thus meets a long felt want."---*Qazi Mohd. Isa, Bar-at-Law, Quetta.*

Great Traditions of Islam.

I wish "The Dawn" every success. My message to Muslim India is to revive the great traditions of Islam and thus win the respect and esteem, confidence and good-will of our fellow countrymen and of the world abroad.---*Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of Punjab.*

Better Days for Muslims.

The need for an authoritative organ of the Muslims at the Capital of India was long felt. I wish the paper every success and hope that with the advent of "The Dawn" better days for the Muslims will dawn.---*Mr. Hussain Imam, M.C.S.*

Prosperious Career

I take this opportunity to wish the journal a bright, prosperous and useful career. ---*Lt.-Col. Sir Henry Guidney*

WARTIME HUMOR

NAPOLEON AND HITLER

According to *The New Yark Times*, a Partisian with a whimsical turn of mind recently invented the following dialogue between Napoleon and Hitler:

"What do you say about my campaign in Poland?" demanded Hitler of the illustrious warrior.

"It wasn't planned badly." Napoleon answered from the bottom of his tomb.

"What do you say about my campaign in Belgium and Holland?"

"I allow that you have given proof of pretty good military strategy."

"And my campaign in France?"

"Of course, you are victorious."

"And my bombing of London and my preparations for the invasion of England?"

Napoleon makes no answer, but a stirring is heard in the tomb.

"What's going on there?" exclaims Hitler in distress,

"The sepulchral voice replies.

"I am making a place for you beside me."

HOME SWEET HOME

Walter Winchell in his widely syndicate newspaper column supplies this one about the Italian soldier who wrote to his family: "Two days ago the British drove up back thirty miles. Yesterday they drove us back thirty-two miles. Today they drove us back thirty-four miles. With a little luck I'll be home tomorrow."

ONE HEIL DESERVES ANOTHER

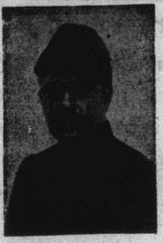
A German soldier entered a large department store in Oslo, Norway. He marched toward an elderly sales lady, clicked his hosiery department?"

The sales lady placed her right hand solemnly over her heart and replied: "God save our King! Three floors up."

WHISKY, PORT, AND RUM

A London Daily Telegraph view of the naval situation: The British Navy drinks rum; ths American Navy absorbs whisky: the Italian Navy sticks to port.

GOODWILL MESSAGES *(Contd.)*



N. M. Ismail Khan

Brightest and best of the sons of the morning!
DAWN on our darkness and lend us thine ain"
is our prayer and request to the Founder.—
Nawab M. Ismail Khan.

Message of Hope

I sincerely hope that "The Dawn" will usher in a dawn of real political advancement for the Mussalmans of India. In the midst of the encircling gloom which over-shadows Muslim India, it is a message of hope to us that "The Dawn" is to make its appearance on the political horizon of India. May "The Dawn" gradually lead us to the meridian of political prosperity. ---*Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister of Bengal.*

Dawn of Muslim Glory

While the Muslim League has given unity, strength and organization to the Muslim Nation, our greatest handicap has, so far, been the absence of a strong English press. Muslim India greatly acclaims the starting of "The Dawn" and is much grateful to Mr. Jinnah for his efforts to remove their greatest need of the hour, I pray the coming out of 'The Dawn' may prove to be the dawn of Muslim glory and splendour in India.---*Mr. S. M. Latifur Rahman, President Bihar Momin Conference.*

Freedom for All

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

My earnest hope and prayer---that it will be the dawn of a new era in India's political thought when suspicion and prejudice will be replaced by mutual trust and toleration and the desire of domination by any one section of people will give place to recognition of the right of every nationality inhabiting this Sub-Continent to rise to its full stature, shape its own destiny and have power and authority to develop itself according to its own ideals, culture, and traditions---real freedom, in free India, for all.---*Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.*

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

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DARYAGANJ, DELHI

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(in block letters)
Address ____________

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(a) for which I am remitting in advance by M. O. the amount of Rs. ________

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"DISCARD POLITICAL SHIBBOLETHS"

Ch. Khaliquzzaman's Appeal to Indians

"I have no doubt that 'The Dawn' will remove the long felt want of an organ of the League to vindicate its policy and programme. The League demand of Pakistan has yet to be carried farther and farther, with a view to give real import of the scheme and to demolish the arguments that have from time to time been advanced against it from different platforms,

"The real solution of India's problem does not lie in the statements made from time to time by British statesmen. We alone, the Hindus and the Muslims of India, can settle our differences and make a bid for a happy future by a proper understanding of each other's needs and limitations.

"Neither a free India nor a dominated India can open the doors of happiness on us so long as we are not able, to completely discard the political shibboleths picked up during our association with England of over 150 years. The British-made democracy and the British-made India are not slogans which represent the political genius of the people of India. They are in themselves landmarks of slave mentality. How ridiculous the cry for India's freedom becomes when one coolly thinks that both its political structure and its geographical limits are to be the same as those imposed by our present day rulers.

"The only argument in favour of such a political bankruptcy may be that it helps the majority community. Bul those who really love India and the East and have foresight enough to see the germs of discord and strife in these political slogans, should stand up against this narrow communal vision.

"In this short message, I can only appeal to those who claim to stand for Indian freedom to discard the imposed political philosophies and raise our own heaven with our own mortar and bricks. The boundaries of British-made India in the North and East are too closely guarded by mountains and oceans to allow the Pakistanees to run away with the Punjab or Sind to Afghanistan or Iraq. These lands shall remain where they are, albeit not under a common centre." ---*Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman.*

Printed and published for the Proprietors by Syed Shamsul Hasan at the Muslim League Printing Press, Delhi, *Editor:*---Hasan Ahmad.

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The DAWN

FOUNDER: MR. M. A. JINNAH

Under the Supervision of NAWABZADA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, Hony. Secy. All-India Muslim League.

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NEWS OF THE WEEK

THE RUSSIAN WAR

New of the Moscow front, coming from Russian sources reveal that the Germans have touched a new offensive at Volokolomsk where the situation is stated to be serious.

If the German claim of breaking through the Perkop isttmus and reaching the Crimean peninsula is true, it would mean that the Germans will be able to fight on a wider front thus making the position in this area more serious.

The Russians admit the evacuation of Kharkov. The Germans claim to have reached the upper reaches of the the Dontz on a wide front.

Another claim to have broken the main resistance of Soviet armies is made by Germany on Thursday night

GREAT PARADE AT ANKARA

Turkish President's Appeal

An urgent appeal for increased production as a means of preventing the spreading of war to Turkey was made by President Ineunu in an address to the Turkish nation on Wednesday — Republic Day—when a great parade was held at Ankara in honour of the 18th anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic.

The parade included aircraft displays, mass parchute descent, flame-throwers, smoke ejectors, mountain artillery, cavalry, horse artillery, mechanised units drawing American howitzers, British anti-aircraft guns and British anti-tank guns.

Turkish Generals Meet Hitler

It is announced that Hitler has received at his headquarters the Turkish Generals, Ali Faud and Hussein Erkilet, who are returning from a tour of inspection of the eastern front. They also visited Field Marshal Von Brauchitsch and Field Marshal Keitel.

Japanese Exodus from India

Batch Of 215 To Sail From Bombay

Most of the Japanese nationals in India are leaving for Japan early in November. This batch of about 215 consists of 90 from Bombay, 12 from Karachi, 6 from Madras and the rest from Calcutta

Mr. Okasaki, the Japanese Consul-General in Calcutta, Mr. R. Tsurumi, acting Consul in Karachi, and a few others of the diplomatic service are also sailing by the Hie Maru the N.Y.K. steamer usually plying between Japan and America, which has been specially chartered and sent here by the Japanese Government for taking Japanese nationals from India and the Middle East. This ship took a trip to Bandar Shahpur and Mombasa and is due back in Bombay with about 80 Japaness from the Middle East.

When this batch has left, there will be less than 60 or 70 Japaness left in this country. They are key men in the Japanese firms, which, it is learnt, will continue their business. The Consulates in Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi also will function as before.

Mr. Fazlul Huq Sees Viceroy

Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, had an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy at 12-30 p.m. on Wednesday.

The Bengal Premier also had talks with the Hon'ble Mr. N.R. Sarkar, Education Member, Government of India.

BENGAL MINISTERS

Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin and Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, Ministers of Bengal, met Mr. M. .A Jinnah on Wednesday afternoon and discussed the Bengal political situation before leaving for Calcutta.

The Grand Mufti

The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem has arrived at an airport in southern Italy, according to the Italian news agency.

NO MASS ACTION DURING THE WAR

Mr. Gandhi Replies To Critics

Mr. Gandhi reviewing the *satyagraha* situation in the course of a statement replies to critics who want the present struggle to be intensified and rejects their plea for mass action. The call for mass action, he adds, "will not come before the close of the war. There is neither warrant nor atmosphere for mass action."

Continuing he says: "Mass action at this stage without communal unity is an invitation to civil war. If civil war is to be our lot, it will come. But if I know the Congress mind it will never come at the wish or invitation of the Congress."

"The Parliamentary programme was given up in lots by the Congress". says Mr. Gandhi, "and the nation lost nothiug by it. Parliamentary progamme will have its definite place when we have a Parliament of our own."

JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA

The annual session of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-Hind will be held this year at Lahore on December 19 and subsequent days.

LEAGUE COUNCIL ADOPTS BOMBAY RESOLUTIONS

HEATED DEBATE OVER IRAN SITUATION

Punjab Premier Seeks President's protection

Exciting scenes were witnessed at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League that met on Monday, in the Anglo-Arabic College Hall under the presidentship of Mr. Jinnah, during discussion on a resolution on the situation in Iran, Iraq and Syria. The resolution was opposed by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, who was continuously inter-upted in the course of his speech. Mr. Jinnah, however, came to the rescue of the Punjab Premier and secured a patient hearing for him.

The Raja of Mahmudabad, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and Sir Karimbhai Ibrahim were opposed to passing any fresh resolution on Iran.

The Raja of Mahmudabad deprecated the bringing in of the question of personal views about His Majesty King Raza Shah into the discussion. He, however, agreed that although Indian Muslims had always sacrificed for the causes of Islamic countries, the Muslims in these countries had never passed even one resolution about Indian Muslims. This, however, should not prevent them from saying what they felt in the matter.

Recent events at the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League, have amply demonstrated that every Musalman has got his heart in the organisation. The trend of speeches delivered in the Council clearly show that the Muslims are whole heartedly prepared to carry out any programme that may be chalked out from time to time for reaching the goal of their ambition—Pakistan.

Sir Sikandar's speech at the Council meeting on the Muslim countries, was not in unison with the march of times, and the resentment with which it was received by the members of the Council showed which may the wind is blooming.

The speeches of the Raja of Mahmudabad and Sardar Aurangzeb Khan had a fine moralising effect. It was after them Mr. Jinnah spoke and his words went straight into the hearts of the andiencer.

Bombay Resolution.

Earlier, the meeting unanimously adopted the resolutions of the Working Committee parsed at Bombay on August 24, 25, and 26, and at Delhi this morning.

During the discussion on the Bombay resolution, Mr. Sher Ahmed Khan from the Punjab sought to move an amendment urging that the British Government should unequivocany declare that the principles had down in the Anglo-American peace aims popularly known as "Atlantic charier" should apply to all the Muslim States.

The Chair held that the Working Committee's resolutions could not be amended They could either be confirmed by the Council or rejected. He, therefore, rulled the amendmentout of order.

The Council by a majority, decided to proceeed with the election of two Joint Secretaries and elected Khan Bahadur Momin from Bengal and Mr. Mahbub Ahmed from the Punjab to be Joint Secretaries of the League for the year.

The meeting also empowered Mr. Jinnah to select the venue and fix the dates for the next annual session of the League.

The Council which met on Sunday and Monday last adopted the following resolution :--

(1) This Council of the All-India Muslim League expresses its profound sorrow at the sad and untimely death of Maulana Inayatullah Sahib of Frangi Mahal, Lucknow, a member of the League Council. He rendered very valuable services in the cause of the Muslims, both educationally and politically and served the League faithfully and his death is a great loss to the Muslim community. The Council offers its deep sympathy and condolence to the members of the bereaved family.

(2) The members of the Council from various Provinces who have ceased to be members under section 12 of the constitution be re-elected.

(3) The Resolutions of the Working Committee passed at the meetings held on August 24, 25 and 26, 1941 in Bombay and on October 26 and 27, 1941 passed at Delhi be approved.

(4) Khan Bahadur M. A. Momin of Calcutta and Mr. Mahboob Ahmed of Lahore be elected as Honorary Joint Secretaries.

(5) The President be empowered to fix the date and place for the next annual session of the All-India Muslim League.

(6) This meeting of the council of the All-India Muslim League, while endorsing the decision of the Working Committee and the steps taken by the president of the All India Muslim League in connection with the expansion of the Executive council of H. E. the Viceroy and the so called National Defence council, congratulates the Working Committee and President on their decision and proper steps taken in the matter, and severely condemns the action of Hon'ble Dr. Sir Syed Sultan Ahmad and Begum Shah Nawaz, in refusing to accept the manate of the Working Committee and insisting—remain on the said councils in flagarant disregard of the wishes of the Musalmans.

This council further declares that the Musalmans taken in the expanded council of H. E. the Viceroy and the so-callled National Defence Council are in no way represent the interests of Mussalmans.

This council further condemns the attitude of the Government in this connection which is only to create a rift in the ranks of the Mussalmans.

(7) A committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to chalk out a detailed scheme for collecting systematically *zakat*, *fitra* and skins of *qurbani* and using them for the promotion of Muslim interests according to *shariat* and place the scheme before thd Council of the League as early as possible for consideration:

(1) Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang; (2) Maulana Mohd. Akram Khan; (3) Mr. Hussain Shahid Suhrawardi; (4) Maulana Qutbuddin Abdul Wali of FringiMahal; (5) Maulana Abdul Hamid, Badauni; (6) Maulana Hussain Mian of Phulwari Sharif (mover); (7)Maulana Hakim Abdur Rauf Danapuri; (8) Mirza Abul Hasan Ispahani of Calcutta; (9) Maulana Syed Ibne Hasan; (10) Maulvi Badruddin Ahmad of Bihar; (11) Haji Abdul Kadir of Aligarh; and (12) Maulana Zafar Ali Khan.

(8) This meeting of the Council deeply deplores the serious riots at Amraoti in C. P. and Mellore in Madras Presidency which clearly indicate that they were not merely the outcome of sudden communal outbursts but were the result of calculated design to undermine the morale of the Muslims in areas where they are in a microscopic minority. In view of these riots and several others in other provinces, the Council urges upon the Government to devise forthwith strong measures to check the growing tendencies of lawlessness and terrorism of the Hindu majority and to afford effective protection to the Muslim minorities in the provinces.

Among those who attended the Council of the All India Muslim League, besides the members of the Working Committee, were Al-Haj Maulana Karam Ali, Dr. Sir Ziauddin, Mr. M.A. Ispahani, Maulana Jamal. Mian Mr. Chandrigar, Mr. M. A. Maniar, Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, S. Murtuza Bahadur Begum Wasim, Begum Aizaz Rasul, Begum Rahman, Nawab Shamasul Hasan, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, Miss Fatima Jinnah, Hon. H. S. Suhrawardi and Nawab of Daccca.

THE following is the full text of Mr. Jinnah's statement:

"As we have decided not to take part in the discussion, not only of this motion which is immediately before the House but we have decided to withdraw from this House during the present Autumn session as a mark of protest, because we strongly resent and disapprove of the decision of the Government in regard to the manner in which the Executive Council have been expanded and the National Defence Council has been constituted, and the way in which this has been carried out, I think we owe a duty to the House and to those whom we represent that we should make our statement and give shortly our reasons why we have adopted this course of registering our protest. I assure you, Sir, and I assure the House that I shall avoid, as far as it is possible to do so, entering into any controversial matters on this question and I shall briefly state our position."

Sad Story

"It is a sad and painful story. In the first instance, as far back as November 1939, after the war had broken out, a proposal came from Viceroy. That proposal was that Government were prepared to meet the major parties, at any rate, as far as possible, by the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council. And I was very glad that they made that proposal.

"So far as the Muslim League is concerned we have made it quite clear from the very beginning that apart from the major issues, we were ready and willing to render every possible assitance in the prosecution of the war. To put it in the language of the Resolution which we passed when rejecting the proposal, this is what we said:

Muslim League Walk-Out

CENTRAL ASSEMBLY MEETS.

"Revise your Policy", Says Mr. Jinnah.

Proof of the growing deterioration in the country's politics was witnessed on the first day (Monday) of the Central Assembly session. In contrast to the congestion on the Treasury Benches as a result of the "expansion" was the conspicuous absence of non-official members of the House.

The Muslim League party walked out of the Central Assembly on Tuesday morning after Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the party's leader had made a statement declaring that they were doing so in order to register their protest against the way in which the Muslim offer of co-operation in the war effort had been completely ignored by the Government.

'Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing as far back as November last (that is 1939) to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjust ment in the provincial field which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed in the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and the existing law.'

"The parties and organisations were not willing to accept this and the matter went on.

August 1940.

"Then, came the announcement of the 8th of August 1940. In spirit and almost in letter that announcement was in principle exactly what we urged in the Resolution of the All-India Muslim League Committee in June 1940, but it came on the 8th of August 1940. We were glad and we welcomed the thing to this extent that the principle was accepted, namely, a genuine and real share in the authority of the Government. But when that principle came to be translated, the only thing that was offered by the Government, without telling us what the total number was going to be, without telling us who the other parties were, without telling us anything about any other matter, was that the number of our representatives will be two. That did not show, to begin with a real and gunuine spirit or desire on the part of the Government to treat us as co-sharers not only in the authority of the Government but co-sharer in the danger which we were willing to face to the utmost. Therefore, it was not possible for us to accept that position and we rejected it. I venture to say that no decent organisation, no decent self-respecting party could possibly have accepted that offer.

"That was finished in September 1940. After that the Government remained asleep and the Government and the people all the time were misrepresenting us that we were non-co-operating and were putting difficulties in the way. All sorts of allegations were made against us. Not only that, but sometimes arguments were also used.

Danger.

"Now, I have always admitted and there is not the slightest doubt about it, and we do realise, that there is a grave danger and menace to India. We have repeatedly said in our Resolutions, as far back as June 1940, that the efforts that you were making and the schemes that were suggested by the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief were not sufficient. You must increase and intensify your war efforts. Our Resolutions are on the record but, as I said, the Government went to sleep and nothing was heard.

"All that we were told was that we were in danger and we were told what would happen to us. We were told what would happen to us if Hitler came here. I quite agree that if England is broken or beaten there will be a terrible chaos in this country. But while you say this and threaten us with the consequences, can't you say what will happen to you? Why can't you say what will happen to us all? The spirit in which the criticism is offered is this: *We are all right but what will happen to you; You won't be here to talk about your independence and liberty and things of that sort?* On the other hand I want you to enter into this spirit: *What will happen to you and me both?* Do you really want our whole-hearted and full assistance?

Objectionable.

"Then came this decision which was announced on the

(Continued on page 11)

ECHOES FROM BENGAL

BY ORPHEUS

The political atmosphere of Muslim Bengal is clearing up. The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq's letter to the League Secretary was threatening a major political crisis which was being enthusiastically fomented by the anti-Muslim forces and organs in Bengal. Now that the crisis is yielding to peaceful solution, the so-called nationalist Press have started singing a different tune. Mr. Huq is no longer *persona grata* with them. He is once again being pictured not as a nationalist hero but a communalist monster and a reactionary. This change over-night is significant. The game of these communalists in the garb of nationalists has always been to create dissensions and difficulties in the path of Muslim solidarity. This sinister game now stands exposed once again. These " self-deluded fools", to quote Mr. Huq's own estimate of them, undoubtedly deserve pity.

* * *

'Out of evil cometh good!, The recent crisis has reveled the extent of League-mindedness in Bengal. The Muslim League has filtered down to the very depths of Muslim Bengal. The League and all that it stands for have been the burden of enthusiastic discussions throughout the length and breadth of this province. The interest displayed for strength and welfare of the League has been marvellous. The League has undoubtedly strirred the teeming millions of Muslim Bengal to the very core of their hearts. The League has emerged out of the crisis with added strength. After all, an organization like the League, representing as it does the ten crores of Muslims in India, has to derive its strength and importance from the masses. The message of the League has to reach them, through thick and thin, so that it makes them think, move and discuss. The recent crisis has served this end to a very great extent.

* * *

The response in support of the League and Muslim solidarity which the former typefies, from all over Muslim Bengal, has been most remarkable. The crisis can be safely described as a blessing in disguise. The opponents of the League might profit by the experience. But perhaps it is too much to expect this from the Machiavelli's of India. They are out to create disruptions in the ranks of the Muslims. But their game is bound to stand frustrated. The more they will vilify the League and the Qaid-i-Azam, the strongerwill the League be. The League derives its strength from the justice of its cause and from the teachings and tenents of Islam. Justice must triumph in the long run, for the holy Quran – the Word of Allah —rings out: "Truth must triumph and falsehood vanish eth." The word of God cannot prove untrue.

* * *

It is time the authorities of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League should take up the work of completing the League organization in Bengal in right earnest. The iron is hot now and it must be struck into the desired mould. The field is ready. The heart of Muslim Bengal is quickening, as it has never done before. No more time must be wasted The all-important task of completing the League organization in Bengal cannot brook delay. The feeling in the country is that the task has already been left undone far too long. League-workers are getting restless. The League leaders must move with the times and get to business or they are sure to be taken to task in the long run. The League has come to stay, and the caravan of the League will pass on irssespective of personalities.

The organs of Muslim public opinion in Bengal, happily, are of one mind regarding the League ideals. They have done their best to prepare the ground. They are determined to do so still further. The recent crisis has electrified the atmosphere The "DAWN" as the organ voice of the League has also appeared on the horizon at the right moment, The "DAWN" undoubtedly betokens the streak of new light out of the darkness and despair of the passing night. Muslim India is thrilled at the dawn of Pakistan, the ideal worth striving for and even dying for, and devoutly wishes for the consumation of the soul-stirring ideal, It is not mere wishful thinking Nay, it is a stern reality. Go to the remotest corner of the country, and you will be enthralled to see how things are moving and shaping themselves out of spontaneous love and regard enthusiasm for the new ideals and newer angle of vision. This is truth and nothing but the truth,

* * *

The assurance of the *Quaid-i-Azam* to develop the weekly "DAWN" into a "first class daily" at no distant date is to be heartly welcome, The message will unndoubtedly find enthusiastic response from all over Muslim India, The name is very significant indeed, Dawn is the harbinger of new light and newer bustle of life, Let us hope the "Dawn" will really prove to be the dawn of Pakistan and all that the Muslim Leage stands for,

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A. I. Muslim Students Federation.

Nagpur is buzzing with activities connected with forthcoming Annual Session of the A-I. Muslim Student Fedration, to be held there on December 25, 26 and 27 next under the presidentship of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah.

Recently a special deputation consisting of Mr. Mohammed Noman, Deputy President, All-India Muslim Students Federation, Nawab Siddique Ali Khan M.L.A. (Central), and three office bearers of the Reception Committee, undertook an extensive tour of the North Eastern Part of the Central Provinces. The deputation visited Bina, Katni Saugor, Jubbalpore, Bilaspur, Raipur and Gonda, where it received very encouraging response from the Muslim Students.

A Pandal Sub-Committee consisting of enthusiastic workers, is at present busy making necessary arrangements for erecting a beautiful and spacious pandal for this Conference of the Muslim Youths of India.

LETTERS

Welcome

Sir—Permit me to offer a most hearty welcome to our new weekly, "The Dawn," at this hour of peril when the Indian Musalman is greatly perturbed by darkness within and darkness around. Never were a people so grossly misunderstood or so ruthlessly exploited as the Mussalmans. Let us hope and trust that. The Dawn of Delhi will herald a new chapter in the life of Islam in India, dispelling the forces of darkness within and around and thereby facilitating the fruition of a free Islam in a free India.—

Calcutta. Yours etc.,
Muzharey Towheed.

Musalman know thy God

Sir---A variety of political and economic programmes have been put forward to improve the lot of the Musalmans in India. What we need is essentially a correct Islam-consciovs public opinion amongst the Muslims to build a stately and lasting edifice of Muslim society on.

I would suggest for consideration to those who have the will and the means to do it that they should first form small units under their control and instil the spirit of the Quran in the Mussalmans who form the unit. For this purpose my suggestion is that small colonies should be formed in which able-bodied but poor Muslims should be employed to work on agricultural, dairy or poultry farms. Each colony should be situated near a big city so that easy market could be found for its produce, thus enabling it to become self-supporting. The management of the colony should take genuine interest to better the lot of its inmates on Islamic principles. The management of the colony should take keen interest in and exercise necessary cantrol over the lives of the inmates It will only thus be possible to impart practical Islamic training to the masses---the conception of the Unity of *Allah*, the *Namaz*, the *Rozah*, the *Zakat* the *Haj* and the *Jehad*. The inmates of the colony should be made to understand why the Creator created them and how they should best justify their existence as His devoted servants. It should further be brought home to them what the fear of the Almighty really means, and how a genuine feeling of the fear of the Supreme will enable a believer to stear clear of the whirlpools of temptation, selfishness and other worldly weakness.

The one note of warning I would like to sound in this connection is that the scheme should only be taken up by those who understand Islam and know the value of money, having earned it themselves, and can see that good use is made of the same.

I would appeal to my brothren to give earnest consideration to my humble suggestion. The only beginning that can be madeto make the Indian Mussalman grasp the true spirit of Islam is to organise groups of Mussalmans into self-supporting units, entrusting them each to the complete care of a God-fearing, conscientious Mussalman who should instruct them in the ways of Islam, as indicated in the *Quran*. once a number of Mussalmans are so trained, it will not be difficult then to lead the entire nation under any scheme to the desired object of prosperity---

Lucknow. Yours etc.,
Mubarak Husain,

(And what about the classes?---Editor)

Press, Film & Fiction

Sir---As a nation we the Muslims of India must have our own press, films and fiction. Freedom is never possible without the uplift of the masses, and this can only be achieved through the press, films and fiction. It is through the columns of newspapers or on the screen or stage or through the pages of the literature of the day that politicians and patriots have their ideas conveyed to the public.

The success of the Congress is due to these three means. The Congress has combined all these three forces to exterminate the Islamic culture, the Muslim fivilisation and even the Muslims themselves. They have monopolised the press and the screen and their intelligentsia have applied themselves to produce literature that will, to coin a new word, congressise the people.

The object of a newspaper is to train public opinion in the political views and aims of the party it represents. Thus it creates a political atmosphere saturated with the ideas of that group only. This sort of atmosphere more often than not proves miasmatic to others and it is impossible to live unpoisoned in miasmatic surroundings. Take at random any example in India and see how dexterously the press side-tracks the views of the opposite party. I appeal to the readers in the name of justice to judge for themselves. It is evident, therefore, that the press has enormous power because it has a great hold in influencing the public socially, economically, religiously, politically and so on.

Another powerful and effective agency is the screen which acts as a chief medium of communication between the masses and the leaders. Films have caused something like a revolution in the social life. They contribute to the knowledge of the public, whether educated or uneducated. The importance of a film lies in the fact that it saves the trouble of reading, is open to all and, being romantic, is more appealing to the senses. Moreover the impression of films is deeper and lasting than that of news papers. This recreation carries with it the latent force that has got sufficient buoyancy to be active enough to achieve national glory.

Last but not the least comes Fiction, which plays no less an important part in the life of a nation,

It is high time now for us to realise how badly we require a press to express ourselves and to declare what we want. One finds a little solace in the fact that the Qaid-a-Azam is endeavouring to establish a press of our own and has already founded a weekly English Journal, The Dawn, at Delhi. But it is painful to know that three lakhs of Muslims of Bombay have failed totally to give the necessary response to the appeal of our Qaid-e-Azam in this regard. Once the Muslims as a united nation rise to the occasion with the firm determination and absolute faith in the Almighty *Allah*, who gave them successive victories right from the 'Jang-e-Badar' to the 'Jang-e-Salib, success is sure to attend their endeavours, as in the past---

Bombay. Yours etc.,
Syed Sharifuddin Peerzada,

Pakisthan Conference

Sir---The recent Pakistan Conference held at Calcutta was a great success. The services for our brothers of the U.P. and other parts of India in that connection cannot be over estimated. It is, therefore, necessary that the scope of the movement be carefully realised and given effect to. It is well that the student community in Bengal has taken up the movement for doing the needful. Indeed, this movement is something other than what it would appear to a stranger. It is neither a political compromise nor a political bluff. It is a call from within. In its subjectivism it is a movement for self-purification, self-correction and self-development after self-examination. In its objectivism it contemplates a topographical boundary wherein it seeks to strive after the establishment of truth in place of untruth, of peace in place of war, and where things are seen at their real value and not at their face value. It possesses, therefore a nobility, a grandeur of its own which ought to command respect. The scheme, is undoubtedly an honest scheme and represents the latest phase in the development of the national will and of the political consciousness of the Mussalmans of India. There is, therefore, no place for hate or ill will against any community in the scheme--

Calcutta. Yours etc.,
Muzharey Towheed,

RATES

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The Dawn

DELHI

Sunday, November 2, 1941

Boycott of Legislature

THE Boycott of the Central Legislatures is the only answer Muslim India could give through its representative organisation, the Muslim League, to the British Government in India for ignoring its offer of co-operation in the war efforts and for going about the business of expanding the Viceroy's Executive Council and the setting up of the National defence council in a manner calculated to effect a rift in Muslim ranks. The Muslim League party, therefore, walked out of the Central Assembly on Tuesday morning after Mr. Jinnah had made a statement declaring that they were doing so in order to register their protest against the way in which the Muslim offer of co-operation in the war effort had been completely ignored by the Government. And as Mr. Jinnah pointed out, it was the Government and the Government alone that was responsible for driving the Muslim League to take up that attitude, and "one cannot come to any other conclusion than that they do not really honestly want our assistance."

The Muslim League was willing as far back as November 1939, "without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues latter on, to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed in the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and the existing law." Then came the Government announcement of August 8, 1940 which was in principle exactly what the League had urged a couple of months earlier, in June 1940. But when that principle—namely, a genuine and real share in the authority of the Government came to be translated, the only thing that was offered by the Government, "without telling us what the total number was going to be, without telling us who the other parties were, without telling us anything about any other matter, was that the number of our representatives will be two." That did not show a genuine desire on the part of the Government to treat the Muslim nation as co-sharers not only in the authority of the Government but co-sharers in the danger which they were willing to face to the utmost. No self-respecting nation could possibly have accepted that position, which was, therefore, rejected. The Government, thereafter, slept over the matter till recently when the extension of the Executive Council and the setting up of the Defence Council was announced, ignoring the Muslim League which never put any difficulties in the Government's way. This decision was forced upon the Muslim Nation in India in spite of its opposition and contrary to the advice of its authoritative and representative organisation, the All-India Muslim League.

The protest that the League has entered will, it is hoped, "open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf" and serve to expose the claim of the Government to have found an interim solution of the Indian problem. Having been repudiated both by the Hindus and the Muslims the scheme—mere multiplication of portfolios at the expense of the the tax-payer and the farce of the Defence Council, staged to mislead public opinion aboard into believing that effective steps were being taken to associate representative Indians in the prosecution of the War—is not going to be helpful to any party concerned. Will the Government, even now, "have the wisdom and statesmanship" of revising this scheme before it is too late?

NOTES

Price Cntrol

Since the outbreak of the present war India, like other countries of the world, is face to face with the serious problem of rise in prices of all commodities. Hitherto, price control has proved ineffective, and profiteering is going on unchecked with impunity. It is understood that the Central Government have delegated powers to Provincial Governments to control prices in respect of certain commodities but neither the former nor the latter have, so far, done anything really effective to relieve the distress of the consumer. While the Government here are letting things drift, the Australian Government have tackled rhe problem successfully in their country. The cost of living there, including rent, clothing and miscellaneous items has not been allowed to rise above 8-6%, as compared with over 30% rise in the corresponding period of the last Great War; the prices of food-stuff and grocery have risen only 3% against 40% and wholesale prices by 15% against 50%. The Government of India should take a lesson from the Commonwealth which has been able to overcome the administrative difficulties which are generally put forward in this country as an excuse by the authorities for their inability to do anything in the matter. Recently a Price Control Conference was held at New Delhi under the auspices of the Government of India. Their deliberations did not produce any tangible results. As on previous occasions, they met, discussed and and dispursed after holding academic discussions, without bringing relief to the suffering masses. It is a matter of common knowledge that speculation is largely responsible for the rise in prices. Is it, then too much to expect that the Government of India will, even now, take steps to control it?

Harping on Differences

Eulogising her war effort and the bravery of her soldiers in Egypt, Abbysinia and the middle East, Mr. Amery in his recent speech again refers to the differences between the various elements of the population of British-made India. Like other British politicians he keeps on harping on differences instead of facing facts and helping to find a solution. The differences, as is well known, relate to the distribution of power between the different nations inhabiting this sub-continent. The Muslims want to have sovereignty in the zones where they form the majority. The Hindus, on the other hand, wish to step into the shoes of the British Government in India, to the exclusion of other rightful claimants, and hence their insistence on having a Central Government for the whole of British-made India through which to usurp all power and paralyse the Muslim majority in the North and the East. It is unfortunate that those in power, instead of honestly acceding to the modest Muslim demands and discouraging the avaricious claims of the other party, seem to take malicious delight in keeping those differences dangling before the peoples, using the same as an excuse to perpetuate British Rule in the Indian sub-continent. All assertions of Mr. Amery and other British statesmen for the right of self. determination of nations sound hollow without recognition of the same principle with regard to the Muslim nation in India.

Special Article.

ISLAM

(Reproduced from "World Review")

The problems of contemporary Islam are closely interwoven with the strategy and outcome of the war. The relations of the Muslim world both with Britain and Germany are investigated here in past, present and future by Dr. Edgar Stern-Rubarth, who had first-hand personal contact with these most topical questions.

TO bring about a close alliance of the Crescent and the Cross, or specifically of the Green Flag of the Prophet and the Union Jack, is not a recent endeavour, though it was first formulated in Britain by Disraeli in the *Tancred or the New Crusader*. And as the Moslem problem became a secular instead of a religious one, both the chances and obstacles of such a close co-operation as 'Dizzy' visualised became more numerous and actual.

Britain, France, Russia, Australia, Italy---all benefited by the partial dissolution of the Turkish Empire. Germany was the only first-rank European power which went empty-handed. Moltke, military founder of the First Reich who, in his young days had taken part in the reorganisation of Turkey and William II 'Protector of Islam' and friend of the cunning, cruel tyrant Abdul Hamid II, tried to remedy this. They failed because they forced Turkey during the last war into active participation and thereby drove the Arabs and the Allies into each other's arms.

Germany's defeat in the Near East was sealed, not so much by Colonel Lawrence's persuasion and leadership, or Britain's gold and arms, as by the blunder of the Young Turks in joining the Central Powers. The great chance for the realisation of Disraeli's dream, the dream of a British Oriental Empire with Delhi as its capital, and the Arab countries of the New and Middle East as pillars of this world-wide realm, seemed almost tangible.

The difficulties and pitfalls of the Near East in the present war were caused by the mistakes which the Allies committed twenty-odd years ago. Conflicting promises on the issue of Palestine to Arabs and Jews, the prevention of the resurrection of a real Arab State or at least an independent federation, the unsatisfactory treatment of Ibn Saud, were all links in a chain of misdirected policy. Yet in the last twenty years Turkey, Persia, Egypt and Afghanistan have all drawn together---basing on a religous community political and economic sympathies and cooperation.

But even so, the Arab world is still closer to Britain and her Allies than to the Fifth Columnists of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

Berlin-Baghdad Axis

History repeats itself. Yet, perhaps, it is only the second act of the same great drama that started over a quarter-century ago, and continues to engulf us to-day. Then, as now, the Near East was one of the most important, if not palpably the most decisive, scenes of the tragedy; then, as now, German ambitions and British vital interests clashed along the Biblical rivers of Mesopotamia, the old trade routes between East and West, and around the Suez Canal. I was a young German officer in those days; and a daring scheme for a stroke upon the Canal, even before Turkey had been persuaded to join the Central Powers, had brought me an appointment as A.D.C. of the German General Staff's Expedition to Iraq and Iran. My appointment was also explained by the close relations I had with certain Constantinople circles, Disguised as a circus director with the remnants of his troupe—which consisted in truth of French prisoners of Moslem faith who had deserted the Allied cause —I arrived in Constantinople after an eventful journey through pro-Allied Rumania. It was on the eve of the declaration of the *Jihad*, the 'Holy War', and I helped to make it a scene of enthusiasm I saw Enver, Talaat, Halil and other leading Young Turks at work; and a little later, with my commander and a handful of comrades, travelled along the road which had seen Alexander and the Crusaders.

In Kerbela, the holy city of the Shites, where religious fanaticism had never before tolerated Unbelievers, I was, as a newly-commissioned officer of the Sultan-Caliph, a guest of the *mujitehids*, the council of 'Cardinals', lawgivers for seventy million Shiites in Persia, Southern Iraq, India and Yemen After difficult negotiations (and not without plunging into the huge chests of gold coins I had received for 'campaign funds') I obtained from them a cleverly worded *'fethwa'*. This was a call to arms, its wording derived from one of the Koran's Suras, sealed with the five Mujtehids' *'mochrs'*, and penned on parchment in beautiful Cufic letters. This was implemented by a letter to the Shah of Persia, impressing upon him the obligation to join Turkey and the Central Powers. We were very proud of that diplomatic success, of loyalty by some of the most important sheikh of Bedouin and Persian tribes, although as a rule they cost us heavy 'subsidies' both in gold and in armaments —though the latter we could only promise. But they seriously upset the Turkish authorities, who dislikedGerman interference with their already unruly Arabian subjects. Not that our diplomacy had much concrete result. Wherever there was real fighting (as in the gory three-days battle at Schwaiba-Zobeir, on 12th to 14th April 1915, when a Turkish Army tried to recapture Basra after a daring hundred-mile march through a waterless desert) most of the Arab tribesmen scattered after the first few enemy shells had fallen. Their loyalty wavered according to the fortune of war, as by that time their independence, the resurrection of an Arab empire, was already the leading motive of all their actions.

Hitler's emissaries and Fifth Columnists, the Grobbas, Hentigs, Rosers, Kerstens, Homanns, trying to play to-day subversively a role we had played with official sanction and within the boundaries of an allied Turkey, are up against the same problem, Whatever bribes they may have given or offered, whatever dazzling promises of a free and united world of Islam may have been made by these Nazi specialists, they are up against the same hard fact that even seemingly illiterate and medieval Orientals know quite well on which side their bread is buttered. Had the solution of 1918 been less of a compromise and more sweeping, they would have hardly found even the rabble and the professional cut-throats prepared to join the Swastika flag. As things stand, they were able to harp upon but one grievance that pervaded for years both thought and action of the Arab world, that is rankling with a tenacity and painfulness far above its material importance: the unsolved Palestine question. The dilemma was created firstly by Sir Henry Mac-Mahon's promise to Sherif Hussein of Mecca in the course of their negotiations in 1915-16 of independence for the Arab world, and secondly by the Balfour Declaration of 2nd November 1917, guaranteeing Britain's 'best endeavours' for 'the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people'.

There is more, of course, in the apparent contradiction of these promises than meets the eye. There was a reservation in the promise to the Arabs concerning 'certain areas in the West'—meant to exclude Palestine, but not expressly saying so. In the promise to the Jews there was an obligation of British insistence upon the creation of a national home—whatever that may mean—in Palestine, but not upon the transformation of Palestine into a Jewish state at the expense of the Arabs, helped by immigration to create a Jewish majority. Neither pledge mentioned the partition of the Arbian lands into

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a number of British or French mandates, into pygmy states potential rivals with each other and dependant for their very existence upon their European protectors. The United independent, resurrected Arb Empire still hangs as a Fata Morgana, over the horizen and the desert dweller's keen eyes are watching for it. He is not anxious to exchange one foreign 'paramount power' for another.

Had Malcolm MacDonald's White Paper of May 1939 been carried into effect, it would have meant appointing quolifed Arabs and Jews to public office, in a proportion of two to one, while confining the influx of Jews permanently to the same proportion within Palestine's population. The White Paper provided for full independence, within ten years, limited only by certain treaty obligations to Britain. Political considerations, the fanatical resistence of Zionsim, the small but active nationalist minority within the Jewish world, have so far prevented the full realisation of the 1939 plan. It might have formed—and may yet form—the basis of a wise and useful settlement which even Zionists could not refuse, provided it was coupled with a British and perhaps American endavour to find a really independent national home. This should be large enough to absorb the Jewish millions from Germony, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and all the other countries whence Nazi fury drove them, tortured, despoiled and hopeless, into exile Meanwhile sincere or Nazi-in-fluenced Arab fanatics like Hadj Amin el Husseini, the brainy ex-mufti of Jerusalem, Palestine's 'Stormy Petrel,' the Syrian adventurer Fawzi Kaukji, Iraq's ambitious 'Fuhrer' Sejid Rahid Ali el Gailani, turned that default to good account for their own dark ends. These political adventurers managed for some time to stem and pervert an otherwise predominant leaning towards Britain and democracy. The conflict runs right through the heart of the Arab and even the whole Islamic world finding its echo in every single Arab heart.

ISLAM *(Contd.)*

Twenty-five years ago, when I myself fought on the other side, I watched that conflict in a different form. Even then the Arabs hated the Prussian spirit, that original predecessor of Nazism, and their Turkish masters hated it scarcely less violently. They felt despised. They were treated as 'natives' by smart Potsdam guardsmen, took their gold and gave them promises; but only a few of their leaders—young Ajemi Pasha, Sheikh of the Muntefiq, Homedi and Beds Bey, the Sheikhs of the mighty Shammar tribe (the last-named having honoured me with making me his 'blood-brother')—failed to change sides when the fortune of war turned against the Turks. They were, without exceptions, not just 'greedy, treacherous niggers'---as some of the precursors of Nazidom in those days liked to described them—but Arab patriots. Their memories of the great days of the Caliphs of Baghdad and Damascus were perhaps somewhat faded and legendary; their notion of a pan-Islamic, or at least, pan-Arab Empire — modelled on the one which in the seventh and eight centuries had been the torch-bearer of the Mediterranean world was uncertain, semi-religious, semi-political. This conception was in fact vaguely Messianic, excepting the reappearance of Mohammed Abu'l Kassim, the 12th Imam of the Shiites, who was supposed to have survived in concealment for more than a thousand years. But even so their attitude towards the claims made upon them by Turks and 'Franks' alike was determined solely by Arab desire for unity and independence.

Dream-Empire of Arabs.

Who are the potential members of that dream-Empire of the Arabs? The answer differs according to whether a political or a racial point of view is adopted .The latter admits the the existence of only 17 million Arabs living to-day in Iraq (3·6 million), Palestine (1 mill.), Transjordania (0·3 mill.), Syria-Eebunon (3·6 mill.), Saudi-Arabia (4·5 mill.), Yamen (3·5 mill) and Oman (0·5 mill.). Yet in a wider sense Egypt (1·6 mill.), Libya (0·8 mill.), Tunisia (2·7 mill.) Algeria (6·5 mill.), French Morocco (6·4 mill.) and Spanish Morocco, including Tangier (0·9 mill.), belong to the same one-time Arabian lands and bring the total up to 50 mill. These figures, by the way, exclude the European population. The religious community of Islam embraced in its heyday Iran and Afghanistan, parts of India, the present-day Southern Siberia and North-Eastern China, Sicily and most of Spain and Portugal. But pan-Islamism was disrupted more than five centuries ago when Persian and Turkish nationalism entered the scene, and sectarianism unintentionally helped to weaken it. Thus the nucleus of a unified or federated Arab realm lies right across the highroads of the Empire.

That was why, during the last was, though at first with inadequate means, Germany pushed into the lands of Eden. That was the reason why our little group was sent on such adventurous errands. That is why I myself with our commander an old hand in Oriental warfare, and a few more comrades, played Lawrence's game among the tribes and their priests, did staff work in the Iraq Army as a side-line, organised transport and repair shops, river defences by primitive mines and barrages, tried to find badly-needed coal just badly-needed camels, among the reluctant tribes. That was why I had to carry on negotiations with tall, dark Bedouins who had ridden for weeks on their fast, slender Hehjihm camels from Er-Riad stronghold of Emir Ibn Rashid, Ibn Saud's fiercest adversary, or with Emir Hussein's nephew and special envoy from Mecca who wanted to learn about the prospects offered by the Emperor of 'Nemsaui' (Germany) before committing himself, a year latter, to T. E. Lawrence and his stronger arguments on behalf of the British Empire.

Changing scene in Arabia.

It was all very colourful and romantic; it created a deep nostalgia for the countries of the Sun and the desert spaces in one's soul. But already in those distant days it taught one the great truth that Kipling's famous saying about the East and the West has become an empty tag; that indeed, 'the twin have met.' The results were manifold. Horse and camel were displaced by motor-car and plane. In consequence the romantic nomads were settled down—much against their will—the old and hallowed, if sometimes cruel and harsh customs yielded to enforced laws and an efficient police; the ugly trestles of the oil wells alternated now with the slender silhouette of palmtrees. Instead of its holy, if often somewhat unruly rivers, the pipe-line become the life-dispenser of the country. These results may be unpleasant from an esthetical point of view. But they have fundamentally altered all the problems of the East--and thereby our own 'Oriental problem'. It is no longer an essential question who is to be the Caliph of the true Believer, or whether there is a Caliph at all; whether some part of the Near East or some individual believes in Abu Bekr's and Omar's, or in Ali's rightful succession as heir to the Prophet. As one of the most eminent and qualified representatives of the Arab world recently pointed out to me, it is 'only a tradition, under the guardianship of a Caliph, who would have to be appointed by a *Sharia*, a religious council, at some suitable future time'. How unessential the formerly predominant theologicrl motive were rendered by the realistic political considerations of to-day could be gathered from the fact that, some four years ago, one of the Shiite Mujtehids of Kerbela made the pilgrimage to Mecca and was received by the puritan King Ibn Saud as an honoured guest. At the invitation of Hadj Amin, the former Mufti, a shiite priest led the the prayers of Imam for the Sunnite community of

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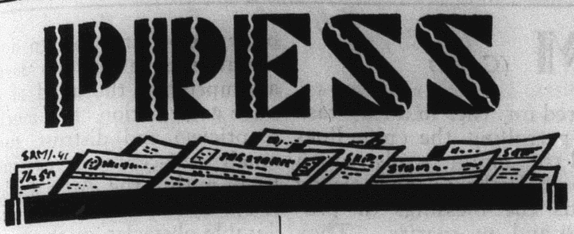

Another Non-Muslim Monopoly.

The cry is still they come There are persistent rumours to the effect that Mr. Jossleyn Hennessy, Principal Information Officer, Government of India, is going to Washington as Press Attache in Sir G. S. Bajpai's office and that Mr. Hennessy's place as head of the Bureau of Public Information will be taken over by Mr. Natarajan, Assistant Information Officer. The vacancy created by the promotion of Mr. Natarajan, it is further stated, will be filled by another Hindu publicist already in the employ of the department, while a third Hindu journalist, who won a bad eminence in the Punjab for his anti-Muslim ravings in the local Anglo-Indian daily, has only recently been appointed on a fat salary in the Bureau.

Far be it from us to grudge these gentlemen their good fortune. Bur the question arises, is the department to remain a non-Muslim preserve? The Public Information portfolio is now under the charge of Sir Akbar Hydari, but it is undeniable that with one exception all the highly paid posts in the Bureau of Public Information are held either by Europeans or Hindus. Will not the new member of the Viceroy's Executive Council see to it that he is not treated as a mere figurehead and that qualified Muslims get their due share in all the departments under his control?—*Eastern Times.*

Ring Down the Curtain.

The expected has happened and the Muslim League party in the Central Legislature has decided to boycott the present session .... The object is to dispel the false halo put on the recent device of the Secretary of State as the interim solution of the Indian problem. The withdrawal of the non official Muslims from the Central Legislature is a demonstration of the fact that they are not prepared to regard the recent decisions without protest, and that they are not behind hand in registering their resentment. The stupid gibe that the Muslim League is playing second fiddle to 'British Imperialism" stands refuted by independent action. The entry of eight Indians as Executive Councillors with disjointed portfolios would be a measly unilateral function, and the situation correctly viewed ought to provoke thought in minds not warped by considerations of prestige and prejudice. The Expansion-cum-Defence Council scheme is not a remedy for the situation, and we hope that the rump-House now left of the Legislature would in the intervals of mutual admiration pause to think of the significance of the gulf that divides the people from the Government. Ring down the curtain, the farce is nothing worth.—*Star of India.*

Turkey's Day.

Now almost the only neutral who has stood up successfully against intense Nazi pressure. Turkey has just celebrated her National Day. Appropriately, M. Saydam warned the country that they were still in danger, a fact which is underlined by Germany's desperate attempts to get at the neighbouring Caucasus.

In several ways, however, Turkey's position has improved during the past year. The Nazis and Fifth Columnists who threatened her rear from Syria, Iraq and Iran have been removed and contact with her British allies has been re-established. On the other hand, the German horde has reached Turkey's western frontier, though this seems to have had no affect on her resolution against being stampeded by the Axis. Germany's recent failure to obtain chrome from her is a case in point.

M. Saydam has one of the world's most unenviable jobs in guiding his country through the present crisis and with the storm at full blast nearby in Russia, there can be little wonder that he laid emphasis on the growing strength of the Turkish Army.—*Times of India.*

Mr. Fazlul Huq asked to Express Regret

League Working Committee Meets

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League met at Delhi on Sunday and Monday last, and adopted the following resolutions:-

(1) A committee consisting of Mr. M.A. Jinnah, Nawsbzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Mr. G.M. Syed and Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan be appointed to decide upon such action by the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature as may be considered proper, to show the resentments nd disapproval of Muslim India against the manner in which the expansion of the Governor General's Executive Council was undertaken and carried out and the National Defence Council constituted, and the action and attitude of the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government in this connection, in consulation with the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature.

(2) The Working Committee considered the letter dated the 8th of September 1941, addressed to the Secretary, All-India Muslim League by the Hon'ble Mr, Fazlul Haq, tendering his resignation from the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, and also the letter of Mr. Fazlul Haq addressed to the Secretary, dated 27th October 1941, received to-day in which he says "I feel that the matter relating to my letter addressed to you (Secretary of the All-India Muslim League) should be disposed of in my absence. My presence at the discussion may put some members of the League in an awkward position, but at any rate I would be put in an awkward position myself if I were to be present at the criticism that will be made when the letter comes up for discussion. I shall be grateful if you kindly convey to the President my regret that I will not be able to attend the meeting."

The Working committee consider that the following allegations contained in Mr. Fazlul Haq's letter of the 8th of September, addressed to the Secretary, are untrue and offensive and have cast serious aspersions on the President and the Working Committee and the Council

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ISLAM *(Contd)*

Jerusalam three years earlier. Ataturk's secularised Turkey and the reformist trends of a hardly less modern Shah of Iran set the pace; if the Arabs seem to lag behind, it is merely because they have not yet found the key for unity and free development

There is, broadly speaking no feeling of enmity towards the Jews, nor is there resentment against Britain, even though such a keen observer as Freya Stark wrote as long as ten years ago: 'It was the fashionable thing to be anti-British in Baghdad at that time'. The Arab world merely realises a few simple facts. It knows that the dream of a united or federated by the obligations which Britain under-took towards France and the Jews; that, even so, the tactful and understanding policy of Britain is by far preferable to a fate that under Nazi domination would differ little from that of Czechoslovakia or Poland; that a Jewish-Arab co-operation in Palestine to which so far the 1939 White Paper affords the most likely formula—if helpful for the cause of Britain, is above all necessary, from the point of view of the Jews who would be doomed in case of a Nazi victory; and that, as yet, no rival power has produced men and more understanding promoters of the Arab cause than Britain's officers and agents in the Near East Sir Kinahan Cornwallis in Baghdad, Mr. F. H. W. Stonewhere- Bird, the British Minister in Mecca, Colonel Peake or Major John Glubb, the famous 'Abu Heneik' of the Desert Petrol, are known to the Arabs as men who keep and deserve faith, and who know the three main arguments of the East: strength, wealth, and stealth.

As it had been my task twenty-five years ago to outwit them - or their predecessors—I can but concur. Germany failed then, as she will to-day, to win the core of the Islamic world for her cause. Stirred by the world revolution when its first act, the war of 1914-18, took place, inspired by the general trend towards nationalism this revolution provoked, the old, proud race forming that core cannot be satisfied in any way except by being left to settle its problems by itself. Its loyalty must arise--as my distinguished Arab friend puts it--'from a give-and-take in which both sides find their advantage; so far, nobody understands that game better than the British, and that above all accounts for the trend of our sympathies'.

Britains High-roads

The British Commonwealth has two high-roads connecting all its vital points the sea-route-*via* the Suez Canal, Red Sea and Indian Ocean, leading to India, Australia and the Far East, and the land and air route across Palestine, Iraq, Southern Iran or the Persian Gulf, linking up the British Isles with the same outposts. Even though for a time the old trade route around the Cape would offer a slow and expensive substitute, it would represent a grave menace to the very existence of the Empire if one of these roads were threatened to be blocked by the enemy. Hitler's military advisers see its point clearly, and this accounts—perhaps to an even greater extent than the liquid gold under the parched Mesopotamian soil - for their desperate efforts to close the pincers around Suez.

Crete, Syria, Palestine, with Iraq as a side-line, on the one hand a push from Libya through Egypt, on the other—the territory involved by Nazi military action in the attempt to cut the main artery of the British Empire would be Arabian land. If this could have been done with Arabian connivance or even toleration, British policy and diplomacy during the last decades would be sadly to blame. Whatever the temporary form of their reconstitude national life, Arab resurrection was due to British initiative and help—even though their own brave fight should not be disregarded. Such a people should be the ideal guardian of highroads of the Empire. There is no reason to doubt that chivalrous sons of the desert are willing to accept this guardianship. Many thousands of them have volunteered for the hard task of patrolling the pipe-lines and the motor roads which have brought to once sleepy lands the blessings of progress and prosperity. They are led by British officers who are admired and respected for their courage and deep understanding of the Oriental soul.

Yet - it this sufficient? We may safely say that the existence of men in leading positions--like those who had to run for their lives from Baghdad after their plot had collapsed, mainly because Hitler's time-table was upset--constitutes a serious warning. The same potential danger is present in the 'Golden Square'—the group of four Iraqi colonels of considerable influence and fanatical nationalism, and in many others who even now may have gone underground, biding their time. The formula of a revolt engineered and paid by Berlin is too crude to be applied to the complicated reactions of a people so fundamentally different from those of the West. There is danger that the colourful picture of the East becomes meaningless if we content ourselves with just black and white -if the 'rebels' are all labelled devils, and those co-operating with Britain are all called angels. That would infer that by simply destroying the former, only staunch friends and adherents would remain; or even that by rettlin;; a few grievances, insignificant in view of the present momentous struggle, the high roads of the Empire running through the Near East would be made safe once and for all.

A start was made in this direction. A wave of grateful feeling might have been expected when (in accordance with the White Paper) Jewish immigration into Palestine was restricted, the sale of Arab lands regulated and---in all parts vital for Arabs---prohibited. But there was no such reaction; nor would the full realisation of the White Paper's programme dispel all the doubt, hesitation, and wavering in Arab loyalties. Four centuries of opperession and foreign domination have left too deep an imprint on the mind of a once great nation, too much scepticism and distrust, too much self-centered egoism. Even within the Arab world itself this has created considerable obstacles in the way of hotly-desired unity. Propaganda, truthful and well adapted to the task, must overcome the existent difficulties. The treatment of their racial and religious brethren in Libya during the years of Italian rule; the cruelties committed in Abyssinia during the invasion and the subsequent five years of her Fascist occupation; the rule of the Gestapo in the Balkan countries (nearly all having Muslim minorities, which in Albania even become a majority) these are all convincing proofs that countries of a precarious notional structure have nothing to gain, but everything to lose under Nazi domination. An Axis victory---whatever Grobba's previous promises or pledges --- would inevitably degrade the Arabs. The Nazis despise the Arab race for its 'Semitic' origin. They would certainly debase them to the standing of those 'natives,' 'coloured slaves,' or whatever else overbearing Prussian officers called them even in the days when they had to pretend at least some regard for their ally, the Sultan-Caliph in Constantinople. British interests, on the other hand, are clearly compatible with a unified, independent and strong Arabian realm. Ever since the Ottawa conference, the British Commonwealth had been developing into a federation of independent states, connected by an identity of interests closer than any constitutional or political bond. The principles guiding this federation point the way to an Anglo-Arab co-operation capable of great adaptability and variation.

The existing grievances, compared with the major issue, dwindle into insignificance. The solution of the Palestine problem has been already indicated. The Bedouin question—which demands not so much the establishment of permanent law

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ISLAM (Ccntd.)

and order by policing efficiently the wide open spaces considered for centuries the pastures of nomadic tribes, as a new economic order—will be more or less simplified by the settling down of such tribes, deprived of their traditional livelihood as breeders of horses, camels and sheep by the development of motorised transport, and by the creation of new markets for their agricultural and handicraft products. The systematic abolition of an antiquated feudal system, by giving new settlers and fellaheen an equal chance to acquire their own land, would go far to overcome political unrest, jealousy and hatred, all exploited for sinister purposes.

Turkey and Iran have shown that, under a wise and progressive leadership, so-called backward peoples are able to make an astonishingly rapid progress. Among the peoples of the Near East, the Arabs have the oldest and most dignified record of previous accomplishments. At least one of their leaders, King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, is an outstanding personality, who has shown great wisdom and farsighted moderation. If British policy bears in mind that with a race of strong imagination, even imaginary wrong weigh havier than the most tempting offers and bribes, there is no doubt that the Arab world will make a faithful and valuable ally, the strong guardian of Britain's high roads,

Mr. Anthony Eden's Mansion House speech on the 29th May, 1941, has done much to further that cause. He expressed British sympathy with the Syrian aspirations for independence, and with the general Arab desire for a greater degree of unity. He promised to support an appeal to Britirh friendship if made for that purpose, describing it as 'both natural and right that the cultural and economic ties between the Arab countries, and the political ties too, should be srengthened; His Majesty's Government for their part will give their full support to any scheme that commands general approval." That leaves initiative and planting to the Arabs themselves and is the right attitude in every respct—as the echo from the entire Near East shows. Together with the inpiring message of liberty for Syria, both by the Free French leaders and Britain, it should help to condemn those who, sulking, discontented, or under the influence of Nazi gold, stood in the way of natural development, not realising that they were merely tools in the stupendous gamble which in the first place was aiming at Iraq's oil as the badly wanted essential requisite of Hitler's war-machine.

They were only tools—because for the Nazis, Arab national aspirations are of the same value and validity as the pseudo-legal claim they kept in readiness, dating back to the years before the last war This was based on the concession granted by Abdul Hamid to the German-owned Baghdad Railway Company. The grant covered a strip of soil along the railway track about twelve miles wide on each side. *with all it contains under ground*. The cunningly formulated concession was aimed at the possession of Mosul of oil-fields. It secured them, although in 1913 British intervention resulted in a comprise under which Britain and Germany were to share the oil on a fifty-fifty basis. Aricle 155 of the Versailles Treaty annulated all such German rights. Hitler repudiated the treaty. Iraq was declared by the Germans to have inherited the obligation undertaken by Abdul Hamid. Only Britain's friendship and a British victory can save the Arabs from becoming included in a Nazi 'Lebensraum, with all the horror and suffering such a fate implies.

MR. JINNAH'S STATEMENT (Contd,)

22nd of July. As we say, the manner in which it was sndertaken and fnally carried out ignoring everybody, and I am particularly speaking on behalf of the Mtslim League, is most objectionable. Why have you ignored us? We have put no difficulties in your way. We have said from the very beginning that major issues will be considered later on. If you honestly and really want our co-operation, you must associate us with you with a real and genuine share in the authority of the Government not only at the Centre but in the Provinces as well. Then and then alone we can give you assistance, not because we are going to favour you but because you happen to be the major authority. Then and then alone we can give Government all the assistance in men, money, and supply.

"But ignoring everything, you have come to this decision. And this decision is announced and forced upon us, contrary to our advice and notwithstanding our opposition. We have reasoned, we have argued and we had long negotiations, and we hope that the protest that we are registering to-day will open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf and that you will, with God's help have wisdom and statesmanship to revise this scheme of yours which, I assure you, is not going to help you by a little in the intensifcation of your war effort. On the contrary you must have realised that it is going to do harm to you, and I am interested as much as anybody else to ward off that harm. and I advise you to think over.

Don't Misrepresent us.

"This is the reason why we have adopted this course, Finally, I say to the Government, I say to Honourable Members, I say to the Press and the public outside, Please do not misrepresent us. It is the Government and the Government alone that is responsible, and one cannot come to any other conclusion than that rhey do not want our assistance, they do not want our co-operation. When they talk of co-operation, they mean on such terms as no self-respecting organisation can come. Well, Sir, the spirit behind this measure and this policy is this— in the words of Sir Claude Jacob when he sent a message to troops— the Empire will not forget your loyal and faithful services. Well, you want us to be completely bereft of self-respect, you want us to give you assistance and the Empire will not forget our loyal and faithful services. We have reached the stage to-day for which you alone are responsible. You do not really honestly want our asssstance;

"Sir, I have done and I hope you will understand the spirit of this protest in right and proper perspective,

(At this stage the Members of the Muslsm League Party withdrew from the Chamber).

The Khaksars

After a brief debate. the House rejected on Tuesday without a division Mr. Kazmi's adjournment motion to discuss the "banning of Khasksar volunteers by the Gorvernment of India and thereby hampering the development of indigenous organizations which are a necessity for the defence of the cuntry in times of war".

LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE

(Continued from page 9)

of the All-India Muslim League and the Muslim leaders of the Provinces where the Mussalmans are in a minority :—

(a) "I maintain that this action of the President was unconstitutional in the highest degree,"

(b) "The Working Committee endorsed the action of the President, becuse they had no other alternative before them. If they had refused to ratify the President's action it would have amounted to a vote of no-confidence in the President, and this contingency the Working Committee were not prepared to face. It is for this reason that the Working Committee passed the resolution, a copy of which you have forwarded to me calling upon me to resign unconditionally from the National Defence Council."

(c) "But before I conclude I wish to record a most emphatic protest against the manner in which the interests of Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab are being imperilled by Muslim Leaders of the Provinces where the Muslims are in a minority, popularly known among Muslims as the Minority Provinces of India."

(d) "As a mark of protest against the arbitrary use of powers vested in its President, I beg to tender my resignation from the membership of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim Laegue. Much as I deplore this course I feel I cannot usefully continue to be a member of a body which shows scant courtesy to provincial leaders and which arrogates to itself the functions which ought to be exercised by the Provincial Executive."

(e) "The President of the All-India Muslim League has signally failed to discharge the heavy responsibility of his office in a constitutional and reasonable manner."

(f) "In tendering my resignation I should also like to enter the caveat that the recent events have forcibly brought home to me that the principles of democracy and autonomy are being subordinated to the arbitrary decision of a single individual who seeks to rule as an omnipotent authority over the destiny of 33 millions of Muslims in the Province of Bengal who occupy the key position in Indian Muslim politics."

Ten Days

The Working Committee therefore, call upon Mr. Fazlul Haq to withdraw these allegations and express his regret for having cast these aspersions within 10 days from the date of the receipt of intimation of this resolution,

On the expiry of the time specified above the Working Committee will decide what action is called for after considering any explanation that Mr. Fazlul Haq may offer either in writing or in person and for this purpose, among other matters, instruct the Secretary to inform Mr. Fazlul Haq that the Working Committee will meet on November 16, 1941 at the Central Office of the All-India Muslim League in Delhi at 11 A,M.

Those who attend the meetings were Mr. M, A. Jinnah, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Raja Amir Ahmad Khan, of Mahmudabad, Chaudhri Khaliqu-zz-aman, Nawab M. Ismail Khan, Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Maulana Mohammed Akram Khan, Khwaja Sir Nizamuddin, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Begum Maulana Mohammed Ali, Haji Sir Abbulla Haroon Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan, of Mamdot, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhry, Syed Abdur Rauf Shah, Malik Barkat Ali, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan. Mr. G.M. Syed, Qazi Mohammed Isa and Haji Abdur Razzaq H. A. Sattar Seth.

President's Conference

The first conference of the presidents and secretaries of all the provincial Muslim League, was held in the Central Office of the All-India Muslim League. Daryagunj, Delhi on Tuesday and was attended by the representatives of all the provinces. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, presided.

At the outset Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary of the League, explained the aims and objects of the conference.

The conference will establish a link between the centre and the provinces for the purpose of co-ordinating their activities and ensuring intensified progress of the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. To intensify the League's programme it was decided that each province should endeavour to convene as many conferences in districts as was possible. Each province was enjoined to train a larger number of workers and arrange to have at least one batch of workers constantly touring the province to propagate the ideals of the League amongst the Muslim masses. The provinces were also enjoined to have a recruitment drive and enrol at least 10 per cent of the Muslim population as primary members of the League and one per cent as volunteers of the National Guard.

It was decided thatthe central body should arrange for the preparation and distribution of literature, particularly relating to political questions and Pakistan, in order to secure uniformity in the matter of policy and programme of the League.

The provincial Leagues were urged to observe uniformity in regard to fundamentals in the constitution of their organizations.

These conferences of provincial presidents and secretaries will become a regular feature of the League organization and will be called to meet at regular intervals.

League Five-year plan Committee

A meeting of the five-year plan committee, appointed at the Madras Session of the All-India Muslim League was held on Tuesday at Mr. M. A. Jinnah's residence. The meeting decided that all members of the committee should prepare notes containing their proposals before December 25 and circulate them among members of the committee, after which a general meeting of the committee is to be held to consider and formulate a report.

Okhla Basic School

The new buildings of the Basic School at Okhla near Delhi were opened by Mr. A.V. Askwith Chief Commissioners, on Tuesday afternoon. A large gathering attended the ceremony.

After he had declared the new buildings of the School open the Chief Commissioner visited the Jamia Millia Teachers' Training Institute. The guests were then entertained to tea at the Jamia Millia.

HAJ PILGRIMS

Last Date Changed

In a previous *communique* pilgrims intending to sail from Calcutta were advised to reach the port by November 17 at the latest, says a press *communique*. For unavoidable reasons the last day of arrival of pilgrims at that port has been altered to Sunday, November 16 and pilgrims are advised to reach Calcutta at the latest by this date.

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The DAWN

FOUNDER: MR. M. A. JINNAH

Under the Supervision of NAWABZADA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, Hony. Secy. All-India Muslim League.

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MAY 20 1944

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Russian War Front

News reaching London on Thursday shows that the fifth German offensive against Moscow is being very definitely held.

The position of the Russian defence was stabilized, though this might be a temporary condition, but there was no indication that the Germans were anywhere making an advance. The weather is still very bad at Kalinin.

In the Crimea, the Germans reached the outer defences of Sebastopol, about twenty miles from the city.

While masses of Nazi tanks, guns and dive-bombers still beat against Soviet lines in the west and south of Moscow, there is news of a sudden flare-up on the Leningrad Front. "Operations are developing in the woods and half-frozen lakes and swamps," says a front-lines dispatch to the Red Star.

In an account of the fighting in the Leningrad sector, the first for some time, it is stated that the Nazis recently launched an attack with four or five infantry divisions, supported by tanks. The Germans broke through in a few places at first, but the dispatch adds: "The advance of the main German forces has been checked."

The reason for this sudden assault on the Northern Front is declared to be the Nazis' need to bring about what Goebbels carried out "on paper" over two months ago—complete encirclement of Leningrad. German skiers, armed with automatic rifles, are trying to filter through

(Continued on next column)

(Continued from previous column). the Soviet lines. They are being surrounded and "exterminated," according to Soviet reports.

The Grand Mufti

The Grand Mufti, whose arrival in Italy from Iran was recently reported, was to have reached Berlin on Thursday where special precautionary measures are reported to have been taken.

Tension In Far East

Jap Envoy Goes To Washington

Col Knox, Navy Secretary of the United States, recentlv stated that the Far East tension was so acute a "collision" there appeared almost inevitable.

Now the Japanese Government have sent Mr. Kursusu as an emissary to Washington to act as a special adviser in the talks proceeding between the U. S. and Japan, and he is reported to be taking a formula approved by the Emperor of Japan for a settlement of the problems between the two Governments.

"Reuter's diplomatic correspondent commenting on the visit says on the success or failure of Mr. Kurusu's task depend vital issues in the Far East, and it is not going too far to say that peace and war are hanging in the balance.

Mr. Duff Cooper in an interview is reported to have said that an attack on the Burma Road may be one of the starters.

Congress & Threat of Civil War

Mr. JINNAH'S Warning to Government

INDEPEDENCE OF MUSLIM STATES

"If the British Government do not make it clear as to what their intentions are regarding the Muslim States and also that they have no designs on their savereignty and independence, I feel that it would be very difficult to cantrol Muslim India any more," declared Mr, M A. Jinnah, President of the all India Muslim League, in the course of his address to the students of the Muslim University, Aligarh, on November 2 last continuing he said: "the spirit that you have shown in giving me this warm welcome and reception proves that you are endorsing and supporting to the fullest extent the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League, and I hope that this will open the eyes of the world as to what is the strength behind the League."

Referring to Mr. Gandhi's recent statement hinting at Civil War, Mr. Jinnah said that if it comes it would come as a result of the Congress policy of repression and domination over Muslim India. "Muslim India is demanding only one fourth of India, leaving the rest to the Hindus, while the Congress wants to have the whole of this vast sub-continent for the Hindus. If therefore. India is plunged into Civil War it would only be on account of the Congress, and nobody else", declared Mr, Jinnah.

Giving a survey of the present political situation Mr. Jinnah said that India's politics could be divided into two parts--the present and the future. As for the future he said that the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government made a declaration on August 8, 1940 which was amplified by Mr. Amery on August 15, 1940 to the effect that no future constitution of India would be framed without the consent and approval of the Major elements in India and that it could only be adopted when there was an agreement between the principal parties in India. So far as the Muslim League was concerned they had declared that their demand had been met in that regard.

With regard to the present, Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League was willing as far back as November 1939 to help the British Government in the successful prosecution of the war. "We had realised that there was

(Continued on page 9)

Essential Unity of Muslim Nation

ALIGARH LEAGUE CONFERENCE

FLAG UNFURLED BY SIR C. IBRAHIM

Mr. M. A. Jinnah accompanied by Miss Fatima Jinnah and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan reached Aligarh at 6-30 p.m. on November 1. As the train arrived at the station thunderous shouts of Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad and "Muslim League Zindabad" were raised. He was escorted to his residence by the Uuniversity Riding Squad.

Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim of Bombay, on arrival at the Conference grounds, was received by Mr. Hafeezur Rahman, General Secretary. Mr. W.B. Kadri requested Sir Currimbhoy to unfurl the Muslim League flag. Performing the flag-hoisting ceremony, Sir Currimbhoy said that he was going to unfurl a most powerful flag—a flag which was revered by Mussalmans. Apart from the question of Pakistan all Muslims formed a Muslim world. He stressed the necessity of action based on practical methods and not by mere resolutions. He appreciated the turn-out of the Aligarh National Guards and said that they were slowly building up an army of their own which would ensure peace for every one.

The Aligarh Muslim League Conference opened amidst scenes of great enthusiasm in the night. The beautiful decorated Pandal was packed to capacity. The President-elect, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, received a great ovation on entering the Pandal. Among those sitting on the dais were Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Kazi Mohammad Isa, Mr. Rizwanullah and Mr. A. B. Habibullah Salar of the U.P. Muslim League National Guards.

The proceedings commenced with a recitation from the Holy Quran, Mr. Manzoor Mahmood of Lucknow, an Old Boy of Aligarh, recited Iqbal's Tararna in his characteristically vigorous style. At this stage Qaide Azam Jinnah accompanied by Miss Jinnah and attended by the Provincial Salar of National Guards, entered the Pandal and was received with loud cheers and resounding shouts of "Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad."

Nawab Ismail Khan inaugurated the Conference. He said that the first phase in the revival of the Muslim League was to invite all Muslims to join the League and to organize themselves. The second phase was to define their goal which was done at Lahore in 1940. Since then the whole of Muslim India had demonstrated its adhesion to the goal. They were now in the third stage when they had to make every preparation to achieve Pakistan. He appealed to the youth to justify the expectations centred round them.

After the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee had been read out by the Vice-Chairman, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy was proposed to take the chair by Maulana Abdul Hamid.

Mr. Suhrawardy begain his address by thanking the Mussalmans of Aligarh for the honour they had done him, which indicated the essential unity of the Muslim nation in India. Aligarh was an inspiration to the Muslims of India and he hoped that it will continue to produce leaders imbued with true Islamic zeal.

Continuing he said: "The renaissance, of the Muslims, of which your University is but a manifestation. is responsible for the shape that our politics has adopted, and it is as futile to try to stem the growth and power of the Muslim League as it is to Muslims torrent in flood. The reverse aof India are determined to have one organization, one banner, one ideal and one spokesman. Many have been the attempts to bring about disruption in our ranks, but they have failed and shall signally fail before the will of the Muslim community.' Not all the blandishments of power or the incense of a seductive press can break the iron resolve of the Muslims to remain united. Small groups here and there, founded mostly to satisfy the vanity of a leader or express the sentiments of a coterie, now remain, but they are hushed in silence or have joined the vast majority ofthe Muslims. The Muslim League is no more the organization of a few vocal middle class people. It is a mass organization broad based on the will and support of the people wholly democratic in constitution. The Muslim League has come to stay, to flourish and to grow and to embrace within its folds every single Muslim, and no power can stop the process of its expansion. For, in this organization lies not merely the safety and the defence ofthe Muslims of India, but it is only through this organization that we can fulfil our political destiny and attain our political goal.

"And what is that goal? Must the Muslim community in India always remain on the defensive, must we adopt the role of a permanent minority doomed to eternal struggle against a majority seeking to deprive us of our freedom and of our rights, or shall we not make an effort to construct and contribute to the glory of India and of the world? Must we lose ourselves entirely in the maze of safeguards and protection struggling for ever to preserve our circumscribed rights, or shall we not be permitted at any time to give expression to the genius of Islam in the social, economic, cultural and political field? Must we subscribe to the fiction of an Indian nation composed as it is of divergent elements loosely knit together under a unitarian government not more than a few decades old? Must we ignore that there is hardly any point of contact between the culture and genius of the Pathan of Northern India, and say, the Dravidian of the South between the Rajput and the Mahratta of the West and the Bengalee of the East? But greater still are the differences that exist between two great communities in their outlook on life in the structure of their society, in the arrangement of their daily existence, in their solution of the problems of mankind. We are being asked to ignore not only past history but existing conditions, and above all we are to forget that although we have lived side by side for centuries we still remain unfused, each one struggling for the preservation of his own individual culture, language and thought.. Moreover, the new struggle for power has accentuated these differences, and has made us

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Special Article.

Dangers of Aggressive Nationalism

BY

M. R. T.

II

A true nationalist would support the promotion and development of the divergent traditions of different nations. He will recognise the differences that divide one group of men from the other and will concede in good faith that these very differences will lead to the ultimate good of humanity.

There is some special quality in every group of men or nationality which it will be in the interest of whole humanity to preserve, and this will only be possible if the right of every nationality is recognised to develop its own laws and institutions. It is a clear verdict of history that when a nation has been deprived of its political independence, it is demoralised to such an extent that it cannot contribute its due share in the progress of humanity. Conversely, when a nation wins back its political independence, its contribution to the progress of humanity becomes substantial and effective in proportion to its own importance.

Thus for example: the Muslims in their heyday of glory in Spain contributed in no small measure to the progress of the country in medicine, science, art and literature. But when on the decline of their political power they were driven out of the country or converted to Christianity, they lost all their zeal and energy in the pursuit of knowledge and learning and were reduced to the condition of serfs and slaves. Similarly, Muslims of India under the Sultanates of Delhi and the Moghul Emperors maintained a high level of progress according to the accepted standards of the time. In architecture, arts and crafts, music and poetry, they displayed a wonderful skill, while as soldiers, traders and missionaries they were among the most enterprising in the world. Again in wealth, education, industry and trade, they held their position fairly well against the sister community which then, as now, was in majority.

Muslim Degeneration.

The loss of political power meant to Muslims the loss of their best cherished traditions of virtue, honour and chivalry and they sank gradually into the position of an illiterate poverty-stricken and neglected minority. In the Punjab where they formed a majority, the tyranny and oppression of Sikh rule deprived them of all opportunities to make their influence felt. The present day condition of Indian Muslims is directly the result of loss of their political power and their comparative slowness to adopt themselves to changed circumstances. If the Muslims again win back the power to rule over their own majority areas, they will revive their old traditions of virtue and honour and develop afresh their art and literature, institutions and laws from the points where their progress was abruptly stopped.

The world will be poorer if Hindus and Muslims are not permitted to promote and develop their respective cultures, creeds and laws on the lines of their own historic traditions and are forcibly united to develop a new culture or sense of unity which will be a mere imitation of the West and will lead finally to the destruction of all that is best in Muslim and Hindu systems of religion and polity. If it is conceded that Hindus and Muslims have their respective cultures, which it is worthwhile to maintain, then all efforts for unity will prove a failure. Iqbal is typically a Muslim poet while Tagore is a Hindu to the core. There is no meeting place between the two. One believes in the revival of ancient Hindu character and ethics, while the other pins his faith in the regeneration of Muslim World.

India and Europe.

You cannot unite the various nations of Europe on a political basis if you recognise that each has its own distinct culture to maintain. The differences in cultural aspects between one European nation and another are not so marked as in the case of the Hindus and the Muslims in India, and yet each is determined to pursue its own chosen course, irrespective of any material benefits that may be conferred on it by the fusion of its culture into that of another. The Swedes and the Norwegians, the Spaniards and the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Belgians, the Serbs and the Croats, the Czechs and the Slovaks respectively inhabit, more or less, parts of the same countries with not very distinct geographical limits, yet none of these nations is prepared to give up its own laws and institutions in order to merge into those of the other.

In some important respects, almost all the nations of Europe have inherited certain common traditions. They all look upon Greece as their parent home for many of their notions of civilisation, art and philosophy. In the city of Rome and the old Roman Empire they seek tradition of unity, order and law which exercised a great influence in the past in developing character under the same system of law and Government. The Middle Ages furnish to them another link in the Church which, besides giving them a common religion, gave them a common system of education, under the strict supervision of the clergy. The Church tried to develop the political conception that the entire Christian Europe was the 'Kingdom of God' where the Pope acted both as Temporal and Spiritual Head, Then again all European countries owe much of their present day progress and awakening to the Age of Renaissance which ushered in an era of adventure and exploration both in the world of literature and geography.

Since the dawn of modern age, Europe has displayed wonderful activity in the persuit of knowledge, art and science, and in the expansion of industry, trade and commerce. All these achievements are felt to be a common heritage of every European. Lastly, the development of means of communication has linked together the distant parts of Europe and has led to increasing social intercourse and economic interdependence.

Despite all these factors, Europe cannot be spoken of as one united nation nor it is possible to anticipate the tendency to union or even federation between any two countries or nationalities of Europe. The Finns and the people of the Baltic States on the western border of Russia, nor again the people of Ulster in Ireland could even be persuaded to accept union with their neighbouring States.

Thus, if political unity of two or more European countries is an impossibility, except under a threat of force, even though there are important traditions common to all countries, it is utterly absurd to conceive of India's unity, especially when there are such marked differences in the cultures of the two major communities. Hindus and Muslims are poles asunder in their political aspirations in regard to their past, present and future. They have diametrically opposite systems of law and inheritance which prevent intermarrying and interdining. They derive inspiration from two entirely different quarters and observe a conflicting set of religious rites and practices—for example, the animal sacrifice of Muslims and the cow veneration of Hindus.

It is in plain recognisation of these differences that a prominent political writer, D. Burns, has frankly declared that political liberty cannot be conceived for India as one single unit. He thus states his views: "For example, it is impossible to speak of the Indian Self-Government, as though India could be at present a unit having a simple relation to England, India is no more one than is Europe, and although there is growing up a general Indian sentiment, Self-government based upon an identity of interest between all the inhabitants of a continent is absurdly impracticable".

A true nationalist believes in the right to political independence of other national groups

(Continued on page 8)

more intolerant of each other's cherished sentiments. With the knowledge that they are in a majority not only in most of the provinces but in India as a whole, our fellow-countrymen have perhaps been more intolerent and more aggressive than would perhaps, have been the case. Otherwise, it is difficult indeed to explain how the Congress which claims to be and strives to maintain the fiction of being a non-communal organization should have so utterly thrown justice and discretion to the winds, and deliberately embarked on a policy of repression and intolerance against the minority communities. I fear that this danger will always exist as long as their is a likelihood of a Central Government where the majority community will direct the destinies of all and even affect the Government of those provinces where it is in a minority. The Pakistan Scheme is still in embryo, but even such as it is, it has been widely misunderstood, particularly by those critics who have condemned it before even they have had time to consider it. We are vitally concerned with the future of what may be termed the Muslim Provinces and zones. I see no reason why we shall not be allowed to reconstruct our portion of India according to our lights. The political, social and economic structure are all awry. Why should we not construct a new social order, a new economy, a new political structure in accordance with the tenets of Islam, founded as it is on toleration, on justice, on equality, on brotherhood and on freedom. This is our aim and our goal. The Muslims, particularly of the minority provinces have received a rude shock at the hands of a Government con-

Aligarh League Conference *(Contd.)*

trolled by a people to whom democracy is utterly foreign. This is our reaction, and the Muslims of India are determined to see that they are no more subjected to this majority, or are thrown to the wolves in the worship of this fetish of numbers.

"And now, my friends, let me turn for a little while to matters over which we have no control but which vitally affect our destinies. One of the most important questions which we shall have to resolve is our own attitude towards the war which is fast approaching our shores. That India is in danger there can be no doubt, that we ourselves as Muslims are anxious to participate in the war effort to the fullest possible extent also admits of no doubt. The Muslim League has in no way hindered the war efforts. On the other hand, it is definitely opposed to the Satyagraha movement and to demonstrations and slogans directed against the war efforts. In a recent speech in the Assembly our Qaid-i-Azam has definitely declared that he would like to see the war efforts further intensified. It is a matter of the greatest regret that inspite of his earnest appeal not to misrepresent him no less a person than Sir Frederick James, the leader of the European Group, has misunderstood and misinterpreted his speech entirely. Mr. Jinnah and his party walked out of the Assembly as a protest against the manner in which the Cabinet had been expanded in the name of the war efforts, declaring that this expansion would not help in that direction. Mr. Jinnah considers the situation so grave and so critical that he thinks that the mere addition of a few Indians in the Viceroy's Executive Council will not achieve anything substantial, or give that impetus and that direction which is necessary to meet the present exigencies. But as he is prepared to share the dangers of the war, as he is prepared to incur the hostility of those who are hindering the war efforts, surely he is entitled to claim on behalf of the Muslim community that the Muslim League should be asked to undertake real responsibility. I fear that Sir Frederick James has done no service to anyone, neither to the Government of this country nor to the British people, nor to the war efforts by misunderstanding Mr. Jinnah.

Concluding the Hon. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy said: "The Quad-i-Azam has given us faith, unity and discipline as our watchwords. Let us have faith in our mission, let us endeavour to bring all Muslims within the pale of our organization, not merely in spirit but in body. Let us be so united that the mightiest shall bend before our power. Let us be so disciplined that the voice of the community shall be to us as the voice of God and may Allah be with us all!"

Faith in Mr. Jinnah

At the concluding Session of the Muslim League Conference Mr. Karimur Raza Khan of Shajehanpur moved a resolution re-affirming full faith and confidence in Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah and the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League and congratulating them on their decision regarding the scheme of the Viceroy's Expanded Council and the Defence Council, which had vindicated the honour of Muslim India. The Conference strongly disapproved the methods employed by the British Government to wean away prominent Muslim-Leaguers over the head of the leader and the executive of the organisation; and also expressed appreciation of the protest registered by the Muslim League party in the Central Legislature against the unjust policy of the Government. The resolution was seconded by Maulana Jamal Mian and passed unanimously.

By another resolution the Conference requested the All-India Muslim League to intensify the efforts to consolidate the position of the Muslim in order that their demand for independent states in areas of Muslim majority for which they are struggling should be met at the earliest moment.

The Conference by another resolution, moved by Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman reiterated Pakistan as the national goal of Muslim India.

Undue and frivolous comment had been coming from Hindu quarters which gave a complex appearance to an otherwise very simple problem, said the Choudhri Sahib.

Mr. Satyamurthy had recently made an allegation that Pakistan was unworkable because most of the Indian Muslims were converts from Hinduism and as such they could not carry out the Pakistan scheme successfully. To these gentlemen Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman could only say that they had totally failed to understand their history. The example of Hazrat Bilal, a negro by birth, taking up the leader-

(Continued on page 5)

LETTERS

League Statistics.

Sir, Allow me to draw the attention of the authorities of the various provincial organisations of the All-India Muslim League, through the columns of your esteemed paper, towards the fact that most of them do not maintain the necessary statistics regarding the activities of their respective provinces--an item which is very essential for furthering the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League, I have found that although some of our Provincia organisations are very active in many important centres, their activities are not known to the public. Sometimes even one centre is not aware of the work one by another. I would, therefore, suggest that the Provincial Muslim Leagues should send you facts and figures every now and then to be published in the DAWN at your discretion for the information of the public. I believe that it will not only be a source of valuable propaganda to the League, but will also create a healthy spirit of competition among the various organisations.

Yours etc.,

Nagpur. "Optimist."

Talk of Civil War.

Sir, Mr. Gandhi has recently come out with a lengthy statement to the press saying: "Mass action at this stage without communal unity is an invitation to Civil War. If Civil War is to be our lot, it will come; but if I know the Congress mind, it will never come at the wish or invitation of the Congress".

Mr. Gandhi has very often said that "communal unity" is his life's ambition and that without Communal unity *Swaraj* is not possible; and yet almost all of his lieutenants go on harping on their favourite tune that there is no communal question and no minority problem and that it is only a creation of the British Government in pursuance of their policy of divide and rule. If Mr. Gandhi knows the Congress mind, he will as well have known by now that it is very inconsistent. Who is responsible for communal disunity if not Mr. Gandhi himself? Muslim India, through her accredited leader, Mr. Jinnah, repeatedly made it clear that negotiations for Hindu-Muslim agreement could only be carried through on the basis of equality, that the All-India Muslim League should be recognised as the only authoritative and representative body of the Musalmans of India, and that someone who could deliver the goods should come forward to negotiate on behalf of the Hindus. But Mr. Gandhi has always been under the obsession that he represented both the Hindus and the Musalmans of India--and hence the deadlock.

If Mr. Gandhi really believes that Hindu-Muslim unity is essential for and a condition precedent to India's independence, let him face facts honestly and squarely. Let the Hindus of India select or elect their spokesman and let the Musalmans do likewise. Let us all forget the Congress and the League for the time being, and let these two spokesmen meet together and approach the Indian problem in a spirit of compromise, friendliness and brotherhood.

Mr. Gandhi's reference to civil war is nothing but an encouragement to mischief mongers in the Congress fold. He says civil war will never come 'at the wish or invitation of the Congress'. Does he mean to say that the Muslim League will welcome it? Why does Mr. Gandhi take to himself, on behalf of the Congress, all the credit for morality and patriotism? Why does he suppose that, the Congress having adopted a show of non-violence for political purposes, the other organisations are necessarily violent? Has Mr. Gandhi forgotten what he said when the Congress Government left offices in the provinces ? Did he not say that as a result of their resort to violence Congress rule had lost its hold on the masses ? And why? Is it not obvious that the Congress had misused power?

The civil war, therefore, if it is to be our lot, will certainly come at the invitation of the Congress, as a result of its policy of greed, repression and domination over the other elements in this vast sub-continent.

Yours etc.,

Madras. "Fairplay."

(Continued on page 8.)

Aligarh League Conference *(Contd.)*

hip of Arabs was one out of the many thousands, and it depicted very clearly the equality of Islamic brotherhood.

Continuing, he said that a Muslim in India was as capable as any other Muslim in any other part of the world to govern himself.

Other Hindu leaders, he added feared that the 60 million Muslim in the proposed Pakistan states would jeopardise the whole of India, but they failed to realise that the 100 million Muslims in the whole of India, if they so liked, could do even greater harm. But all these fears and apprehensions were hypothetical.

Time. and again, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman said: Muslim had given assurances that they had no such designs on Hindu India and history showed that they had always stood by their word.

The resolution was seconded by Qazi Muhammad Isa of Baluchistan and was adopted unanimously.

Another resolution moved by Maulana Abdul Hamid Budauni, endorsed the original resolution of the All-India Muslim League Council passed at its last meeting, concerning the independence of the Islamic states of the Middle East.

After some other resolution touching on the problem of Muslim education and the rising price of food-stuffs had been adopted, Mr. Jinnah rose to address the Conference and was lustily cheered.

Speaking in Urdu, Mr. Jinnah complimented the Muslim public of Aligarh for the awakening and political consciusness they had developed. Though they had still a long way to go one thing was clear, namely; that the Muslim people had now begun to see things in their correct perspective. This showed that they had successfully accomplished the first stage of their progress. Muslim India had now built up its institution and public opinion on durable foundations. It had a wonderful manifestation on the occasion of the crisis through which they had recently passed when the whole of Muslim India was solidly behind the Muslim League. The Voice of the Muslim League was reverberating even beyondIndia inforeign countries and British journals were commenting, albeit incorrectly on the actions of the Muslim League. The report of the recent withdrawal of the League party from the Assembly was on the radio all over Europe and America the very next day.

As regards their goal of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah said, it was no longer a theory confined to the intelligentsia but it has thoroughly infiltrated into the minds of the masses of the Muslim people. Wherever he went he asked the common people as to what they understood by Pakistan and the answers they gave were really encouraging, as they showed that they had correctly grasped the issue.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah appealed to the people to concentrate on constructive work and nation-building departments so that the achievement of their goal may be hastened (loud cheers).

Declaring the Conference closed Mr. Suhrawardy congratulated the Muslims of Aligarh for the success of their Conference and complimented the organisers particularly the Secretary. Mr. Hafeezur Rahman and the Joint Secretary Dr. Amir Hasan Siddiqi for their energetic efforts.

In honour of the Qaide Azam's visit, a day's holiday was declared in the University on November 3 amidst shouts of "Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad."

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The Dawn

DELHI

Sunday, November 9, 1941

The "Satyagraha" Menace

As a result of protracted deliberations, held at Wardha towards the end of the last month, in which Congress leaders, released from Jail participated, Mr. Gandhi has come out with a lengthy statement on the inadvisability of of starting mass civil disobedience just at present. It appears that all or most of his lieutenants have been pressing Mr. Gandhi to abandon the futile and half-hearted "Satyagraha" and to resume parliamentary activities and the ministries in the provinces. But Mr. Gandhi insists on continuing civil disobedience, and in the same half-hearted manner. He has, therefore, tried to convince people through this statement that it is prudent to keep individual civil disobedience alive during the war, that a resumption of parliamentary activities at present will serve no useful purpose and that the launching of mass civil disobedience in the absence of a Hindu-Muslim agreement will be a sure invitation to civil war.

In this statement Mr. Gandhi has rspeatedly referred to Hindu-Muslim (which he prefers to call "communal") unity which every Congressman should strive for. But he is significantly silent on how to bring about that unity. Hindu-Muslim Unity is the most important part of the constructive programme of the Congress. But how far, if at all, this part of the programme is being carried out, nobody knows. If a Hindu-Muslim agreement had, in fact, been a part of the constructive programme of the Congress, there was no reason why mass civil disobedience, started ostensibiy for freedom of speech or the independence of the country, could turn into an invitation for civil war. But the guilty conscience of Mr. Gandhi knows full well that the present individual "satyagraha" or the promised mass civil disobedience is niether directed against the restrictions imposed by the Government on freedom of speech nor is it meant to attain independence for India; instead, it is intended through this ruse to deprive the Muslims of their rights, to prevent them from having their say in any future reconstruction of India's constitution, to deny their existence and resist British Government's recognition of them as a separate national unit and to cheat them of their share in the sovereignty of this sub-continent by getting them eliminated, as a nation, from Indian politics.

DISAPPOINTMENT

It is significant that the demand for freedom of speech, which was only an excuse for starting the mischief, was put forward only after the Viceroy's declaration of August 8, 1940 which put an end to Hindu hopes of establishing what they called a "National" Government at the Centre, in fulfilment of the Poona resolution of the Congress. Mr, Gandhi had hoped that the British Government on account of their pre-occupation in the war would be inclined to end this "satyagraha" nuisance by unceremoniously withdrawing their declaration of August 1940. But he was sorely disappointed. And that disappointment was largely due to a sad miscalculation on his part of the strength and discipline of the All-India Muslim League and of the solidarity of Muslim India, the equity of whose claims it was difficult for the British Government to ignore.

Mr. Gandhi realizes that individual "satyagraha" has been a sad failure. But his insistence on prolonging the agony is due to the fear of having to accept the principles underlying the declaration of August 1940, once 'satyagraha' is called off and parliamentary activities are resumed in consequence by the Congress, which implies acceptance on his part of the right of the Mussalmans to a real and genuine share in any future or interim scheme of government in India. And this he is not prepared to concede, so far. Hence his decision to keep up the farce as best as he can. The British Government havving declared that they would examine the whole Indian constitutional problem "de novo" after the conclusion of the war, Mr. Gandhi has conveniently postponed the launching of mass civil disobedience till then.

ADMISSION

Mr. Gandhi in a merciful mood declares that he has postponed mass civil disobedience till after the war to avoid causing embarrassment to the Government and starting a civil war—thus placing both the Government and the peoples of this vast subcontinent under a deep debt of gratitude, and all in one stroke of diplomacy. This amounts to an admission on the part of Mr. Gandhi that mass civil disobedience is intended to provoke the Muslims to the limit of endurance, resulting in civil war, besides openly and vigorously defying law and order throughout the country, thus making things extremely uncomfortable for the Government. The same civil disobedience is even now in progress, albeit on lesser scale. But mischief is after all michief whether it be a pin-prick or a stab in the back. Nor can it be condoned only on account of the smallness of the scale. And it is admittedly directed against the Mussalmans. Is not the postponement of mass civil disobedience intended to gain time to prepare and equip the Hindus for a civil war, while Messers Munshi, Mukherjee, and Company are running about the country preaching their gospel of hate against the Muslim League and its creed of Pakistan?

Typical Ignorance.

Some of the adverse Comments in the British press on the Muslim League Party's walk-out from the Central Legislative Assembly on Tuesday betray an utter lack of appreciation of Indian politics. irresponsible criticism, like the one appearing in a recent issue of the "Glasgow Herald," is a case in point. That contemporary, for instance, says: "If Mr. Jinnah is claiming a share for the Muslim League in the Government of all or most parts of India, that seems to be a flat contradiction of the policy he has been advocating so strongly during recent months. His Pakistan proposals envisaged the partition of India. Now it would seem that he has implicitly withdrawn from this position which may or may not be an admission that it was untenable."

Well, it is neither a case of volt-face nor or strategic withdrawal, so foreign to Islamic traditions and history. Nor was it "Monday when they walked out of the Legislative Assembly" as the contemporary carelessly avers. The Muslim League

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was willing as far back as November 1939, "without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on" to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field which would have been followed up with the Muslim League representatives being appointed in the Executive Council of the Central Government "to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and the existing law." The Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League popularly known as the "Pakistan" proposal, was odopted nearly six months later, in 1940. The claim of the Muslim nation, therefore, to share "in the Government of all or most parts of India" is neither a "flat contradiction" of policy nor withdrawal from the position taken up earlier. We fail to see how in a Parliamentary system of government the next biggest party is not justified to possess authority even in the absence of the biggest. According to our contemporary "Mr. Jinnah's ostensible complaint—that the Muslim League are being denied a real and genuine share of authority of government both at the centre and in the provinces—can hardly be justified by facts, as in some of the provinces Muslims have on the basis of population very little claim to possess authority." The Congress having gone into the wilderness, the Muslim League is the next biggest party in the country as well as in the legislatures of most of the provinces. It has, therefore, a right to possess authority irrespective of the ratio of Muslim population in those provinces.

Fed on such stuff public opinion in Great Britain and further west in U. S. A., in matters not concerning their
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surroundings, cannot be expected to be anything but fantastic. Unenviable is the lot of the people who allow themselves to be led by somnambulists. The latter may miss, among many things, being run over by passing traffic; but for how long? There may or may not be occasion for the Muslim nation and its leader to withdraw from the original position, which is certainly not untenable, but the Nazi-conscious contemporary, with its withdrawal-ridden mentality, sees Dunkirk everywhere.

NOTES

ATTACK ON THE PROPHET.

The Government of India's failure to protest against a statement made in *Sunday News* of U. S. A.—"to the effect that theblood-thirsty monster Hitler is not to be compared with Napoleon but with Mohammad who also wanted to subject mankind to the rule and domination of a few individuals; Hitler wants to do the same"—was the subject of an adjournment motion in the Central Assembly on Wednesday. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, moving the motion, deplored that this kind of attack on the Holy Prophet of Islam should have found expression in the press of a country the Government of which hnd declared their firm intention to give support to those engagad in the struggle to destroy Hitler and the Nazis. Mr. Ghuznavi rightly pointed out that if Hitler wanted to do the most devastating harm to the Allied cause, he could not have done better than get something of this kind published in the American press. It goes without saying that at a time when the sympathies of the whole Islamic world were on the side of the democracies, the feelings and sentiments of the entire Muslim world had been cruelly wounded by that organ of American opinion. The least that the Government of India could do in their interest, even if they had no regard to Muslim sentiment, was to have lodged an effective protest with the United States Government and insisted that the newspaper should publish an unqualified apology and withdraw the article. The statement in question may or may not have been made by Lord Lothian, as suggested by Mr. Abdur Rashid Chaudhry. But how little the Government care for Muslim sentiment, support or even "loyalty" is evidenced by the fact that they are not prepared to do anything in the matter save to send a record of the debate to Sir G. S. Bajpai in America. The difficulty, Sir Abdul Halim declared, was that the Government of India was deaf and blind. If it helps to clear the blurred vision of the incorrigible optimist even that blindness on the part of the Government will have served a useful purpose.

JINNAH

Thou Prophet of a brighter dawn,
A glitt'ring jewel in the nation's crown,
A beacon for the forlorn ship:
Thus Jinnah's name shall win renown.

Our din that perished in the wilderness
Lo! now in Whitehall is resounding loud;
Thou spokesman of the Muslim world,
Dispeller of the gath'ring cloud.

Espouse our cause and lead us to the goal
Under your flag to Pakistan,
And surely will we march with you
To make for us a home in Hindustan.

Long live thou Saviour bold!
To teach us freedom, love and amity:
Long live the glory of thy name
To give us faith, discipline, unity.

S. S. Ahmed,
(Alig.)

Mr. Munshi's Mission

Mr. Munshi is out on a propaganda tour in support of his "Akhand Hindustan". The very object of his platform is to prepare the Hindus to fight the Muslims throughout India and to denounce their goal of Pakistan which does no harm to anybody. By virtue of his mission he cannot be expected to say things which would go to improve the relations between the two nations. But in his speech at Lahore he abandoned all restraint and misrepresented the League in a manner that is calculated to incite the Hindus and the Sikhs against the Mussalmans calling upon the former to get ready for civil war. He alleges that the Pakistan Government would be conducted according to the Islamic religious law and that the non-Muslims would have no voice or share in it. A purer lie than this it is not easy to invent. He may succeed in fooling his hearers on more occasions than one, but there are limits to everything, credulity included.

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NOTES
(Contd.)

SPIRIT OF YOUTH

The "Muslim Youth Study Circle" has brought out a monthly journal from Lucknow—"SPIRIT OF YOUTH"—which we hope will serve as a beacon light to Muslim young men all over the country, thus rallying them round the banner of Islam in India. We wish the journal success and a prosperous career.

Asceticism in Politics

Sir, in view of the manifold claims assiduously advanced by certain politicians on the strength of the Satyagraha, I analyse the movement from its different aspects--social, religious, political, economic and philosophical.

Religio-Philosophical:--There was a time when Asceticism or a life of self-imposed sufferings and tortures was regarded as the best way of acquiring virtue. This was rejected by Islam which regarded Life as a precious gift of God, the purpose of which was the realisation of the latent faculties of the human mind. Self-destruction was therefore, regarded as a sin. The present movement - courting arrest by uttering certain slogans after notice thereof to the Government--seems to be a manifestation of the spirit of Asceticism ingrained into the nature and being of the propounders thereof, stretched out into the domain of Politics.

Socio-Political:--Such dramatic gestures in going to Jail do not fail to arrest the attention of the society entitling the *Satyagrahi* to a preferential treatment therein. Distance again seems to lend colour to it. Although it is claimed that the movement is essentially non-embarrassing to the Government, it seems to be so designed as to cause in fact least embarrassment to the party concerned which would otherwise have been caused if the *Satyagraha* entailed economic losses, *e. g.*, forfeitures of properties, suspensions of pensions and the like. Economically, therefore, the *Satyagrahi* is not at a serious disadvantage. Rather, to many, it may not have been unwelcome.

Yours etc.,
Muzheray Towheed.
Calcutta.

Dangers of Aggressive Nationalism *Contd*

just as he believes in that of his own. The attempt to make all groups alike by bringing them under a common system of law and government will in his opinion "destroy some special character of endurance or wit which may be developed even in a small nation."

Variety

Another consideration which moves a true nationalist to support the cause of a nation not necessarily his own is the fact that no one political system is suited to the genius of every nation. States should vary in their law and government so as to reflect in their variety the distinct character of human groups. If all states were placed under a uniform system of law and government, the tendency to assimilate due to the increasing means of communications will lead to the suppression of much that is good, and drive the weaker states to imitate the virtues and vices of the dominant states

The unification of the German Empire has not been an unmixed blessing. On the contrary, it is said that by falling under the domination of Prussia, the Germans of the Southern States and the Rhine have lost much that was admirable in their character and they have imitated the vices of Prussian militarism.

Different political systems are at work in the world. What suits one country may not be workable in the peculiar circumstances of the other. Democracy of the Western type, with its trend towards capitalism, is quite in its place for a rich manufacturing country which has expanded beyond its limits or has ample within its own bounds for the development of its resources. Thus England, France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and Denmark grew up into democratic States with parliamentary institutions. All these states had ample scope for exploitation new lands in their possessions beyond the mother country. So in course of time, the upper classes of these countries grew in power and wealth and turned their democratic institutions to their own best advantage. The condition of lower orders, the labourers in the field and factory, is still far from satisfactory but not so bad as in case of countries which have newly imitated parliamentary institutions and do not possess enough resources through lack of living space or undevelopment of natural wealth to promote the welfare of the people in general. This second set of states contains the new states of Europe that came into existance on the dismemberment of the former Russian, Turkish and Austro-Hungarian Empires. All these states were still extremely poor and democratic institutions, these instead of being a source of hope and joy to the people, proved a great setback. These peoples had no parliamentary experience, nor had they acquired the necessary education to work out democratic institutions. Hence the administration came into the hands of inefficient and corrupt men who, through influence of wealth or family, contrived to maintain their hold on the general body of electors. Democracy has thus proved a failure in many countries.

Limitations.

Even as a social order that once was held as the highest contributing factor to the future happiness of mankind, democracy has its own limitations. In the increasing complexity of modern life where the State has to frame laws about a number of technical problems, the ordinary legislature cannot give an expert advice and so the work has to be left to a body of specialists who may not often be available within a Legislature, elected on the principle of adult franchise. Democracy also sometimes moves very slowly in effecting new changes and reforms and even when it makes up its mind to carry the wishes of its people into practice, it does not have an effective machinery to secure ready and prompt compliance with its orders. Its efforts are also hampered by obstruction labour unions and other organisations which derive their force from public opinion and are opposed to the state on party grounds. Originally it was conceived that a democratic government will be essentially a one party government, where one party will form the Government and carry through its programme, while the other party will enter into opposition and accept the role of a minority which will not try to hamper the work of the party in power beyond criticism of its policy. But with the multiplicity of interests in a modern state, new parties arose and party affiliations became so slippery that it was found difficult to stabilise the government.

In France, prior to its surrender, there was no one party in the Senate and the Chamber which could command the confidence of a majority of members. Hence coalition ministries had to be formed which changed rapidly with the shiftings of party members from one group to another. This weakened the Central Government and crippled its national will at a time when it should have commanded the undivided allegiance of the entire nation for its very existance.

It will be thus evident that democracy cannot be transplanted in every soil and climate without regard to circumstances. In Saudi Arabia, Iran and Afghanistan, the idea is yet in the embryonic stage, and it will take years before the people will be used to it. Even then there is no guarantee that as the political consciousness of the people grows, they may not give it up in its present form, as understood in the west, and may evolve a new form of it, based on purely Islamic conceptions.

In India.

India may safely be included in the list of those countries where Democracy will never meet with success as long as the present conditions of social inequality persist. The Hindus are a caste-ridden people who have never known in the past any political conception besides that of a benevolent despotism. Their social order is a negation of democracy. They have deprived a quarter of the

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PRESS

Mr. Gandhi's Latest

The complacent tone of Mr. Gandhi's latest statement fills one with dismay. Nevertheless there are small mercies in his statement for which we may be thankful. He refuses to countenance mass action and openly confesses that "mass agitation at this stage without communal unity is an invitation to civil war." So far so good, but he proceeds to hold out the threat of mass civil disobedience after the war. Failing a communal settlement, will the danger of civil strife then be any less than it is now? Surely it must be greater. The best insurance against civil war is a Congress-League understanding; Mr. Gandhi, while acknowledging this fact, adopts a line of action which is least calculated to achieve it. Here is a clear case of faith without works.—*Times of India.*

Boycott.

Under the leadership of Qaide-Azam Jinnah the walk-out of the Muslim League Party from the Central legislature is a proof positive of the fact that the British Government has ignored the sentiments of Muslim India in connection with the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the National National Defence Council. Muslim India has no doubt felt it with extreme bitterness. The statement which the Qaide Azam has made in this regard not only reflects the feelings of the Mussalmans but has a unique note of warning, hitherto unknown in the history of the Muslim League, in which the British Government has been apprised of the clouds that are gathering over India as well as her Government, the effects of which will be detrimental not only to the country but also to the British Government in India.-*Wahdat*, Dehli.

British Policy Exposed.

The most effective exposure of British policy in recent times came from Mr. Jinnah when he showed up the scheme for the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the National Defence Council for what it was a group of yes men with no popular sanction behind it. In that connection, on the admission of even the bitterest critics of the League, he exposed the old method adopted by the Government of choosing a few show boys and passing them off on an ignorant world as representatives of the people. The hollowness of the claim put forward by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy was made sufficiently apparent and there is no doubt that the two worthies regret the step they have taken. To make the voice of Muslims heard, or to use Mr. Jinnah's own words, to "open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf" the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly has walked out as a protest against the attitude of the Government towards the Muslims. The Indian parliament has now become a mere farce.—*Deccan Times.*

Widening the Gulf.

Mr. Munshi by his resignation from the Congress has shed the threadbare disguise of non-violence and has thus freed himself to go about the business, as it were, of widening the gulf between the Muslims and the Hindus. We are not at all surprised at his most lamentable attitude, but we think we have a right to ask the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab (which province was visited by him recently) the reason why Mr. Munshi has been exempted from those clauses of the Defence of India Rules by which the pollution of the peaceful atmosphere of the country is a crime.—*Sarosh*, Bombay.

MR. JINNAH'S SPEECH *(Contd.)*

a great danger to India. We considered that it was in our own interest that we should have power to defend our homes and hearths and, therefore, within the framework of the present constitution, we were ready and willing to co-operate with British Government with authority and power both at the Centre and the provinces. The August declaration of the Viceroy recognized that principle but when that principle came to be translated into action it was completely frustrated. The terms of the offer were such that no self-respecting party could agree to it. The Muslim League, therefore, rejected the offer and the British Govt. slept over it. But in July last it was again revived, and inspite of our disapproval and rejection a reconstituted Executive Council and a newly formed so-called National Defence Council was forced upon us. It is sought to be justified on the ground that the proposal of the Muslim League embodied in the memorandum of July 1940 to the Viceroy was based on the two-nation theory. It is inconceivable where the two-nation theory comes in the reconstruction of the Executive Council within the framework of the present constitution, which, like an emergency national Cabinet, had to be reconstructed, not on the basis of counting of heads but what the heads contain."

Mr. Jinnah then pointed out as to how the British Govt. had tried to wean the members of the Muslim League over and above the head of the leader and the executive of the All-India Muslim League and how the league has been able to save its prestige and honour"

"The British Govt. have now learnt a lesson," he said, "and I hope that the rest of India will also learn a lesson very soon, that it is futile to create disruption in the ranks of either the Muslim League or Muslim India." The reconstitution of the Central Government was forced upon Muslim India, declared Mr. Jinnah, in total disregard of the attitude of the Muslim League, and as a mark of protest the Muslim League Party withdrew from the Central Legislature which is a perfectly legitimate constitutional method for a party in opposition to adopt.

Referring to the independent and sovereign Muslim States, Mr. Jinnah said: "If the British Government do not make it clear as to what their intentions are regarding Muslim States and also that they have no designs on their sovereignty and independence, I feel that it would be very difficult to control Muslim India any more. Some of the Hindu leaders have been suggesting that Pakistan is more a danger to the British Government than to the Hindus and therefore, the only way to fight this danger is to disrupt the existing independent Muslim States, so that the Hindus could rule over the whole of India easily. I say to them, it is foolish."

Commenting on Mr. Munshi's speech at Lahore as reported in the press Mr. Jinnah pointed out that Mr. Munshi was out to incite the Sikhs and the Hindus in the Punjab against Pakistan. His allegations were entirely untrue and baseless. "He seems to suggest," continued Mr. Jinnah, "that the non-Muslims in Pakistan will be treated as untouchables. Let me tell Mr. Munshi that untouchability is only known

(Continued on page 10)

Mr. Jinnah's Warning *Contd,*

to his philosophy. The Pakistan scheme is based on what Islam has tought us. Islam stands for equality of manhood. It stands for justice and fairplay, nay generosity to non-Muslims who are like brothers to us, and would be the citizens of the state."

Referring to the Atlantic Charter Mr. Jinnah said, "Hindu leaders are complaining that India has been excluded from the Atlantic Charter. They are demanding that a new declaration should be made contrary to what Mr. Churchill has said. What is the use of this declaration or that declaration? Declarations, most of them, mean nothing. They have no value at all. As for Muslim India we have forged our own charter and that is Pakistan, and I want to make it clear that Muslim India will make every sacrifice to achieve that goal. Let us now create sanctions behind it. Pakistan is not a more slogan or a counter for bargaining. It is a political reality and a practical solution for the most complex problem of India's future constitution. We are not going to budge an inch from our demand. We are determined to watch and guard our own interests and we are capable of doing it separately."

On entering the Strachey Hall which was packed to capacity, he was received with thunderous shouts of "Qaid-e-Azam Zindabad". and "Muslim League Zindabad". His speech, which lasted for over an hour, was punctuated with frequent applause and cheers.

Mr. Shakir Husain Khan while thanking Mr. Jinnah on behalf of the Union, as its Secretary, assured him that Aligarh will form the vangaurd of the army which will march victoriously to the goal of Pakistan.

Dangers of Aggressive Nationalism

(Contd,)

population of this vast subcontinent of the ordinary privileges to which every man is entitled on the basis of equality of man. An untouchable cannot touch a Hindu's food or drink water from the same well or even worship in the same temple. He is held in the lowest scale in society. Centuries of observance of caste system, has developed an exclusive outlook among the Hindus in general against the depressed classes. It is not an easy task to eradicate these social differences.

Other factors which are a permanent impediment in the successful working of a democratic form of government in India, taken as a single political unit, are---

(1) The Hindu-Muslim problem which cannot be solved within the framework of nationalism as conceived by the majority community and (2) The vastness of India's area and population which, with its diversity of races, religions and languages, makes it impossible for a democratic form of government to reconcile the conflicting interests and prejudices of the hetrogeneous mass of peoples.

As a famous American writer has said: "Democracy prospers in societies with a fairly simple political and economic organisation in which the issues at stake are not complex and lend themselves to clear-cut discussions in representative assemblies. Democracy presupposes readiness on the part of the majority in parliament or outside to give the minority a hearing, and willingness on the part of minority to accept the policies of the majority as long as the latter holds power' Continuing his argument the same writer thus concludes. "Where the disposition to rational discussion of fundamental problems is lacking, where differences between political or economic groups appear irreconcilable, where these groups prefer to fight out the ultimate issues involved rather than effect a compromise where a continuing state of crisis, of emergency, exists—democracy no longer functions with success and must sooner or later yield to some other form of government."

The establishment of the Soviet Government in Russia after the last war and of Fascism in Spain can be justified only in the light of these conclussions. It is evident from these examples that even a homogenous population, closely bound by similar traditions, is no guarantee for the successful functioning of democracy and may sooner or later yield to some other form of government if the people are divided into two aggressive and hostile groups on fundamental issues. Where however, the population is not homogenous and is settled in an area as vast as the whole of Europe, excluding Russia, democracy is out of the question for the unit as a whole, unless it is first split up into homogenous parts. It is then for the people, grouped into new national states, to decide whether democracy or some other form of Government suits them.

Unity in Diversity.

Another main consideration which moves a true nationalists to support the right to self-determination of every human group, closely bound by similar traditions, is the desire that all groups should meet on terms of equality and friendship, each preserving its own laws and institutions. The ideal of true nationalism implies close relationship between different nations on the basis of equality and not for the elemination of differences. It is the more civilised development of the very differences which divide one national group from another that will promote peace and progress of the world. If two nations are forced to obrerve alike customs and creeds and to be uniform in their likes and dislikes, both will become mutually aggressive and the stronger will try to suppress the weaker. The world will be a loser for being deprived of the political experience, culture and traditions of the suppressed nation. On the other hand if two nations live on terms of friendship, both will enrich the world by their varied experience and development of their respective laws and institutions. An intelligent friendship between two persons promotes rather than hinders the individuality of each. An attempt to force union between two human groups, other than on terms of equality, will be a step in the direction of Imperialism. We hate the world "imperialism", for it implies oppression and exploitation of human groups by a dominant power within its empire.

Imperialism.

"If nationalism can imply the close relationship even in the same state of many races, so Imperialism can imply the recognition within the same state of many different interests." In this respect there is no difference between the two ideals. This may be illustrated by two examples. The British Empire is said to be the true example of Imperialism. The British race is admittedly the dominant partner in the Empire. The ideal before the empire is free and equal partnership for every nation within the British Commonwealth. The ideal implies the right of every nationality to responsible self-Government. On the other hand, China is said to be a truly national state which is fighting for her very existence against Japan. The Chinese are popularly known as a homogenous people, closely bound by common traditions. The goal before the Chinese is a national democratic state. But the Chinese nationalists have deprived the Muslim part of their State, known as Chinese Turkistan, of their right to national independence. The people of Sinkiang have nothing in common with the rest of China in race, religion, language and culture and yet they are forced to accept a union with China. The Chinese nationalists have further deprived many other non-Chinese parts of their state, of the right to independent existence. Mongolia, Tibet and Manchuria are, strictly speaking, not part of China. Judged by any modern stand-

(Continued on page 11)

Echoes from Bengal

(By **Orpheus**)

The proposal to hold the next annual session of the All-India Muslim League in Calcutta will evoke enthusiastic response from all over Bengal, the largest single Muslim unit in Muslim India. The Muslim League stands for Muslim solidarity and Pakistan which connotes "Free Islam in Free India." Bengal is to be the vortex of Eastern Pakistan, which ideal has moved not only the Muslim intelligentsia but also the Muslim masses, as no other ideal has done in the past. Bengal of to-day is not the Bengal of yesterday. The Muslims of Bengal have come to realize their responsibilities and their rightful position in the body politic of India. The Qaid-i-Azam is perfectly right when he said that "Bengal is a strong Leaguer." The country-wide expression of League-mindedness which the recent crisis evoked throughout the length and breadth of Bengal, as also the uniformly satisfcatory results of elections

(Continued on next column.)

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to the Legislature and the Local Bodies, proves the assertion.

* * *

The recognition of Bengal's claims to more effective voice in the internal administration of the League by electing one of the two Joint Secretaries of the League from Bengal has been a move in the right direction. Not that Bengal had any grouse in the matter. Nevertheless the move will be welcome and will facilitate matters. The selection of Khan Bahadur M. A. Momin with his weight of personality and wide experience of men and matters, for the newly-created responsibility has also been a happy one. Bengal is ready for wider activities in the matter of League organization. The feeling in the country is that the splendid opportunities have not been fully availed of and utilized so far. Thousands of workers and enthusiasts for the League organization, both old and young, are anxiously awaiting the command. The Muslim students in particular are determined to preach the message of the League far and wide. The patience of the army of workers should not be tried any more.

(Continued from page 10)

dard, the people of these lands have as good a right to self-government as the people of China proper. It is, therefore, evident that Chinese nationalism, in no way, differs from British Imperialism. England has frankly assumed the role of an Imperial State, while China cloaks its intentions through the garb of nationalism.

None of these states, neither England nor China, present a sufficient parallel for the case of India. The Hindu nationalists of India may follow for the present the tactics of Chinese nationalists and may deceive the whole world into believing that like the Chinese they are keen to preserve the integrity and unity of their country, but they will be ultimately disillusioned and will have to recognise that true nationalism has a place both fot Hindus and Muslims in their seperate sovereign states.

Kanara Muslim League

The annual and general body meeting of the South Kanara District Muslim League was held recently at the District Muslim League Office at Mangalore" when the following resolution was adopted:

Last year there were only 4200 members. This year there are 7759 members. In this District Sherulabad Primary League consisted of the greatest number of members which is 1300. There are 72 representatives to the District Muslim League out of which 43 were present.

Resolved that a telegram be sent to Qaide-Azam Jinnah that South Kanara Muslims have firm faith in his leadership and condemn those leaders who try to make a split in the ranks of the Muslim League.

POLITICAL DAY-DREAMS

"As a people, we must be fully conscious of what we are. It is a truism to say the consiousness of the unity of a people implies the knowledge of its parts as well of its whole. But, most of us not only have no such knowledge of India; we do not even have an eager desire to cultivate it.

"By asserting our national unity with vehemence in our political propaganda, we assure ourselves that we possess it and thus continue to live in a make-believe world of political day-dreams. The fact is, we have only a feeble human interest in our own country. We love to talk about politics and economics; we are ready to soar into the thin air of academic abstractions, or roam in the dusk of pedantic wilderness; but we never care to cross our social boundaries and come to the door of our neighbouring communities to personally inquire how they think and feel and express themselves and how they fashion their lives."---*Dr. Tagore at Gurukul University, 11th April, 1941.*

CALCUTTA BAN

Carrying of weapons in Public prohibited

The carrying of any dagger sword, spear, bludgeon, lathi, gun or other offensive weapons in any public place in the town or suburbs of Calcutta has been prohibited by the Commissioner of Police of Calcutta for a period of one year from November 1.

British Locomotive for Turkey

The first British locomotive in Turkey pulling a train of British wagons arrived at Ankara on Thursday and was inspected by the Minister of Communications. So far Britain has delivered about 200 wagons to Turkey-*Reuter.*

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

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HOME STUDY CIRCLE

With a view that the public may receive without delay and trouble all literature, pamphlets and books and information regarding the activities, policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League, a Home Study Circle has been organised by a number of well-wishers of the League.

The Circle is not a money-making project, but it has got to be self-supporting. Accodingly, anv person can become a member. by paying Rs. 5/- as Deposit Money, which will be refunded if the person ceases to be a member. During membership the person will be entitled to receive all such literature, free of charge, as is meant to be distributed free. The postage will, however, be paid by the member.

Publications not meant for free distribution will have to be paid by the member, the cost not to exceed Rs. 5-.

The following is a list of free publications available:---

(i) "Muslim India and its goal" by Jamiluddin Ahmed, B. A., Hons.) M. A. (Alig.); (ii) "Presidential Address" All-India Muslim League---Lucknow Session Oct. 1939, by Mr. M. A. Jinnah; iii) "Muslim Sufferings under Congress Rule" by Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, (Premier of Bengal); (iv) "Presidential Address"--- Sind Muslim League Conference, Oct. 1938, by Mr. M. A. Jinnah; (v) History of the Origin of "Fourteen Points" by Mr. M. A. Jinnah; (vi) "Hindu-Muslim Settlement" Correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, and between Pt. Jawaharlal and Mr. Jinnah; (vii) All-India Muslim League---Central Board---Policy and Programme; (viii) "Special Session All-India Muslim League Calcutta" Presidential Address---by Mr. M. A. Jinnah; (ix) Presidential Address at Patna Session of All-India Muslim League---by Mr, M. A. Jinnah.

The following other publications are available.

(i) "India's Problem of her Future Constitution" with preface by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Re. 1-; (ii) Report of the Peerpur Inquiry Committee As. 8-; (iii) "The War!" Published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan---M. A., Oxon, M. L. A., (U. P.) Barrister-at-Law, As. 8-. (iv) Home Study Series No. 2; As. 10.

Enrolment forms may be obtained from The Secretary, Home Study Circle, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

THE DAWN

The Dawn gratefully appreciates the very encouraging response from Muslim brethren all over India and has pleasure to announce that, the first issue having all been sold out, the same will shortly be reprinted owing to the very great demand for that issue. To avoid disappointment, therefore, the readers are requested to book their orders in advance with

The Manager,
The Dawn,
Daryagunj,
DELHI.

1941

Turkish Motor-boat Torpedoed

Reuter learns that the Turkish motor-boat *Kaynakdere* has been stopped and sunk by a submarine in the Black Sea, according to a semi-official announcement.

The sinking took place in Turkish territorial waters. The crew is safe. An inquiry has been opened.

NINETEEN KILLED

Ships sunk on way to England

The British Press Service announced that 19 persons, mostly on their way to England with civilian technical corps, were presumed to be lost at sea aboard a ship which has been sunk, says *Reuter*.

RECORD FLIGHT

Non-stop 3,300 Miles by Catalina

A Pacific air-crossing record was created when in the last stage of a ferrying flight from America to Australia, a Catalina flew 3,300 miles non-stop from Canton Island to Sydney, as reported by *Reuter*. The flight is believed to be a world record for a Catalina and certainly a Pacific record. The Catalina's navigator is Capt. P. G. Taylor who accompanied Kingsford Smith when he established the previous Pacific record in 1934.

The Canton Island belongs to the Phoenix group.

KING ZAHIR SHAH OPENS JIRGA

Policy of Neutrality

His Majesty King Zahir Shah formally opened the Loe Jirga (Grand council) in Kabul on Wednesday, as reported by the Associated Press.

Members of Parliament. tribal representatives, relagious leaders civil and military officers, representatives of the trade commerce and industry and all other interests of national life were invited.

The King in his speech said that he had summoned the Jirga firstly, to meet all the representatives of the nation and secondly, to confer with them on the present situation with the war spreading further to the east.

After the King's address the President of the National Assembly spoke. The King then returned to his palace and the meeting continued with the Premier in the chair.

The Foreign Minister made a lengthy statement on the country's foreign relationss and gave a full review of the events since the outbreak of the war culminating in the departure of German and Italian nationals from Afghanistan. He reiterated the country's determination to maintain neutrality and follow a peaceful policy as was done in the past.

Blasphemous Attack

The President Jamiatul-Ulama-i-Hind writs to say that the Jamiat frimly support every word of the speech made by Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi in the Central Assembly in moving an adjournment motion with regard to the blasphemous and mischievous attack on the charactor of the Holy Parophet, made in an article published in Sunday News of America, dated the 27th April 1941. As this article has deeply injured the religious feelings of 9 crores of Indian Muslims the Jamiat urge the Government to strongly represent the matter to the American Government to punish the mischief-maker; to otherwise. the Indian Muslims will be right in thinking that the British Government have no regard for the religious feelings and sentiments of the Muslims

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LIBRARY OF CONGRESS MAY 19 1944 PERIODICAL DIVISION

The DAWN

FOUNDER: MR. M. A. JINNAH

Under the Supervision of NAWABZADA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, Hony. Secy. All-India Muslim League.

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MAY 20 1944

NEWS OF THE WEEK

RUSSIAN WAR FRONT

Thursday's reports from Russia say that the Germans are still 60 miles from Moscow and that German troops are forced to clear the roads which are heavily mined and defended by barricades and flame-throwers. electrically operated from concealed positions. Behind the roads are tank traps and tank barriers and still more mines.

Particularly intense fighting has developed in the direction of Kerch in the Crimea. According to reports from Budapest, German and Rumanian troops have occupied Kerch but, so far, there is no confirmation of this claim from other sources.

Improved weather conditions in the Ukraine have enabled Russian airmen to raid German supply lines.

The Germans, it is understood, have given orders that Tula must be taken at all costs and the German command is bringing up fresh reserves.

Stubborn fighting is now in progress near Leningrad. The Germans are attempting to surround the city and wear it down. Despite enormous losses the Germans continue to push forward and penetrate deeper and deeper into Soviet territory.

Turkish Ministers Resign

INQUIRY INTO SHIP'S LOSS

The Turkish War Minister and the Minister of Transport have resigned, according to the Ankara radio. The resignations were connected with investigations into the loss of a Turkish vessel in the Mediterranean, the announcer added.

Dr. Arikan and Dr. Cevdit Kerim Inudayi in tendering their resignations are reported to have stated that this would facilitate the investigations. Certain high-ranking officers and officials are implicated.

The Turkish President has appointed General Ali Riza Artunkal and Admiral Fahiri to fill the vacant ministerial posts. General Artunkal according to *Reuter*, is on the retired list. Admiral Engin is also on the retired list but is a Deputy in the Grand National Assembly.

PREMIER

M. Reyfik Saydam, the Prime Minister of Turkey, is taking one month's holiday at Mersina on account of ill-health.

Council of State

MUSLIM LEAGUE MEMBERS WALK OUT

MR. HUSSAIN IMAM'S STATEMENT

The members of the Muslim League Party in the Council of State walked out on Tuesday morning after their leader, Mr. Hussain Imam, had made a brief statement.

Mr. Hussain Imam stated that they had decided to take that action in consonance with the decision of the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly, as a mark of protest and resentment against the action of His Majesty's Government in India. He declared that the Moslems expected and were entitled to better treatment than had been meted out to them. They had never refused to co-operate with the Government, they had gone out of their way to facilitate and conciliate the Government by agreeing to drop the question of the future constitution and Pakistan for the duration of the war.

Mr. Imam went on to say that, after the clear and convincing statement made in the other House by "our Qaide Azam, M. A. Jinnah he did not think it necessary to go over in detail the same ground. They had been "bluffed" by the scheme of expansion of the Executive Council, the expansion was only a camouflage. The portfolios previously held by Indians had been split up to make room for the expansion but the bigger and more important portfolios like Finance and Defence had not been given to Indians. He asserted that the portfolio of Education, Health and Lands which had been held all along by one person, was far too big in wartime, to be in the hand of one member.

NO REAL POWER

Referring to the portfolio of Indians Overseas, Mr. Hussain Imam declared that the new Member for Indians Overseas was not really in charge of Indians overseas, he was only in charge of Indians within the British Dominions. He was not in-charge of Indians in foreign countries like the United States of America. In the case of the Home Department, only its appendix had been severed to create the two portfolios, Civil Defence and Information. Indians had not really been given any power. "I call them an appendix because they were new additions to the body

(Continued on page 11)

LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE

(Continued from page 9)

of the All-India Muslim League and the Muslim leaders of the Provinces where the Mussalmans are in a minority :—

(a) "I maintain that this action of the President was unconstitutional in the highest degree,"

(b) "The Working Committee endorsed the action of the President, becuse they had no other alternative before them. If they had refused to ratify the President's action it would have amounted to a vote of no-confidence in the President, and this contingency the Working Committee were not prepared to face. It is for this reason that the Working Committee passed the resolution, a copy of which you have forwarded to me calling upon me to resign unconditionally from the National Defence Council."

(c) "But before I conclude I wish to record a most emphatic protest against the manner in which the interests of Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab are being imperilled by Muslim Leaders of the Provinces where the Muslims are in a minority, popularly known among Muslims as the Minority Provinces of India."

(d) "As a mark of protest against the arbitrary use of powers vested in its President, I beg to tender my resignation from the membership of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim Laegue. Much as I deplore this course I feel I cannot usefully continue to be a member of a body which shows scant courtesy to provincial leaders and which arrogates to itself the functions which ought to be exercised by the Provincial Executive."

(e) "The President of the All-India Muslim League has signally failed to discharge the heavy responsibility of his office in a constitutional and reasonable manner."

(f) "In tendering my resignation I should also like to enter the caveat that the recent events have forcibly brought home to me that the principles of democracy and autonomy are being subordinated to the arbitrary decision of a single individual who seeks to rule as an omnipotent authority over the destiny of 33 millions of Muslims in the Province of Bengal who occupy the key position in Indian Muslim politics."

Ten Days

The Working Committee therefore, call upon Mr, Fazlul Haq to withdraw these allegations and express his regret for having cast these aspersions within 10 days from the date of the receipt of intimation of this resolution,

On the expiry of the time specified above the Working Committee will decide what action is called for after considering any explanation that Mr. Fazlul Haq may offer either in writing or in person and for this purpose, among other matters, instruct the Secretary to inform Mr. Fazlul Haq that the Working Committee will meet on November 16, 1941 at the Central Office of the All-India Muslim League in Delhi at 11 A,M.

Those who attend the meetings were Mr. M, A. Jinnah, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Raja Amir Ahmad Khan, of Mahmudabad, Chaudhri Khaliqu-zz-aman, Nawab M. Ismail Khan, Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Maulana Mohammed Akram Khan, Khwaja Sir Nizamuddin, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Begum Maulana Mohammed Ali, Haji Sir Abbulla Haroon Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan, of Mamdot, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhry, Syed Abdur Rauf Shah, Malik Barkat Ali, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan. Mr. G.M. Syed, Qazi Mohammed Isa and Haji Abdur Razzaq H. A. Sattar Seth.

President's Conference

The first conference of the presidents and secretaries of all the provincial Muslim League, was held in the Central Office of the All-India Muslim League. Daryagunj, Delhi on Tuesday and was attended by the representatives of all the provinces. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, presided.

At the outset Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary of the League, explained the aims and objects of the conference.

The conference will establish a link between the centre and the provinces for the purpose of co-ordinating their activities and ensuring intensified progress of the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. To intensify the League's programme it was decided that each province should endeavour to convene as many conferences in districts as was possible. Each province was enjoined to train a larger number of workers and arrange to have at least one batch of workers constantly touring the province to propagate the ideals of the League amongst the Muslim masses. The provinces were also enjoined to have a recruitment drive and enrol at least 10 per cent of the Muslim population as primary members of the League and one per cent as volunteers of the National Guard.

It was decided thatthe central body should arrange for the preparation and distribution of literature, particularly relating to political questions and Pakistan, in order to secure uniformity in the matter of policy and programme of the League.

The provincial Leagues were urged to observe uniformity in regard to fundamentals in the constitution of their organizations.

These conferences of provincial presidents and secretaries will become a regular feature of the League organization and will be called to meet at regular intervals.

League Five-year plan Committee

A meeting of the five-year plan committee, appointed at the Madras Session of the All-India Muslim League was held on Tuesday at Mr. M. A. Jinnah's residence. The meeting decided that all members of the committee should prepare notes contain ing their proposals before December 25 and circulate them among members of the committee, after which a general meeting of the committee is to be held to consider and formulate a report.

Okhla Basic School

The new buildings of the Basic School at Okhla near Delhi were opened by Mr. A.V. Askwith Chief Commissioners, on Tuesday afternoon. A large gathering attended the ceremony.

After he had declared the new buildings of the School open the Chief Commissioner visited the Jamia Millia Teachers' Training Institute. The guests were then entertained to tea at the Jamia Millia.

HAJ PILGRIMS

Last Date Changed

In a previous *communique* pilgrims intending to sail from Calcutta were advised to reach the port by November 17 at the latest, says a press *communique*. For unavoidable reasons the last day of arrival of pilgrims at that port has been altered to Sunday, November 16 and pilgrims are advised to reach Calcutta at the latest by this date.

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MAY 20 1944

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Russian War Front

News reaching London on Thursday shows that the fifth German offensive against Moscow is being very definitely held.

The position of the Russian defence was stabilized, though this might be a temporary condition, but there was no indication that the Germans were anywhere making an advance. The weather is still very bad at Kalinin.

In the Crimea, the Germans reached the outer defences of Sebastopol, about twenty miles from the city.

While masses of Nazi tanks, guns and dive-bombers still beat against Soviet lines in the west and south of Moscow, there is news of a sudden flare-up on the Leningrad Front. "Operations are developing in the woods and half-frozen lakes and swamps," says a front-lines dispatch to the Red Star.

In an account of the fighting in the Leningrad sector, the first for some time, it is stated that the Nazis recently launched an attack with four or five infantry divisions, supported by tanks. The Germans broke through in a few places at first, but the dispatch adds: "The advance of the main German forces has been checked."

The reason for this sudden assault on the Northern Front is declared to be the Nazis' need to bring about what Goebbels carried out "on paper" over two months ago—complete encirclement of Leningrad. German skiers, armed with automatic rifles, are trying to filter through

(Continued on next column)

(Continued from previous column). the Soviet lines. They are being surrounded and "exterminated," according to Soviet reports.

The Grand Mufti

The Grand Mufti, whose arrival in Italy from Iran was recently reported, was to have reached Berlin on Thursday where special precautionary measures are reported to have been taken.

Tension In Far East

Jap Envoy Goes To Washington

Col Knox, Navy Secretary of the United States, recentlv stated that the Far East tension was so acute a "collision" there appeared almost inevitable.

Now the Japanese Government have sent Mr. Kursusu as an emissary to Washington to act as a special adviser in the talks proceeding between the U. S. and Japan, and he is reported to be taking a formula approved by the Emperor of Japan for a settlement of the problems between the two Governments.

"Reuter's diplomatic correspondent commenting on the visit says on the success or failure of Mr. Kurusu's task depend vital issues in the Far East, and it is not going too far to say that peace and war are hanging in the balance.

Mr. Duff Cooper in an interview is reported to have said that an attack on the Burma Road may be one of the starters.

Congress & Threat of Civil War

Mr. JINNAH'S Warning to Government

INDEPEDENCE OF MUSLIM STATES

"If the British Government do not make it clear as to what their intentions are regarding the Muslim States and also that they have no designs on their savereignty and independence, I feel that it would be very difficult to cantrol Muslim India any more," declared Mr, M A. Jinnah, President of the all India Muslim League, in the course of his address to the students of the Muslim University, Aligarh, on November 2 last continuing he said: "the spirit that you have shown in giving me this warm welcome and reception proves that you are endorsing and supporting to the fullest extent the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League, and I hope that this will open the eyes of the world as to what is the strength behind the League."

Referring to Mr. Gandhi's recent statement hinting at Civil War, Mr. Jinnah said that if it comes it would come as a result of the Congress policy of repression and domination over Muslim India. "Muslim India is demanding only one fourth of India, leaving the rest to the Hindus, while the Congress wants to have the whole of this vast sub-continent for the Hindus. If therefore. India is plunged into Civil War it would only be on account of the Congress, and nobody else", declared Mr, Jinnah.

Giving a survey of the present political situation Mr. Jinnah said that India's politics could be divided into two parts--the present and the future. As for the future he said that the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government made a declaration on August 8, 1940 which was amplified by Mr. Amery on August 15, 1940 to the effect that no future constitution of India would be framed without the consent and approval of the Major elements in India and that it could only be adopted when there was an agreement between the principal parties in India. So far as the Muslim League was concerned they had declared that their demand had been met in that regard.

With regard to the present, Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League was willing as far back as November 1939 to help the British Government in the successful prosecution of the war. "We had realised that there was

(Continued on page 9)

Essential Unity of Muslim Nation

ALIGARH LEAGUE CONFERENCE

FLAG UNFURLED BY SIR C. IBRAHIM

Mr. M. A. Jinnah accompanied by Miss Fatima Jinnah and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan reached Aligarh at 6-30 p.m. on November 1. As the train arrived at the station thunderous shouts of Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad and "Muslim League Zindabad" were raised. He was escorted to his residence by the Uuniversity Riding Squad.

Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim of Bombay, on arrival at the Conference grounds, was received by Mr. Hafeezur Rahman, General Secretary. Mr. W,B. Kadri requested Sir Currimbhoy to unfurl the Muslim League flag. Performing the flag-hoisting ceremony, Sir Currimbhoy said that he was going to unfurl a most powerful flag—a flag which was revered by Mussalmans. Apart from the question of Pakistan all Muslims formed a Muslim world. He stressed the necessity of action based on practical methods and not by mere resolutions. He appreciated the turn-out of the Aligarh National Guards and said that they were slowly building up an army of their own which would ensure peace for every one.

The Aligarh Muslim League Conference opened amidst scenes of great enthusiasm in the night. The beautiful decorated Pandal was packed to capacity. The President-elect, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, received a great ovation on entering the Pandal. Among those sitting on the dais were Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Kazi Mohammad Isa, Mr. Rizwanullah and Mr. A. B. Habibullah Salar of the U.P. Muslim League National Guards.

The proceedings commenced with a recitation from the Holy Quran, Mr. Manzoor Mahmood of Lucknow, an Old Boy of Aligarh, recited Iqbal's Tararna in his characteristically vigorous style. At this stage Qaide Azam Jinnah accompanied by Miss Jinnah and attended by the Provincial Salar of National Guards, entered the Pandal and was received with loud cheers and resounding shouts of "Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad."

Nawab Ismail Khan inaugurated the Conference. He said that the first phase in the revival of the Muslim League was to invite all Muslims to join the League and to organize themselves. The second phase was to define their goal which was done at Lahore in 1940. Since then the whole of Muslim India had demonstrated its adhesion to the goal. They were now in the third stage when they had to make every preparation to achieve Pakistan. He appealed to the youth to justify the expectations centred round them.

After the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee had been read out by the Vice-Chairman, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy was proposed to take the chair by Maulana Abdul Hamid.

Mr. Suhrawardy begain his address by thanking the Mussalmans of Aligarh for the honour they had done him, which indicated the essential unity of the Muslim nation in India. Aligarh was an inspiration to the Muslims of India and he hoped that it will continue to produce leaders imbued with true Islamic zeal.

Continuing he said: "The renaissance, of the Muslims, of which your University is but a manifestation. is responsible for the shape that our politics has adopted, and it is as futile to try to stem the growth and power of the Muslim League as it is to Muslims torrent in flood. The reverse aof India are determined to have one organization, one banner, one ideal and one spokesman. Many have been the attempts to bring about disruption in our ranks, but they have failed and shall signally fail before the will of the Muslim community.' Not all the blandishments of power or the incense of a seductive press can break the iron resolve of the Muslims to remain united. Small groups here and there, founded mostly to satisfy the vanity of a leader or express the sentiments of a coterie, now remain, but they are hushed in silence or have joined the vast majority ofthe Muslims. The Muslim League is no more the organization of a few vocal middle class people. It is a mass organization broad based on the will and support of the people wholly democratic in constitution. The Muslim League has come to stay, to flourish and to grow and to embrace within its folds every single Muslim, and no power can stop the process of its expansion. For, in this organization lies not merely the safety and the defence ofthe Muslims of India, but it is only through this organization that we can fulfil our political destiny and attain our political goal.

"And what is that goal? Must the Muslim community in India always remain on the defensive, must we adopt the role of a permanent minority doomed to eternal struggle against a majority seeking to deprive us of our freedom and of our rights, or shall we not make an effort to construct and contribute to the glory of India and of the world? Must we lose ourselves entirely in the maze of safeguards and protection struggling for ever to preserve our circumscribed rights, or shall we not be permitted at any time to give expression to the genius of Islam in the social, economic, cultural and political field? Must we subscribe to the fiction of an Indian nation composed as it is of divergent elements loosely knit together under a unitarian government not more than a few decades old? Must we ignore that there is hardly any point of contact between the culture and genius of the Pathan of Northern India, and say, the Dravidian of the South between the Rajput and the Mahratta of the West and the Bengalee of the East? But greater still are the differences that exist between two great communities in their outlook on life in the structure of their society, in the arrangement of their daily existence, in their solution of the problems of mankind. We are being asked to ignore not only past history but existing conditions, and above all we are to forget that although we have lived side by side for centuries we still remain unfused, each one struggling for the preservation of his own individual culture, language and thought.. Moreover. the new struggle for power has accentuated these differences, and has made us

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Special Article.

Dangers of Aggressive Nationalism

BY

M. R. T.

II

A true nationalist would support the promotion and development of the divergent traditions of different nations. He will recognise the differences that divide one group of men from the other and will concede in good faith that these very differences will lead to the ultimate good of humanity.

There is some special quality in every group of men or nationality which it will be in the interest of whole humanity to preserve, and this will only be possible if the right of every nationality is recognised to develop its own laws and institutions. It is a clear verdict of history that when a nation has been deprived of its political independence, it is demoralised to such an extent that it cannot contribute its due share in the progress of humanity. Conversely, when a nation wins back its political independence, its contribution to the progress of humanity becomes substantial and effective in proportion to its own importance.

Thus for example: the Muslims in their heyday of glory in Spain contributed in no small measure to the progress of the country in medicine, science, art and literature. But when on the decline of their political power they were driven out of the country or converted to Christianity, they lost all their zeal and energy in the pursuit of knowledge and learning and were reduced to the condition of serfs and slaves. Similarly, Muslims of India under the Sultanates of Delhi and the Moghul Emperors maintained a high level of progress according to the accepted standards of the time. In architecture, arts and crafts, music and poetry, they displayed a wonderful skill, while as soldiers, traders and missionaries they were among the most enterprising in the world. Again in wealth, education, industry and trade, they held their position fairly well against the sister community which then, as now, was in majority.

Muslim Degeneration.

The loss of political power meant to Muslims the loss of their best cherished traditions of virtue, honour and chivalry and they sank gradually into the position of an illiterate poverty-stricken and neglected minority. In the Punjab where they formed a majority, the tyranny and oppression of Sikh rule deprived them of all opportunities to make their influence felt. The present day condition of Indian Muslims is directly the result of loss of their political power and their comparative slowness to adopt themselves to changed circumstances. If the Muslims again win back the power to rule over their own majority areas, they will revive their old traditions of virtue and honour and develop afresh their art and literature, institutions and laws from the points where their progress was abruptly stopped.

The world will be poorer if Hindus and Muslims are not permitted to promote and develop their respective cultures, creeds and laws on the lines of their own historic traditions and are forcibly united to develop a new culture or sense of unity which will be a mere imitation of the West and will lead finally to the destruction of all that is best in Muslim and Hindu systems of religion and polity. If it is conceded that Hindus and Muslims have their respective cultures, which it is worthwhile to maintain, then all efforts for unity will prove a failure. Iqbal is typically a Muslim poet while Tagore is a Hindu to the core. There is no meeting place between the two. One believes in the revival of ancient Hindu character and ethics, while the other pins his faith in the regeneration of Muslim World.

India and Europe.

You cannot unite the various nations of Europe on a political basis if you recognise that each has its own distinct culture to maintain. The differences in cultural aspects between one European nation and another are not so marked as in the case of the Hindus and the Muslims in India, and yet each is determined to pursue its own chosen course, irrespective of any material benefits that may be conferred on it by the fusion of its culture into that of another. The Swedes and the Norwegians, the Spaniards and the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Belgians, the Serbs and the Croats, the Czechs and the Slovaks respectively inhabit, more or less, parts of the same countries with not very distinct geographical limits, yet none of these nations is prepared to give up its own laws and institutions in order to merge into those of the other.

In some important respects, almost all the nations of Europe have inherited certain common traditions. They all look upon Greece as their parent home for many of their notions of civilisation, art and philosophy. In the city of Rome and the old Roman Empire they seek tradition of unity, order and law which exercised a great influence in the past in developing character under the same system of law and Government. The Middle Ages furnish to them another link in the Church which, besides giving them a common religion, gave them a common system of education, under the strict supervision of the clergy. The Church tried to develop the political conception that the entire Christian Europe was the 'Kingdom of God' where the Pope acted both as Temporal and Spiritual Head, Then again all European countries owe much of their present day progress and awakening to the Age of Renaissance which ushered in an era of adventure and exploration both in the world of literature and geography.

Since the dawn of modern age, Europe has displayed wonderful activity in the persuit of knowledge, art and science, and in the expansion of industry, trade and commerce. All these achievements are felt to be a common heritage of every European. Lastly, the development of means of communication has linked together the distant parts of Europe and has led to increasing social intercourse and economic interdependence.

Despite all these factors, Europe cannot be spoken of as one united nation nor it is possible to anticipate the tendency to union or even federation between any two countries or nationalities of Europe. The Finns and the people of the Baltic States on the western border of Russia, nor again the people of Ulster in Ireland could even be persuaded to accept union with their neighbouring States.

Thus, if political unity of two or more European countries is an impossibility, except under a threat of force, even though there are important traditions common to all countries, it is utterly absurd to conceive of India's unity, especially when there are such marked differences in the cultures of the two major communities. Hindus and Muslims are poles asunder in their political aspirations in regard to their past, present and future. They have diametrically opposite systems of law and inheritance which prevent intermarrying and interdining. They derive inspiration from two entirely different quarters and observe a conflicting set of religious rites and practices—for example, the animal sacrifice of Muslims and the cow veneration of Hindus.

It is in plain recognisation of these differences that a prominent political writer, D. Burns, has frankly declared that political liberty cannot be conceived for India as one single unit. He thus states his views: "For example, it is impossible to speak of the Indian Self-Government, as though India could be at present a unit having a simple relation to England, India is no more one than is Europe, and although there is growing up a general Indian sentiment, Self-government based upon an identity of interest between all the inhabitants of a continent is absurdly impracticable". A true nationalist believes in the right to political independence of other national groups

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more intolerant of each other's cherished sentiments. With the knowledge that they are in a majority not only in most of the provinces but in India as a whole, our fellow-countrymen have perhaps been more intolerent and more aggressive than would perhaps, have been the case. Otherwise, it is difficult indeed to explain how the Congress which claims to be and strives to maintain the fiction of being a non-communal organization should have so utterly thrown justice and discretion to the winds, and deliberately embarked on a policy of repression and intolerance against the minority communities. I fear that this danger will always exist as long as their is a likelihood of a Central Government where the majority community will direct the destinies of all and even affect the Government of those provinces where it is in a minority. The Pakistan Scheme is still in embryo, but even such as it is, it has been widely misunderstood, particularly by those critics who have condemned it before even they have had time to consider it. We are vitally concerned with the future of what may be termed the Muslim Provinces and zones. I see no reason why we shall not be allowed to reconstruct our portion of India according to our lights. The political, social and economic structure are all awry. Why should we not construct a new social order, a new economy, a new political structure in accordance with the tenets of Islam, founded as it is on toleration, on justice, on equality, on brotherhood and on freedom. This is our aim and our goal. The Muslims. particularly of the minority provinces have received a rude shock at the hands of a Government con-

Aligarh League Conference *(Contd.)*

trolled by a people to whom democracy is utterly foreign. This is our reaction, and the Muslims of India are determined to see that they are no more subjected to this majority, or are thrown to the wolves in the worship of this fetish of numbers.

"And now, my friends, let me turn for a little while to matters over which we have no control but which vitally affect our destinies. One of the most important questions which we shall have to resolve is our own attitude towards the war which is fast approaching our shores. That India is in danger there can be no doubt, that we ourselves as Muslims are anxious to participate in the war effort to the fullest possible extent also admits of no doubt. The Muslim League has in no way hindered the war efforts. On the other hand, it is definitely opposed to the Satyagraha movement and to demonstrations and slogans directed against the war efforts. In a recent speech in the Assembly our Qaid-i-Azam has definitely declared that he would like to see the war efforts further intensified. It is a matter of the greatest regret that inspite of his earnest appeal not to misrepresent him no less a person than Sir Frederick James, the leader of the European Group, has misunderstood and misinterpreted his speech entirely. Mr. Jinnah and his party walked out of the Assembly as a protest against the manner in which the Cabinet had been expanded in the name of the war efforts, declaring that this expansion would not help in that direction. Mr. Jinnah considers the situation so grave and so critical that he thinks that the mere addition of a few Indians in the Viceroy's Executive Council will not achieve anything substantial, or give that impetus and that direction which is necessary to meet the present exigencies. But as he is prepared to share the dangers of the war, as he is prepared to incur the hostility of those who are hindering the war efforts, surely he is entitled to claim on behalf of the Muslim community that the Muslim League should be asked to undertake real responsibility. I fear that Sir Frederick James has done no service to anyone, neither to the Government of this country nor to the British people, nor to the war efforts by misunderstanding Mr. Jinnah.

Concluding the Hon. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy said: "The Quad-i-Azam has given us faith, unity and discipline as our watchwords. Let us have faith in our mission, let us endeavour to bring all Muslims within the pale of our organization, not merely in spirit but in body. Let us be so united that the mightiest shall bend before our power. Let us be so disciplined that the voice of the community shall be to us as the voice of God and may Allah be with us all!"

Faith in Mr. Jinnah

At the concluding Session of the Muslim League Conference Mr. Karimur Raza Khan of Shajehanpur moved a resolution re-affirming full faith and confidence in Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah and the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League and congratulating them on their decision regarding the scheme of the Viceroy's Expanded Council and the Defence Council, which had vindicated the honour of Muslim India. The Conference strongly disapproved the methods employed by the British Government to wean away prominent Muslim-Leaguers over the head of the leader and the executive of the organisation; and also expressed appreciation of the protest registered by the Muslim League party in the Central Legislature against the unjust policy of the Government. The resolution was seconded by Maulana Jamal Mian and passed unanimously.

By another resolution the Conference requested the All-India Muslim League to intensify the efforts to consolidate the position of the Muslim in order that their demand for independent states in areas of Muslim majority for which they are struggling should be met at the earliest moment.

The Conference by another resolution, moved by Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman reiterated Pakistan as the national goal of Muslim India.

Undue and frivolous comment had been coming from Hindu quarters which gave a complex appearance to an otherwise very simple problem, said the Choudhri Sahib.

Mr. Satyamurthy had recently made an allegation that Pakistan was unworkable because most of the Indian Muslims were converts from Hinduism and as such they could not carry out the Pakistan scheme successfully. To these gentlemen Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman could only say that they had totally failed to understand their history. The example of Hazrat Bilal, a negro by birth, taking up the leader-

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LETTERS

League Statistics.

Sir, Allow me to draw the attention of the authorities of the various provincial organisations of the All-India Muslim League, through the columns of your esteemed paper, towards the fact that most of them do not maintain the necessary statistics regarding the activities of their respective provinces--an item which is very essential for furthering the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League, I have found that although some of our Provincia organisations are very active in many important centres, their activities are not known to the public. Sometimes even one centre is not aware of the work one by another. I would, therefore, suggest that the Provincial Muslim Leagues should send you facts and figures every now and then to be published in the DAWN at your discretion for the information of the public. I believe that it will not only be a source of valuable propaganda to the League, but will also create a healthy spirit of competition among the various organisations.

Yours etc.,

Nagpur. "Optimist."

Talk of Civil War.

Sir, Mr. Gandhi has recently come out with a lengthy statement to the press saying: "Mass action at this stage without communal unity is an invitation to Civil War. If Civil War is to be our lot, it will come; but if I know the Congress mind, it will never come at the wish or invitation of the Congress".

Mr. Gandhi has very often said that "communal unity" is his life's ambition and that without Communal unity *Swaraj* is not possible; and yet almost all of his lieutenants go on harping on their favourite tune that there is no communal question and no minority problem and that it is only a creation of the British Government in pursuance of their policy of divide and rule. If Mr. Gandhi knows the Congress mind, he will as well have known by now that it is very inconsistent. Who is responsible for communal disunity if not Mr. Gandhi himself? Muslim India, through her accredited leader, Mr. Jinnah, repeatedly made it clear that negotiations for Hindu-Muslim agreement could only be carried through on the basis of equality, that the All-India Muslim League should be recognised as the only authoritative and representative body of the Musalmans of India, and that someone who could deliver the goods should come forward to negotiate on behalf of the Hindus. But Mr. Gandhi has always been under the obsession that he represented both the Hindus and the Musalmans of India--and hence the deadlock.

If Mr. Gandhi really believes that Hindu-Muslim unity is essential for and a condition precedent to India's independence, let him face facts honestly and squarely. Let the Hindus of India select or elect their spokesman and let the Musalmans do likewise. Let us all forget the Congress and the League for the time being, and let these two spokesmen meet together and approach the Indian problem in a spirit of compromise, friendliness and brotherhood.

Mr. Gandhi's reference to civil war is nothing but an encouragement to mischief mongers in the Congress fold. He says civil war will never come 'at the wish or invitation of the Congress'. Does he mean to say that the Muslim League will welcome it? Why does Mr. Gandhi take to himself, on behalf of the Congress, all the credit for morality and patriotism? Why does he suppose that, the Congress having adopted a show of non-violence for political purposes, the other organisations are necessarily violent? Has Mr. Gandhi forgotten what he said when the Congress Government left offices in the provinces? Did he not say that as a result of their resort to violence Congress rule had lost its hold on the masses? And why? Is it not obvious that the Congress had misused power?

The civil war, therefore, if it is to be our lot, will certainly come at the invitation of the Congress, as a result of its policy of greed, repression and domination over the other elements in this vast sub-continent.

Yours etc.,

Madras. "Fairplay."

(Continued on page 8.)

Aligarh League Conference *(Contd.)*

hip of Arabs was one out of the many thousands, and it depicted very clearly the equality of Islamic brotherhood.

Continuing, he said that a Muslim in India was as capable as any other Muslim in any other part of the world to govern himself.

Other Hindu leaders, he added feared that the 60 million Muslim in the proposed Pakistan states would jeopardise the whole of India, but they failed to realise that the 100 million Muslims in the whole of India, if they so liked, could do even greater harm. But all these fears and apprehensions were hypothetical.

Time and again, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman said: Muslim had given assurances that they had no such designs on Hindu India and history showed that they had always stood by their word.

The resolution was seconded by Qazi Muhammad Isa of Baluchistan and was adopted unanimously.

Another resolution moved by Maulana Abdul Hamid Budauni, endorsed the original resolution of the All-India Muslim League Council passed at its last meeting, concerning the independence of the Islamic states of the Middle East.

After some other resolution touching on the problem of Muslim education and the rising price of food-stuffs had been adopted, Mr. Jinnah rose to address the Conference and was lustily cheered.

Speaking in Urdu, Mr. Jinnah complimented the Muslim public of Aligarh for the awakening and political consciousness they had developed. Though they had still a long way to go one thing was clear, namely; that the Muslim people had now begun to see things in their correct perspective. This showed that they had successfully accomplished the first stage of their progress. Muslim India had now built up its institution and public opinion on durable foundations. It had a wonderful manifestation on the occasion of the crisis through which they had recently passed when the whole of Muslim India was solidly behind the Muslim League. The Voice of the Muslim League was reverberating even beyond India in foreign countries and British journals were commenting, albeit incorrectly on the actions of the Muslim League. The report of the recent withdrawal of the League party from the Assembly was on the radio all over Europe and America the very next day.

As regards their goal of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah said, it was no longer a theory confined to the intelligentsia but it has thoroughly infiltrated into the minds of the masses of the Muslim people. Wherever he went he asked the common people as to what they understood by Pakistan and the answers they gave were really encouraging, as they showed that they had correctly grasped the issue.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah appealed to the people to concentrate on constructive work and nation-building departments so that the achievement of their goal may be hastened (loud cheers).

Declaring the Conference closed Mr. Suhrawardy congratulated the Muslims of Aligarh for the success of their Conference and complimented the organisers particularly the Secretary. Mr. Hafeezur Rahman and the Joint Secretary Dr. Amir Hasan Siddiqi for their energetic efforts.

In honour of the Qaide Azam's visit, a day's holiday was declared in the University on November 3 amidst shouts of "Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad."

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The Dawn

DELHI

Sunday, November 9, 1941

The "Satyagraha" Menace

As a result of protracted deliberations, held at Wardha towards the end of the last month, in which Congress leaders, released from Jail participated, Mr. Gandhi has come out with a lengthy statement on the inadvisability of of starting mass civil disobedience just at present. It appears that all or most of his lieutenants have been pressing Mr. Gandhi to abandon the futile and half-hearted "Satyagraha" and to resume parliamentary activities and the ministries in the provinces. But Mr. Gandhi insists on continuing civil disobedience, and in the same half-hearted manner. He has, therefore, tried to convince people through this statement that it is prudent to keep individual civil disobedience alive during the war, that a resumption of parliamentary activities at present will serve no useful purpose and that the launching of mass civil disobedience in the absence of a Hindu-Muslim agreement will be a sure invitation to civil war.

In this statement Mr. Gandhi has rspeatedly referred to Hindu-Muslim (which he prefers to call "communal") unity which every Congressman should strive for. But he is significantly silent on how to bring about that unity. Hindu-Muslim Unity is the most important part of the constructive programme of the Congress. But how far, if at all, this part of the programme is being carried out, nobody knows. If a Hindu-Muslim agreement had, in fact, been a part of the constructive programme of the Congress, there was no reason why mass civil disobedience, started ostensibiy for freedom of speech or the independence of the country, could turn into an invitation for civil war. But the guilty conscience of Mr. Gandhi knows full well that the present individual "satyagraha" or the promised mass civil disobedience is niether directed against the restrictions imposed by the Government on freedom of speech nor is it meant to attain independence for India; instead, it is intended through this ruse to deprive the Muslims of their rights, to prevent them from having their say in any future reconstruction of India's constitution, to deny their existence and resist British Government's recognition of them as a separate national unit and to cheat them of their share in the sovereignty of this sub-continent by getting them eliminated, as a nation, from Indian politics.

DISAPPOINTMENT

It is significant that the demand for freedom of speech, which was only an excuse for starting the mischief, was put forward only after the Viceroy's declaration of August 8, 1940 which put an end to Hindu hopes of establishing what they called a "National" Government at the Centre, in fulfilment of the Poona resolution of the Congress. Mr, Gandhi had hoped that the British Government on account of their pre-occupation in the war would be inclined to end this "satyagraha" nuisance by unceremoniously withdrawing their declaration of August 1940. But he was sorely disappointed. And that disappointment was largely due to a sad miscalculation on his part of the strength and discipline of the All-India Muslim League and of the solidarity of Muslim India, the equity of whose claims it was difficult for the British Government to ignore.

Mr. Gandhi realizes that individual "satyagraha" has been a sad failure. But his insistence on prolonging the agony is due to the fear of having to accept the principles underlying the declaration of August 1940, once 'satyagraha' is called off and parliamentary activities are resumed in consequence by the Congress, which implies acceptance on his part of the right of the Mussalmans to a real and genuine share in any future or interim scheme of government in India. And this he is not prepared to concede, so far. Hence his decision to keep up the farce as best as he can. The British Government having declared that they would examine the whole Indian constitutional problem "de novo" after the conclusion of the war, Mr. Gandhi has conveniently postponed the launching of mass civil disobedience till then.

ADMISSION

Mr. Gandhi in a merciful mood declares that he has postponed mass civil disobedience till after the war to avoid causing embarrassment to the Government and starting a civil war—thus placing both the Government and the peoples of this vast subcontinent under a deep debt of gratitude, and all in one stroke of diplomacy. This amounts to an admission on the part of Mr. Gandhi that mass civil disobedience is intended to provoke the Muslims to the limit of endurance, resulting in civil war, besides openly and vigorously defying law and order throughout the country, thus making things extremely uncomfortable for the Government. The same civil disobedience is even now in progress, albeit on lesser scale. But mischief is after all michief whether it be a pin-prick or a stab in the back. Nor can it be condoned only on account of the smallness of the scale. And it is admittedly directed against the Mussalmans. Is not the postponement of mass civil disobedience intended to gain time to prepare and equip the Hindus for a civil war, while Messers Munshi, Mukherjee, and Company are running about the country preaching their gospel of hate against the Muslim League and its creed of Pakistan?

Typical Ignorance.

Some of the adverse Comments in the British press on the Muslim League Party's walk-out from the Central Legislative Assembly on Tuesday betray an utter lack of appreciation of Indian politics. irresponsible criticism, like the one appearing in a recent issue of the "Glasgow Herald," is a case in polnt. That contemporary, for instance, says: "If Mr. Jinnah ıs claiming a share for the Muslim League in the Government of all or most parts of India, that seems to be a flat contradiction of the policy he has been advocating so strongly during recent months. His Pakistan proposals envisaged the partition of India. Now it would seem that he has implicitly withdrawn from this position which may or may not be an admission that it was untenable."

Well, it is neither a case of volt-face nor or strategic withdrawal, so foreign to Islamic traditions and history. Nor was it "Monday when they walked out of the Legislative Assembly" as the contemporary carelessly avers. The Muslim League

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was willing as far back as November 1939, "without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on" to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field which would have been followed up with the Muslim League representatives being appointed in the Executive Council of the Central Government "to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and the existing law." The Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League popularly known as the "Pakistan" proposal, was odopted nearly six months later, in 1940. The claim of the Muslim nation, therefore, to share "in the Government of all or most parts of India" is neither a "flat contradiction" of policy nor withdrawal from the position taken up earlier. We fail to see how in a Parliamentary system of government the next biggest party is not justified to possess authority even in the absence of the biggest. According to our contemporary "Mr. Jinnah's ostensible complaint—that the Muslim League are being denied a real and genuine share of authority of government both at the centre and in the provinces—can hardly be justified by facts, as in some of the provinces Muslims have on the basis of population very little claim to possess authority." The Congress having gone into the wilderness, the Muslim League is the next biggest party in the country as well as in the legislatures of most of the provinces. It has, therefore, a right to possess authority irrespective of the ratio of Muslim population in those provinces.

Fed on such stuff public opinion in Great Britain and further west in U. S. A., in matters not concerning their

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surroundings, cannot be expected to be anything but fantastic. Unenviable is the lot of the people who allow themselves to be led by somnambulists. The latter may miss, among many things, being run over by passing traffic; but for how long? There may or may not be occasion for the Muslim nation and its leader to withdraw from the original position, which is certainly not untenable, but the Nazi-conscious contemporary, with its withdrawal-ridden mentality, sees Dunkirk everywhere.

NOTES

ATTACK ON THE PROPHET.

The Government of India's failure to protest against a statement made in *Sunday News* of U. S. A.—"to the effect that thebloodthirsty monster Hitler is not to be compared with Napoleon but with Mohammad who also wanted to subject mankind to the rule and domination of a few individuals; Hitler wants to do the same"—was the subject of an adjournment motion in the Central Assembly on Wednesday. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, moving the motion, deplored that this kind of attack on the Holy Prophet of Islam should have found expression in the press of a country the Government of which hnd declared their firm intention to give support to those engagad in the struggle to destroy Hitler and the Nazis. Mr. Ghuznavi rightly pointed out that if Hitler wanted to do the most devastating harm to the Allied cause, he could not have done better than get something of this kind published in the American press. It goes without saying that at a time when the sympathies of the whole Islamic world were on the side of the democracies, the feelings and sentiments of the entire Muslim world had been cruelly wounded by that organ of American opinion. The least that the Government of India could do in their interest, even if they had no regard to Muslim sentiment, was to have lodged an effective protest with the United States Government and insisted that the newspaper should publish an unqualified apology and withdraw the article. The statement in question may or may not have been made by Lord Lothian, as suggested by Mr. Abdur Rashid Chaudhry. But how little the Government care for Muslim sentiment, support or even "loyalty" is evidenced by the fact that they are not prepared to do anything in the matter save to send a record of the debate to Sir G. S. Bajpai in America. The difficulty, Sir Abdul Halim declared, was that the Government of India was deaf and blind. If it helps to clear the blurred vision of the incorrigible optimist even that blindness on the part of the Government will have served a useful purpose.

JINNAH

Thou Prophet of a brighter dawn,
A glitt'ring jewel in the nation's crown,
A beacon for the forlorn ship:
Thus Jinnah's name shall win renown.

Our din that perished in the wilderness
Lo! now in Whitehall is resounding loud;
Thou spokesman of the Muslim world,
Dispeller of the gath'ring cloud.

Espouse our cause and lead us to the goal
Under your flag to Pakistan,
And surely will we march with you
To make for us a home in Hindustan.

Long live thou Saviour bold!
To teach us freedom, love and amity:
Long live the glory of thy name
To give us faith, discipline, unity.

S. S. Ahmed,
(Alig.)

Mr. Munshi's Mission

Mr. Munshi is out on a propaganda tour in support of his "Akhand Hindustan". The very object of his platform is to prepare the Hindus to fight the Muslims throughout India and to denounce their goal of Pakistan which does no harm to anybody. By virtue of his mission he cannot be expected to say things which would go to improve the relations between the two nations. But in his speech at Lahore he abandoned all restraint and misrepresented the League in a manner that is calculated to incite the Hindus and the Sikhs against the Mussalmans calling upon the former to get ready for civil war. He alleges that the Pakistan Government would be conducted according to the Islamic religious law and that the non-Muslims would have no voice or share in it. A purer lie than this it is not easy to invent. He may succeed in fooling his hearers on more occasions than one, but there are limits to everything, credulity included.

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SPIRIT OF YOUTH

The "Muslim Youth Study Circle" has brought out a monthly journal from Lucknow—"SPIRIT OF YOUTH"—which we hope will serve as a beacon light to Muslim young men all over the country, thus rallying them round the banner of Islam in India. We wish the journal success and a prosperous career.

Asceticism in Politics

Sir, in view of the manifold claims assiduously advanced by certain politicians on the strength of the Satyagraha, I analyse the movement from its different aspects--social, religious, political, economic and philosophical.

Religio-Philosophical:--There was a time when Asceticism or a life of self-imposed sufferings and tortures was regarded as the best way of acquiring virtue. This was rejected by Islam which regarded Life as a precious gift of God, the purpose of which was the realisation of the latent faculties of the human mind. Self-destruction was therefore, regarded as a sin. The present movement - courting arrest by uttering certain slogans after notice thereof to the Government--seems to be a manifestation of the spirit of Asceticism ingrained into the nature and being of the propounders thereof, stretched out into the domain of Politics.

Socio-Political:--Such dramatic gestures in going to Jail do not fail to arrest the attention of the society entitling the *Satyagrahi* to a preferential treatment therein. Distance again seems to lend colour to it. Although it is claimed that the movement is essentially non-embarrassing to the Government, it seems to be so designed as to cause in fact least embarrassment to the party concerned which would otherwise have been caused if the *Satyagraha* entailed economic losses, *e. g.*, forfeitures of properties, suspensions of pensions and the like. Economically, therefore, the *Satyagrahi* is not at a serious disadvantage. Rather, to many, it may not have been unwelcome.

Yours etc.,
Muzheray Towheed.
Calcutta.

Dangers of Aggressive Nationalism *Contd*

just as he believes in that of his own. The attempt to make all groups alike by bringing them under a common system of law and government will in his opinion "destroy some special character of endurance or wit which may be developed even in a small nation."

Variety

Another consideration which moves a true nationalist to support the cause of a nation not necessarily his own is the fact that no one political system is suited to the genius of every nation. States should vary in their law and government so as to reflect in their variety the distinct character of human groups. If all states were placed under a uniform system of law and government, the tendency to assimilate due to the increasing means of communications will lead to the suppression of much that is good, and drive the weaker states to imitate the virtues and vices of the dominant states

The unification of the German Empire has not been an unmixed blessing. On the contrary, it is said that by falling under the domination of Prussia, the Germans of the Southern States and the Rhine have lost much that was admirable in their character and they have imitated the vices of Prussian militarism.

Different political systems are at work in the world. What suits one country may not be workable in the peculiar circumstances of the other. Democracy of the Western type, with its trend towards capitalism, is quite in its place for a rich manufacturing country which has expanded beyond its limits or has ample within its own bounds for the development of its resources. Thus England, France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and Denmark grew up into democratic States with parliamentary institutions. All these states had ample scope for exploitation new lands in their possessions beyond the mother country. So in course of time, the upper classes of these countries grew in power and wealth and turned their democratic institutions to their own best advantage. The condition of lower orders, the labourers in the field and factory, is still far from satisfactory but not so bad as in case of countries which have newly imitated parliamentary institutions and do not possess enough resources through lack of living space or undevelopment of natural wealth to promote the welfare of the people in general. This second set of states contains the new states of Europe that came into existance on the dismemberment of the former Russian, Turkish and Austro-Hungarian Empires. All these states were still extremely poor and democratic institutions, these instead of being a source of hope and joy to the people, proved a great setback. These peoples had no parliamentary experience, nor had they acquired the necessary education to work out domocratic institutions. Hence the administration came into the hands of inefficient and corrupt men who, through influence of wealth or family, contrived to maintain their hold on the general body of electors. Democracy has thus proved a failure in many countries.

Limitations.

Even as a social order that once was held as the highest contributing factor to the future happiness of mankind, democracy has its own limitations. In the increasing complexity of modern life where the State has to frame laws about a number of technical problems, the ordinary legislature cannot give an expert advice and so the work has to be left to a body of specialists who may not often be available within a Legislature, elected on the principle of adult franchise. Democracy also sometimes moves very slowly in effecting new changes and reforms and even when it makes up its mind to carry the wishes of its people into practice, it does not have an effective machinery to secure ready and prompt compliance with its orders. Its efforts are also hampered by obstruction labour unions and other organisations which derive their force from public opinion and are opposed to the state on party grounds. Originally it was conceived that a democratic government will be essentially a one party government, where one party will form the Government and carry through its programme, while the other party will enter into opposition and accept the role of a minority which will not try to hamper the work of the party in power beyond criticism of its policy. But with the multiplicity of interests in a modern state, new parties arose and party affiliations became so slippery that it was found difficult to stabilise the government.

In France, prior to its surrender, there was no one party in the Senate and the Chamber which could command the confidence of a majority of members. Hence coalition ministries had to be formed which changed rapidly with the shiftings of party members from one group to another. This weakened the Central Government and crippled its national will at a time when it should have commanded the undivided allegiance of the entire nation for its very existance.

It will be thus evident that democracy cannot be transplanted in every soil and climate without regard to circumstances. In Saudi Arabia, Iran and Afghanistan, the idea is yet in the embryonic stage, and it will take years before the people will be used to it. Even then there is no guarantee that as the political consciousness of the people grows, they may not give it up in its present form, as understood in the west, and may evolve a new form of it, based on purely Islamic conceptions.

In India.

India may safely be included in the list of those countries where Democracy will never meet with success as long as the present conditions of social inequality persist. The Hindus are a caste-ridden people who have never known in the past any political conception besides that of a benevolent despotism. Their social order is a negation of democracy. They have deprived a quarter of the

(*Continued on page 10*)

PRESS

Mr. Gandhi's Latest

The complacent tone of Mr. Gandhi's latest statement fills one with dismay. Nevertheless there are small mercies in his statement for which we may be thankful. He refuses to countenance mass action and openly confesses that "mass agitation at this stage without communal unity is an invitation to civil war." So far so good, but he proceeds to hold out the threat of mass civil disobedience after the war. Failing a communal settlement, will the danger of civil strife then be any less than it is now? Surely it must be greater. The best insurance against civil war is a Congress-League understanding; Mr. Gandhi, while acknowledging this fact, adopts a line of action which is least calculated to achieve it. Here is a clear case of faith without works. – *Times of India.*

Boycott.

Under the leadership of Qaide-Azam Jinnah the walk-out of the Muslim League Party from the Central legislature is a proof positive of the fact that the British Government has ignored the sentiments of Muslim India in connection with the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the National Defence Council. Muslim India has no doubt felt it with extreme bitterness. The statement which the Qaide Azam has made in this regard not only reflects the feelings of the Mussalmans but has a unique note of warning, hitherto unknown in the history of the Muslim League, in which the British Government has been apprised of the clouds that are gathering over India as well as her Government, the effects of which will be detrimental not only to the country but also to the British Government in India.-*Wahdat*, Dehli.

British Policy Exposed.

The most effective exposure of British policy in recent times came from Mr. Jinnah when he showed up the scheme for the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the National Defence Council for what it was - a group of yes men with no popular sanction behind it. In that connection, on the admission of even the bitterest critics of the League, he exposed the old method adopted by the Government of choosing a few show boys and passing them off on an ignorant world as representatives of the people. The hollowness of the claim put forward by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy was made sufficiently apparent and there is no doubt that the two worthies regret the step they have taken. To make the voice of Muslims heard, or to use Mr. Jinnah's own words, to "open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf" the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly has walked out as a protest against the attitude of the Government towards the Muslims. The Indian parliament has now become a mere farce.—*Deccan Times.*

Widening the Gulf.

Mr. Munshi by his resigination from the Congress has shed the threadbare disguise of non-violence and has thus freed himself to go about the business, as it were, of widening the gulf between the Muslims and the Hindus. We are not at all surprised at his most lamentable attitude, but we think we have a right to ask the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab (which province was visited by him recently) the reason why Mr. Munshi has been exempted from those clauses of the Defence of India Rules by which the pollution of the peaceful atmosphere of the country is a crime.—*Sarosh*, Bombay.

MR. JINNAH'S SPEECH *(Contd.)*

a great danger to India. We considered that it was in our own interest that we should have power to defend our homes and hearths and, therefore, within the framework of the present constitution, we were ready and willing to co-operate with British Government with authority and power both at the Centre and the provinces. The August declaration of the Viceroy recognized that principle but when that principle came to be translated into action it was completely frustrated. The terms of the offer were such that no self-respecting party could agree to it. The Muslim League, therefore, rejected the offer and the British Govt. slept over it. But in July last it was again revived, and inspite of our disapproval and rejection a reconstituted Executive Council and a newly formed so-called National Defence Council was forced upon us. It is sought to be justified on the ground that the proposal of the Muslim League embodied in the memorandum of July 1940 to the Viceroy was based on the two-nation theory. It is inconceivable where the two-nation theory comes in the reconstruction of the Executive Council within the framework of the present constitution, which, like an emergency national Cabinet, had to be reconstructed, not on the basis of counting of heads but what the heads contain."

Mr. Jinnah then pointed out as to how the British Govt. had tried to wean the members of the Muslim League over and above the head of the leader and the executive of the All-India Muslim League and how the league has been able to save its prestige and honour"

"The British Govt. have now learnt a lesson," he said, "and I hope that the rest of India will also learn a lesson very soon, that it is futile to create disruption in the ranks of either the Muslim League or Muslim India." The reconstitution of the Central Government was forced upon Muslim India, declared Mr. Jinnah, in total disregard of the attitude of the Muslim League, and as a mark of protest the Muslim League Party withdrew from the Central Legislature which is a perfectly legitimate constitutional method for a party in opposition to adopt.

Referring to the independent and sovereign Muslim States, Mr. Jinnah said: "If the British Government do not make it clear as to what their intentions are. regarding Muslim States and also that they have no designs on their sovereignty and independence, I feel that it would be very difficult to control Muslim India any more. Some of the Hindu leaders have been suggesting that Pakistan is more a danger to the British Government than to the Hindus and therefore, the only way to fight this danger is to disrupt the existing independent Muslim States, so that the Hindus could rule over the whole of India easily. I say to them, it is foolish."

Commenting on Mr. Munshi's speech at Lahore as reported in the press Mr. Jinnah pointed out that Mr. Munshi was out to incite the Sikhs and the Hindus in the Punjab against Pakistan. His allegations were entirely untrue and baseless. "He seems to suggest," continued Mr. Jinnah, "that the non-Muslims in Pakistan will be treated as untouchables. Let me tell Mr. Munshi that untouchability is only known

(Continued on page 10)

Mr. Jinnah's Warning *Contd,*

to his philosophy. The Pakistan scheme is based on what Islam has tought us. Islam stands for equality of manhood. It stands for justice and fairplay, nay generosity to non-Muslims who are like brothers to us, and would be the citizens of the state."

Referring to the Atlantic Charter Mr. Jinnah said, "Hindu leaders are complaining that India has been excluded from the Atlantic Charter. They are demanding that a new declaration should be made contrary to what Mr. Churchill has said. What is the use of this declaration or that declaration? Declarations, most of them, mean nothing. They have no value at all. As for Muslim India we have forged our own charter and that is Pakistan, and I want to make it clear that Muslim India will make every sacrifice to achieve that goal. Let us now create sanctions behind it. Pakistan is not a more slogan or a counter for bargaining. It is a political reality and a practical solution for the most complex problem of India's future constitution. We are not going to budge an inch from our demand. We are determined to watch and guard our own interests and we are capable of doing it separately."

On entering the Strachey Hall which was packed to capacity, he was received with thunderous shouts of "Qaid-e-Azam Zindabad". and "Muslim League Zindabad". His speech, which lasted for over an hour, was punctuated with frequent applause and cheers.

Mr. Shakir Husain Khan while thanking Mr. Jinnah on behalf of the Union, as its Secretary, assured him that Aligarh will form the vangaurd of the army which will march victoriously to the goal of Pakistan.

Dangers of Aggressive Nationalism

(Contd,)

population of this vast subcontinent of the ordinary privileges to which every man is entitled on the basis of equality of man. An untouchable cannot touch a Hindu's food or drink water from the same well or even worship in the same temple. He is held in the lowest scale in society. Centuries of observance of caste system, has developed an exclusive outlook among the Hindus in general against the depressed classes. It is not an easy task to eradicate these social differences.

Other factors which are a permanent impediment in the successful working of a democratic form of government in India, taken as a single political unit, are---

(1) The Hindu-Muslim problem which cannot be solved within the framework of nationalism as conceived by the majority community and (2) The vastness of India's area and population which, with its diversity of races, religions and languages, makes it impossible for a democratic form of government to reconcile the conflicting interests and prejudices of the hetrogeneous mass of peoples.

As a famous American writer has said: "Democracy prospers in societies with a fairly simple political and economic organisation in which the issues at stake are not complex and lend themselves to clear-cut discussions in representative assemblies. Democracy presupposes readiness on the part of the majority in parliament or outside to give the minority a hearing, and willingness on the part of minority to accept the policies of the majority as long as the latter holds power' Continuing his argument the same writer thus concludes. "Where the disposition to rational discussion of fundamental problems is lacking, where differences between political or economic groups appear irreconcilable, where these groups prefer to fight out the ultimate issues involved rather than effect a compromise where a continuing state of crisis, of emergency, exists—democracy no longer functions with success and must sooner or later yield to some other form of government."

The establishment of the Soviet Government in Russia after the last war and of Fascism in Spain can be justified only in the light of these conclussions. It is evident from these examples that even a homogenous population, closely bound by similar traditions, is no guarantee for the successful functioning of democracy and may sooner or later yield to some other form of government if the people are divided into two aggressive and hostile groups on fundamental issues. Where however, the population is not homogenous and is settled in an area as vast as the whole of Europe, excluding Russia, democracy is out of the question for the unit as a whole, unless it is first split up into homogenous parts. It is then for the people, grouped into new national states, to decide whether democracy or some other form of Government suits them.

Unity in Diversity.

Another main consideration which moves a true nationalists to support the right to self-determination of every human group, closely bound by similar traditions, is the desire that all groups should meet on terms of equality and friendship, each preserving its own laws and institutions. The ideal of true nationalism implies close relationship between different nations on the basis of equality and not for the elemination of differences. It is the more civilised development of the very differences which divide one national group from another that will promote peace and progress of the world. If two nations are forced to obrerve alike customs and creeds and to be uniform in their likes and dislikes, both will become mutually aggressive and the stronger will try to suppress the weaker. The world will be a loser for being deprived of the political experience, culture and traditions of the suppressed nation. On the other hand if two nations live on terms of friendship, both will enrich the world by their varied experience and development of their respective laws and institutions. An intelligent friendship between two persons promotes rather than hinders the individuality of each. An attempt to force union between two human groups, other than on terms of equality, will be a step in the direction of Imperialism. We hate the world "imperialism", for it implies oppression and exploitation of human groups by a dominant power within its empire.

Imperialism.

"If nationalism can imply the close relationship even in the same state of many races, so Imperialism can imply the recognition within the same state of many different interests." In this respect there is no difference between the two ideals. This may be illustrated by two examples. The British Empire is said to be the true example of Imperialism. The British race is admittedly the dominant partner in the Empire. The ideal before the empire is free and equal partnership for every nation within the British Commonwealth. The ideal implies the right of every nationality to responsible self-Government. On the other hand, China is said to be a truly national state which is fighting for her very existence against Japan. The Chinese are popularly known as a homogenous people, closely bound by common traditions. The goal before the Chinese is a national democratic state. But the Chinese nationalists have deprived the Muslim part of their State, known as Chinese Turkistan, of their right to national independence. The people of Sinkiang have nothing in common with the rest of China in race, religion, language and culture and yet they are forced to accept a union with China. The Chinese nationalists have further deprived many other non-Chinese parts of their state, of the right to independent existence. Mongolia, Tibet and Manchuria are, strictly speaking, not part of China. Judged by any modern stand-

(Continued on page 11)

Echoes from Bengal

(By **Orpheus**)

The proposal to hold the next annual session of the All-India Muslim League in Calcutta will evoke enthusiastic response from all over Bengal, the largest single Muslim unit in Muslim India. The Muslim League stands for Muslim solidarity and Pakistan which connotes "Free Islam in Free India." Bengal is to be the vortex of Eastern Pakistan, which ideal has moved not only the Muslim intelligentsia but also the Muslim masses, as no other ideal has done in the past. Bengal of to-day is not the Bengal of yesterday. The Muslims of Bengal have come to realize their responsibilities and their rightful position in the body politic of India. The Qaid-i-Azam is perfectly right when he said that "Bengal is a strong Leaguer." The country-wide expression of League-mindedness which the recent crisis evoked throughout the length and breadth of Bengal, as also the uniformly satisfcatory results of elections

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to the Legislature and the Local Bodies, proves the assertion.

* * *

The recognition of Bengal's claims to more effective voice in the internal administration of the League by electing one of the two Joint Secretaries of the League from Bengal has been a move in the right direction. Not that Bengal had any grouse in the matter. Nevertheless the move will be welcome and will facilitate matters. The selection of Khan Bahadur M. A. Momin with his weight of personality and wide experience of men and matters, for the newly-created responsibility has also been a happy one. Bengal is ready for wider activities in the matter of League organization. The feeling in the country is that the splendid opportunities have not been fully availed of and utilized so far. Thousands of workers and enthusiasts for the League organization, both old and young, are anxiously awaiting the command. The Muslim students in particular are determined to preach the message of the League far and wide. The patience of the army of workers should not be tried any more.

(Continued from page 10)

dard, the people of these lands have as good a right to self-government as the people of China proper. It is, therefore, evident that Chinese nationalism, in no way, differs from British Imperialism. England has frankly assumed the role ot an Imperial State, while China cloaks its intentions through the garb of nationalism.

None of these states, neither England nor China, present a sufficient parallel for the case of India. The Hindu nationalists of India may follow for the present the tactics of Chinese nationalists and may deceive the whole world into believing that like the Chinese they are keen to preserve the integrity and unity of their country, but they will be ultimately disillusioned and will have to recognise that true nationalism has a place both fot Hindus and Muslims in their seperate sovereign states.

Kanara Muslim League

The annual and general body meeting of the South Kanara District Muslim League was held recently at the District Muslim League Office at Mangalore" when the following resolution was adopted :

Last year there were only 4200 members. This year there are 7759 members. In this District Sherulabad Primary League consisted of the greatest number of members which is 1300. There are 72 representatives to the District Muslim League out of which 43 were present.

Resolved that a telegram be sent to Qaide-Azam Jinnah that South Kanara Muslims have firm faith in his leadership and condemn those leaders who try to make a split in the ranks of the Muslim League.

POLITICAL DAY-DREAMS

"As a people, we must be fully conscious of what we are. It is a truism to say the consiousness of the unity of a people implies the knowledge of its parts as well of its whole. But, most of us not only have no such knowledge of India; we do not even have an eager desire to cultivate it.

"By asserting our national unity with vehemence in our political propaganda, we assure ourselves that we possess it and thus continue to live in a make-believe world of political day-dreams. The fact is, we have only a feeble human interest in our own country. We love to talk about politics and economics; we are ready to soar into the thin air of academic abstractions, or roam in the dusk of pedantic wilderness; but we never care to cross our social boundaries and come to the door of our neighbouring communities to personally inquire how they think and feel and express themselves and how they fashion their lives."---*Dr. Tagore at Gurukul University, 11th April, 1941.*

CALCUTTA BAN

Carrying of weapons in Public prohibited

The carrying of any dagger sword, spear, bludgeon, lathi, gun or other offensive weapons in any public place in the town or suburbs of Calcutta has been prohibited by the Commissioner of Police of Calcutta for a period of one year from November 1.

British Locomotive for Turkey

The first British locomotive in Turkey pulling a train of British wagons arrived at Ankara on Thursday and was inspected by the Minister of Communications. So far Britain has delivered about 200 wagons to Turkey-*Reuter.*

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HOME STUDY CIRCLE

With a view that the public may receive without delay and trouble all literature, pamphlets and books and information regarding the activities, policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League, a Home Study Circle has been organised by a number of well-wishers of the League.

The Circle is not a money-making project, but it has got to be self-supporting. Accodingly, anv person can become a member. by paying Rs. 5/- as Deposit Money, which will be refunded if the person ceases to be a member. During membership the person will be entitled to receive all such literature, free of charge, as is meant to be distributed free. The postage will, however, be paid by the member.

Publications not meant for free distribution will have to be paid by the member, the cost not to exceed Rs. 5-.

The following is a list of free publications available:---

(i) "Muslim India and its goal" by Jamiluddin Ahmed, B. A., Hons.) M. A. (Alig.); (ii) "Presidential Address" All-India Muslim League---Lucknow Session Oct. 1939, by Mr. M. A. Jinnah; iii) "Muslim Sufferings under Congress Rule" by Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, (Premier of Bengal); (iv) "Presidential Address"--- Sind Muslim League Conference, Oct. 1938, by Mr. M. A. Jinnah; (v) History of the Origin of "Fourteen Points" by Mr. M. A. Jinnah; (vi) "Hindu-Muslim Settlement" Correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, and between Pt. Jawaharlal and Mr. Jinnah; (vii) All-India Muslim League---Central Board---Policy and Programme; (viii) "Special Session All-India Muslim League Calcutta" Presidential Address---by Mr. M. A. Jinnah; (ix) Presidential Address at Patna Session of All-India Muslim League---by Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

The following other publications are available.

(i) "India's Problem of her Future Constitution" with preface by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Re. 1-; (ii) Report of the Peerpur Inquiry Committee As. 8-; (iii) "The War!" Published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan---M. A., Oxon, M. L. A., (U. P.) Barrister-at-Law, As. 8-. (iv) Home Study Series No. 2; As. 10.

Enrolment forms may be obtained from The Secretary, Home Study Circle, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

THE DAWN

The Dawn gratefully appreciates the very encouraging response from Muslim brethren all over India and has pleasure to announce that, the first issue having all been sold out, the same will shortly be reprinted owing to the very great demand for that issue. To avoid disappointment, therefore, the readers are requested to book their orders in advance with

The Manager,
The Dawn,
Daryagunj,
DELHI,

1941

Turkish Motor-boat Torpedoed

Reuter learns that the Turkish motor-boat *Kaynakdere* has been stopped and sunk by a submarine in the Black Sea, according to a semi-official announcement.

The sinking took place in Turkish territorial waters. The crew is safe. An inquiry has been opened.

NINETEEN KILLED

Ships sunk on way to England

The British Press Service announced that 19 persons, mostly on their way to England with civilian technical corps, were presumed to be lost at sea aboard a ship which has been sunk, says *Reuter*.

RECORD FLIGHT

Non-stop 3,300 Miles by Catalina

A Pacific air-crossing record was created when in the last stage of a ferrying flight from America to Australia, a Catalina flew 3,300 miles non-stop from Canton Island to Sydney, as reported by *Reuter*. The flight is believed to be a world record for a Catalina and certainly a Pacific record. The Catalina's navigator is Capt. P. G. Taylor who accompanied Kingsford Smith when he established the previous Pacific record in 1934.

The Canton Island belongs to the Phoenix group.

KING ZAHIR SHAH OPENS JIRGA

Policy of Neutrality

His Majesty King Zahir Shah formally opened the Loe Jirga (Grand council) in Kabul on Wednesday, as reported by the Associated Press.

Members of Parliament. tribal representatives, relagious leaders civil and military officers, representatives of the trade commerce and industry and all other interests of national life were invited.

The King in his speech said that he had summoned the Jirga firstly, to meet all the representatives of the nation and secondly, to confer with them on the present situation with the war spreading further to the east.

After the King's address the President of the National Assembly spoke. The King then returned to his palace and the meeting continued with the Premier in the chair.

The Foreign Minister made a lengthy statement on the country's foreign relationss and gave a full review of the events since the outbreak of the war culminating in the departure of German and Italian nationals from Afghanistan. He reiterated the country's determination to maintain neutrality and follow a peaceful policy as was done in the past.

Blasphemous Attack

The President Jamiatul-Ulama-i-Hind writs to say that the Jamiat frimly support every word of the speech made by Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi in the Central Assembly in moving an adjournment motion with regard to the blasphemous and mischievous attack on the charactor of the Holy Parophet, made in an article published in Sunday News of America, dated the 27th April 1941. As this article has deeply injured the religious feelings of 9 crores of Indian Muslims the Jamiat urge the Government to strongly represent the matter to the American Government to punish the mischief-maker; to otherwise. the Indian Muslims will be right in thinking that the British Government have no regard for the religious feelings and sentiments of the Muslims

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The DAWN

FOUNDER: MR. M. A. JINNAH

Under the Supervision of NAWABZADA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, Hony. Secy. All-India Muslim League.

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MAY 20 1944

NEWS OF THE WEEK

RUSSIAN WAR FRONT

Thursday's reports from Russia say that the Germans are still 60 miles from Moscow and that German troops are forced to clear the roads which are heavily mined and defended by barricades and flame-throwers. electrically operated from concealed positions. Behind the roads are tank traps and tank barriers and still more mines.

Particularly intense fighting has developed in the direction of Kerch in the Crimea. According to reports from Budapest, German and Rumanian troops have occupied Kerch but, so far, there is no confirmation of this claim from other sources.

Improved weather conditions in the Ukraine have enabled Russian airmen to raid German supply lines.

The Germans, it is understood, have given orders that Tula must be taken at all costs and the German command is bringing up fresh reserves.

Stubborn fighting is now in progress near Leningrad. The Germans are attempting to surround the city and wear it down. Despite enormous losses the Germans continue to push forward and penetrate deeper and deeper into Soviet territory.

Turkish Ministers Resign

INQUIRY INTO SHIP'S LOSS

The Turkish War Minister and the Minister of Transport have resigned, according to the Ankara radio. The resignations were connected with investigations into the loss of a Turkish vessel in the Mediterranean, the announcer added.

Dr. Arikan and Dr. Cevdit Kerim Inudayi in tendering their resignations are reported to have stated that this would facilitate the investigations. Certain high-ranking officers and officials are implicated.

The Turkish President has appointed General Ali Riza Artunkal and Admiral Fahiri to fill the vacant ministerial posts. General Artunkal according to *Reuter*, is on the retired list. Admiral Engin is also on the retired list but is a Deputy in the Grand National Assembly.

PREMIER

M. Reyfik Saydam, the Prime Minister of Turkey, is taking one month's holiday at Mersina on account of ill-health.

Council of State

MUSLIM LEAGUE MEMBERS WALK OUT

MR. HUSSAIN IMAM'S STATEMENT

The members of the Muslim League Party in the Council of State walked out on Tuesday morning after their leader, Mr. Hussain Imam, had made a brief statement.

Mr. Hussain Imam stated that they had decided to take that action in consonance with the decision of the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly, as a mark of protest and resentment against the action of His Majesty's Government in India. He declared that the Moslems expected and were entitled to better treatment than had been meted out to them. They had never refused to co-operate with the Government, they had gone out of their way to facilitate and conciliate the Government by agreeing to drop the question of the future constitution and Pakistan for the duration of the war.

Mr. Imam went on to say that, after the clear and convincing statement made in the other House by "our Qaide Azam, M. A. Jinnah he did not think it necessary to go over in detail the same ground. They had been "bluffed" by the scheme of expansion of the Executive Council, the expansion was only a camouflage. The portfolios previously held by Indians had been split up to make room for the expansion but the bigger and more important portfolios like Finance and Defence had not been given to Indians. He asserted that the portfolio of Education, Health and Lands which had been held all along by one person, was far too big in wartime, to be in the hand of one member.

NO REAL POWER

Referring to the portfolio of Indians Overseas, Mr. Hussain Imam declared that the new Member for Indians Overseas was not really in charge of Indians overseas, he was only in charge of Indians within the British Dominions. He was not in-charge of Indians in foreign countries like the United States of America. In the case of the Home Department, only its appendix had been severed to create the two portfolios, Civil Defence and Information. Indians had not really been given any power. "I call them an appendix because they were new additions to the body

(Continued on page 11)

Special Article.

RELIGION AND EDUCATION

By

SYED M. YUSUF

I.

The present war would not be an unmitigated evil if only the unparalleled calamities attendant on it conduce revive man's faith in spiritual and moral values which have of late been treated with scant regard in an age gone mad with its peace-time achievements in the realm of scientific, industrial and material progress. It is said that religion is at a discount during periods of revolution; the so-called 'progressive nations', indeed, have no use for it which they dismiss as a mere opiate. But a universal catastrophe or a national disaster must necessarily tend to drive man into the heaven of spiritual faith which is the balm of all troubled minds when all else fails. To-day when peace and security have disappeared from the entire world and every nation is confronted either with war or a threat of it, is but natural that the minds of thoughtful men in all countries should be earnestly engaged in devising the best way of securing mankind against a periodical visitation of such diabolical disaster. Universal disarmament and an international force are, no doubt, solutions which suggest themselves to the politicians and the statemen who still find it a bit difficult to think otherwise than along the traditional groove. Such solutions, however, only touch the mere surface of the baffling problem.

The Heart

It must be realised that a murderous act is primarily caused not by the sword but by the sinister urge of the heart that moves the hand. There have been wars in all times, the increased number and deadliness of the weapons of offence and destruction only adding to their horrors but having nothing to do with their outbreak. Thus, a mere restriction of power would not do. What is really required is the proper discipline of the heart and the hand that wields the sword. Hence there are indications of a growing realisation among the educationists that so long as a youth is taught to pin down his faith in material factors, the development of a greed for power, economic advantages and political superemacy together with a deadening of conscience and a certain unscrupulousness, is almost inevitable. The stream of the lust and the evil desires of man, if not stopped at its source, is only apt to sweep before it all such external restrictions as international covenants and the like. The only effective check is a check from within which religion alone can provide.

It is, indeed, quite natural that the tendency in favour of religious education caused by the impact of world events, although the actual horrors of war are fortunately still away from us, should have an immediate and a strong reaction in a country like India where religion has always held undisputed sway over the lives of its peoples, notwithstanding the occasional temporary setbacks which it may have suffered at the hands of modern 'intellectuals all-in-all. The trend of speeches at the last session of the All-India Educational Conference held at Srinagar was remarkable in that it afforded a welcome sign that secular education has had its day in India. Prof. Amarnath Jha in the course of his presidential address, rightly asked the question:---"The proper care of the body and the training of the intellect are of course necessary; they are the foundation of all systems of education. But must the process stop there? Is it not to lead to something higher?"

Something Higher

Surely, if education stands for something higher than merely stuffing the mind with a certain amount of knowledge, if it aims at providing a youth with a definite viewpoint, a way of looking at things and determining his own behaviour in relation to God, his fellow-creatures and the world at large, then religion is entitled to a central place in any system of education. To quote Prof. Jha again:---Modern education is godless; it is entirely secular; it ignores the inner man. In greater or less measure it builds the body, it trains the intellect, it enables one to win one's daily bread. But it keeps society, science and religion in separate and water tight compartments, leaving the last to take care of itself. It takes no account of the inner law of the heart.

Godlessness must necessarily give a materialistic turn to every thought and deed of ours. In the background of the present-day struggle for existence, in which the principle of the survival of the fittest holds supreme, a modern youth is unconsciously led to believe that he is fully and legitimately entitled to all that he can just dispossess his neighbour of. Aggressive nationalism and the baneful doctrine of 'might is right' are only the direct consequences of a lack of faith in a certain standard of moral excellence and spiritual perfection of life. The truth is dawning that a firm belief in the sovereignty of the Omnipotent and the Omnipresent, carefully and systematically nurtured during the impressionable period of youth, can alone provide the impelling force which makes a man dread a fall below a certain level of moral rectitude which is so essential for a life of peace and happiness based on justice and equity.

Awakening

Thus, at long last, the world, sick of its own exclusively rationalistic outlook and the victim of its own material advancement, is awakening to the crying need for a return to religion which has already become the subject of diplomatic representations between capitalist America on the one hand and Communist Russia on the other. Further it is also recognised that in the inculcation of the necessary faith in morality and religion, education has an all important part to play. This, indeed, is a very great advance towards the Islamic viewpoint and ideal of education but does not yet warrant undue optimism.

Old prejudices die hard, and the world needs yet another gruesome trial to give religion its true place and make religious education really worth the name. Particularly, the Indian educationists will have to revise a great deal of their notions of nationalism, compromise and tolerance which obsess their minds at present, before they are able to realise the true nature of religious education.

(To be continued)

HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM

Mr. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR'S SCHEME

The following is a full text of the scheme propounded by Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Ex-President of the Indian National Congress, for a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem which was presented for consideration to the Congress President, Mr. Gandhi, and other Congress leaders at Wardha last year and was rejected by them. The views expressed in the scheme are not necessarily those of "The Dawn."

IN this war, our sympathies are undoubtedly with Great Britain and France and we are also opposed to German ideologies. The war, however, has revealed to us deep and unsuspected fissures in International relations and we can no longer reckon upon the survival of the old order of things. This war has thrown a searchlight upon the political philosophies we have been deluding ourselves with and we cannot afford to dream of a new world order which will be a better or a more permanent one than that which is passing away. *In these days we must lay aside all our old passions and prejudices, our shibboleths and formulae, and try dispassionately to plan India's present and future.*

We need discuss neither Dominion Status nor Independence, neither a Constituent Assembly nor Pakistan. We have to go to the root of our national existence and any national organization or State should be built upon National bedrock. It must now be quite clear to the meanest intelligence that Hindus and Muslims cannot range themselves as political communities or parties. That they will continue in a sense to be separate communities for religious purposes must be conceded. Any feeling that the two are different peoples must be prevented from taking hold of us. Probably Muslims generally feel that the superiority of Hindus in numbers and perhaps also in economic position, taking India as a whole, will make the Hindus the dominant political caste and will result in an inferior position for them-selves both in politics and in the economic ordering. The Hindus probably feel that the Muslims are not sufficiently national in their outlook and may resort to force against Hindus indulging in extra-territorial ambitions which modify the tempo of Indian patriotism. Probably each community feels that the other is or will be ordinarily against it. *In other words shortly put, the Hindus fear a Muslim Raj and the Muslims fear a Hindu Raj,*

Secular Basis.

The problem today by no means is so difficult as it used to be when the two communities regarded themselves with some passion as rival religious sects. The differences between the two communities are now more political than others. Reference is sometimes made to cultural differences but this is largely theoretical. The difference in religion and the consequent difference in the personal law together with some difference in language and in the script are about all. The culture in India is a blended culture and it can hardly be said to be pure Hindu or pure Muslim. There can be no doubt there is much more of secular culture in common between the Indian Muslim and the Hindu than between the former and the Turk or Arab. There is however one difference between the Hindu and the Indian Muslim. The philosophy of Ahimsa has received enormous attention in these latter years and has been egregiously distorted and corrupted to unworthy ends. *The Ahimsa philosophy of the ordinary secular Hindu was not in the past, however, radically different from the humane culture of the Muslims.* It is plain, however that the Congress with its leadership and its philosophy can never win the permanent trust of Muslims as a body, and its amazing ineptitude in this hour of crisis has been demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt. The polity of India must be built upon patriotism pure and undefiled. Religion and politics must not be mixed. We must cultivate a sense of racial identity as between Hindu and Muslim without any meticulous investigation into past histories and geneologies or any idea of false prestige. Any feeling that the Hindus and Muslims in India are two distinct races or nations will always be a stumbling block to any scheme of Hindu-Muslims rule in India. The only basis upon which the two communities can be welded together indissolubly must be wholly secular and racial or national, whichever term is preferred.

Hindus and Defence.

The secular state must rest upon the broad foundation of adequate military defence for India and upon the making the people of India reasonably military-minded. The Hindus must have the same military mindedness as the Muslims and should not think there is anything wrong in that culture. Neither the ancient Kshatriya tradition nor the military tradition of Western countries has prevented the progress of arts and sciences of industries or of the learned professions or of scholarship or any thing that is vital in civilization. *The present moment offers a supreme opportunity for the two communities to ask for the defence of India being made over to them on basis of perfect equality of Hindus and Muslims. The Indian Army must consist of an equal number of Hindus and Muslims and regiments should be on a communal as distinguished from a regional basis.* Every military unit should consist of an equal number of Hindus and Muslims independently of recruits from other communities. We must guard against the result of progressive deterioration in the international situation by building the Indian State on the normal basis of an effective army navy, air force and so on.

The Government of such a state can only be entrusted, not to leaders or followers of the *Ahimsa* doctrine or to those who indulge in the demagogic crudities which are only disguised by verbal fireworks but to those who are realistic and believe that the world is still governed by force in the ultimate analysis and that righteousness will prevail against evil only when it is backed by force.

There are grades of military mindedness and there is no fear for centuries to come of Indians becoming very aggressively military minded. It is also abundantly clear now that party politics has been mainly responsible for the hopeless inadequacy of Western democracies and that it seriously undermines patriotism and consciously or unconsciously gets hold of foreign or international idealogies if not for the purpose but with the result of betraying the country to the invader.

Party politics in India has further the decisive disadvantage of keeping the average Hindu and the average Muslim apart. And political parties in India will be either wholly communal or follow some spurious and decadent philosophy which will make them untrustworthy for all purposes of national advancement or of defence in times of crisis.

National Government.

The Governments at the provinces and at the Centre should, therefore, be wholly national governments composed of men who are reasonably military-minded. Having regarad to the very large area of the communal differences in the countary, in every province as well as at the Centre subject to the special representation of important minorities. Hindu and Muslim Ministries (Ministers) should be equal in number in the Executive Government of India and of the provinces. We have had enough of the rule of the majority in the West. It has only occasionally been true; often it has been a rule of minority. The Hindu in the Punjab, the Frontier, Bengal and Sind or the Muslim in in Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces and Bihar, for instance, will have the feeling that he is effectively sharing in the administration of the country only if Hindus and Muslims are equal in number in the Cabinet, apart from the

(Continued on next page)

extra membership that may be given to any other minority community in any province or at the Centre. This is the only parmanent solution which will compel the two communities to trust one another and to acquire the sense of complete racial and national identity. No amount of tinkering with representation in the legislatures or electorates or other arrangements will help to destroy the deep-seated canker in our life. This equal representation in every executive Government will give ample confidence to the respective communities throughout India whether in respect of representation in the services or in connection with political or administrative measures. Of course the Hindu Ministers must be selected by the Hindu members of the legislatures and the Muslim Ministers must be selected by the Muslim members of the Legislatures. I certainly favour joint electorates and this scheme will function most satisfactorily with the system of joint electorates. But experience has shown the intensity of communal feelings in joint electorates also. Whether the electorates be joint or separate, the sharing of power equally in the executive Government of every part of the country by the two communities is the one indispensable requisites for complete national consolidation. What is to happen when this equality in representation creates a deadlock is not a matter which requires an anxious discussion. The Cabinet will be hammered into unity as it will be jointly responsible and there will be an extra number of members of the minority communities to give the casting vote. Muslims are apparently anxious that they should have equal representation *at least in the Central Legislature.* This is not a vital matter when once the Cabinet is formed on national lines and with equal representation for both the major communitities. ***All the entanglements and confusing proposal are due to our fondness for the system of party politics which should be discarded.*** The Cabinet is to be removable only on an express

HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM *(Contd.)*

vote of no-confidence against the Cabinet as a whole by two-thirds majority of the Legislature. The two-third majority must be of Hindus and Muslims taken separately.

Safeguards Essential

The religion, language, and personal law of each community should be safeguarded by a Paramount constitutional check enabling the majority of members representing that community in the legislature placing a vote upon any legislative or other measure affecting it. A similar vote must be provided against any measure designed or calculated to affect adversely the economic well-being of any community especially. Lastly, an adequate communal representation in the services must be agreed to as a practical measure of justice in the administration and in the distribution of patronage. The simpler the solution the wider and more lasting will be the trust and satisfaction enjoyed by both the communities.

The rule of equality in the executive Government is the one canon which will solve many of the difficulties in the present and all the difficulties of the future. I do not believe in the efficacy of percentages of communal representation in the Legislature which may keep the sore open or give rise to ever-recurring points of dispute. Whether the electorates should be joint or separate or what should be the representation of each community in the legislature. Central or Provincial, appears to be unessential and their value is largely historical. They are not essential to the satisfactory safeguarding of the rights and interests of the respective communities either of the provinces or at the Centre on the basis of the scheme outlined above.

Joint Rule

What the Hindus and Muslims want to-day is that they should be compelled to forget that they are two separate peoples and enabled to trust each other in the Government of the country. For this purpose neither the Pakistan Scheme nor the scheme of weightage or artificially enlarged representation will serve. *What the Muslim wants is an equal share in the actual Government of the province in which his community is in a minority.* What the Hindu wants is an equal share in the actual administration of the provinces in which his community is in a minority. No scheme should be set up which would perpetuate communal differences or bring about civil war. Both the major communities are together entitled to rule India. It is only by their joint and equal rule the sense of common nationality and of undivided patriotism will develop. To-day partly for want of a scope and largely owing to our out worn philosophy we are helpless and divided. If Hindus and Muslims cannot trust one another for the purpose of joint rule and if each has any *aviere pensee* that each can rule or outwit the other, there is no salvation for us. And democracy on the basis of a national Governmet will be the soundest of democracies and will prevent not only dictatorships but will canalise national endeavour solely for the benefit of the country,

New Organization.

At this moment, with the foregoing aims in view a political organization of a national character is absolutely essential. *It should sedulously uphold the spirit of non-party patriotism and should consist of an equal number of Muslims and Hindus.* Any Hindu is entitled to be a member only if he brings a Muslim in and a Muslim is entitled to be a member only if he brings a Hindu in. It should steer clear equally of Congress leadership and policies and of the Muslim League and Hindu Sabha leaderships and policies. It should devote itself exclusively to securing the establishment of national Government at the Centre and in the provinces outlined as above, unhampered by the ambitions of Congressmen who want to be ministets at all costs by the rule of majority and by the idealogies of Muslim Leaguer who do not acknowledge undivided allegiance to India.

The Congress does not command the confidence of the great majority of Muslims and there is no good therefore in trying to reform it so long as its present leadership and philosophy are there, making us a supine people. The Muslim League is not trusted by the Hindus and cannot, therefore, serve any national purpose. An entirely new organization is of the utmost urgency, if men of good will among the two communities are determined to cut a new path along which Indians generally may travel. Such an organization will embody a new type of patriotism, determined to discard old party allegiances and to bring into existence an altogether new bond of union.

Equitable Solution.

What have the Muslims to fear in a system where the Muslim Ministers cannot be removed except by a two-thirds majority of the Muslim members of the Legislature, where the powers of the Legislature do not extend to passing of laws by a majority which affect adversely the interests of any community especially its language or religion or personal law, where the Government by Muslim is joint and equal all over India with the Government by Hindu and where adequate communal representation in services is guaranteed. *And what has the Hindu to fear in system where he rules equally and jointly with the Muslim in all the provinces and at the centre and where every military unit must be composed of equal members of Hindus and Muslims and where Muslim communalism deserts the barren sands of extra-territorial allegiance and mingles with the Hindu on the basis of a secular non-party patriotism and leadership* that do not seek to revive old and effete religious creeds but are only devoted to founding a stable polity and free India. *The Muslim community in India must feel that its title to rule India in equal measures with the Hindu community is established. And the Hindu community must feel that any adjustments that are made to secure that object do not perpetuate distinctions that must be obliterated or are only starting points for fresh strife.* When once this is achieved the rest does not matter.

Special Article.

CONGRESS AND UNITED FRONT

(*By* **Hasan Riyaz**)

IT is crystal clear from the attitude of the Congress leaders who have been released from jail that they quite realize the futility and absolute failure of the Civil disobedience movement. Instead of re-offering *Satyagraha* and going back to jail they want to resume parliamentary activities and like to go back to the Treasury Benches in the Provinces. Some of them have also emphasized the necessity of forming a common front. But it is of no use unless they realize the barrenness of the very object for which the movement was started.

The Congress had given out to the world that the movement had been started against the Government to vindicate the right of freedom of speech, but as a matter of fact it was directed to coerce the Government not to accept the Muslim demands. Mr. Gandhi felt the urge of the move only when the Viceroy had put it as a condition precedent for any extension of power in the centre that the Congress and the Muslim League must come to terms in Provincial matters so that they could also work harmoniously at the Centre. As their first protest against that policy of the Government they resigned offices.

Rebuff.

Having rejected all proposals for a Hindu-Muslim settlement, the Congress made another attempt at Poona to establish Hindu Raj in India, and with that object in view they asked the Government to make a declaration of complete independence for India after the conclusion of the war, and to establish a national Government at the Centre for the interim period. As under the Government of India Act of 1935 there was a clear majority of Hindus in the Central Assembly and naturally it would have resulted in the passing of all powers into the hands of the Hindus, and as the Muslim League would have strongly resisted such a move, the Government did not agree to it. For, if accepted, it would have necessitated the amendment of the Act even during the war which the Government were not prepared to do. Indeed, it was a great rebuff to the Congress.

This was followed by the Declaration of August 8, 1940 which provides for a revision of the whole constitution *de novo* after the war by a representative body drawn from the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the framework of the new constitution. Mr. Amery had further explained the implications of the declaration pointing out that "agreement, consent, is indeed the foundation of all free Government, of all true democracy. Decision by majority is not so much of the essence of democracy as a practical convenience which presupposes for its proper working an antecedent general consent to the constitution itself".

Barest Justice.

Great Britain has done the barest justice to the Muslims of India by acknowledging in the Viceroy's declaration and the speeches of Mr. Amery that no system of Government will be established nor any constitution be enforced without their consent. This had the effect of destroying the long-cherished desires of Hindus to usurp all powers of Government in the garb of nationalism.

Despite his crocodile tears at the idea of demolition of Westminister Abbey, Mr. Gandhi now decided to start civil disobedience in the shape of anti-war propaganda. The main object of that decision at this juncture was to influence the Government to withdraw from that part of the declaration which referred to the setting up of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the framework of a new constitution. The principal elements in India's political life include the Muslims also, but it has always been unpalatable to the Hindus that the Muslims should also be allowed to have a say in the matter.

Out of Jail.

The Congress leaders have come out of jail quite convinced that the civil disobedience movement has failed in its object of coercing the Government to accede to their point of view, but it is not known whether they also hold that no constitution can be framed for India without the consent of the Muslims or that the Muslim national will is indispensable for any successful Government in the country? Do they now believe that India is not a country but a continent and that the Hindus and the Muslims are two separate nations?

A united front is practicable only in case the Hindus change their angle of vision. The Congress has lost many good opportunities of forming a united front within the last ten years. But it is not yet too late in case the Congress feel repentent over their misdeed and are prepared to be just and fair in their dealings with the Muslims.

Muslim Attitude

As far as the Muslims are concerned, they are prepared to negotiate for a permanent settlement of India's constitutional question, as well as for the duration of the war, on condition that the Hindus give up the idea of Hindu majority rule. Now the position is plain and simple. The Hindu assertion that he is the majority and the Muslim is a religious minority in India is not worth consideration. The prerequisite of any negotiation is the acceptance of the historical truth by the Hindus that they and the Muslims constitute two separate nations.

The League passed a resolution for the partition of India at its Lahore session, which became its creed in the following session at Madras. The League approves the Viceroy's declaration of August 8, and only that much of Mr. Amery's speech which refers to the future constitution of India. A United front can not doubt be formed in the country in case the Hindus are agreeable to this position, but it would serve no useful purpose at all if they still pretend not to know what the Muslims want.

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LIVE AND LET LIVE

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's scheme for a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem, which we reproduce elsewhere in this issue and which, having been presented for consideration to Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders at Wardha last year, was rejected by them out of hand, is already out of date by now, in spite of all its sweet reasonableness. For, the "feeling that the two (Hindus and Muslims) are different peoples," being true, could not be "prevented from taking hold" of both. Now that the truth has prevailed, at last, the salvation of the Indian sub-continent lies in letting the two peoples develop without let or hindrance their respective institutions according to their genius in their zones which, for that purpose, should be made autonomous and sovereign. Let the Hindus have their dream of Ram Raj fulfilled in their part of the continent and let the Muslims fashion their society and government according to their lights in theirs—which is impossible of achievement under a common Government, having representation even on a fifty-fifty basis. The fear of their nationals being subjected to like treatment will hold the enthusiasts of Hindu Raj or Pakistan from riding roughshod over the sentiments of the minorities in their respective States. Fear of future friction thus eliminated with the establishment of sovereign Hindu and Muslim States, the two neighbouring peoples will come ever closer together for the preservation of their respective independence and the development of their commerce and industries.

CONFIDENCE LOST

Mr. Iyengar rightly remarks that "the Congress with its leadership and its philosophy can never win the permanent trust of Muslims as a body." Confidence once lost cannot be regained with mere assurances. Nor is time going to oblige the Hindus by coming to a standstill till they have regained the confidence of the Muslims. When the Congress was not prepared to give a patient hearing to its own ex-president how can it be expected to listen to reason from other quarters?

Common Hindu-Muslim Rule in India will always remain a pious wish, for the Hindus and Muslims being, indeed, "two distinct nations", a sense of racial identity is naturally not possible to cultivate. Hindu and Muslim cultures, no doubt, overlap in certain little respects but the difference in religion, personal law, language, script and outlook on life is vital. For a Muslim it is impossible to divorce his religion from politics; for, Islam, unlike other religions, is a healthy combination of Temporal and Spiritual sides of human activity, designed to promote prosperity and salvation of the human race both here and in the hereafter.

It passes comprehension how two peoples can be "compelled to forget that they are two separate peoples," save, to some extent, by years of association in a spirit of goodwill and mutual accommodation—the initiative all the time lying with those forming the major element of the country's population. That opportunity having been lost by the Hindus in India, particularly during the days of the Congress regime when their bona fides were put to test, it is too late in the day now to hope to "compel" the Hindus and the Muslims "to forget that they are two separate peoples". The Congress, on the other hand, is bent upon compelling Britain to set up a scheme which would "perpetuate communal differences and bring about Civil War". Now that the two peoples have lost confidence of each other, it is futile and dangerous to keep them yoked together under one common government.

OFFER REJECTED

As Mr. Iyengar says, "the government of a State can only be entrusted not to leaders or followers of the "Ahimsa" doctrine but to those who are realistic and believe that the world is still governed by force in the ultimate analysis and that righteousness will prevail against evil only when it is backed by force". But Britain's "man on the spot" in India, in spite of the refusal of the followers of "Ahimsa" to accept the responsibility of government, rejected in his wisdom the offer of co-operation extended by those who are realistic"—the Muslim League. Both the parties to the notorious "gentlemen's agreement"—the Government and the Congress have taken up an attitude, vis-a-vis the Muslims, that amounts to a negation of the principle of "Live and let live." They would do well to remember that the Muslim, driven to bay, is a dangerous and irresistible adversary, even as Tariq who gave to a bewildered world the first demonstration of burning one's boats on the seacoast of Andalusia (Spain) nearly a thousand years ago—what followed is too well-known to a student of history.

Non-Party Demands

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru issued a lengthy statement after the last meeting of the Standing Committee of the so-called Non-Party Conference. At the outset he has made some legal quibblings on the joint statement of the British Prime Ministers and the President of the United States of America, which is commonly known as the Atlantic Charter. Even if it is taken for granted that the Atlantic Charter is so worded that it does not exclude India and even if Mr. Roosevelt's utterance is true that there was no part of any continent which they had not discussed, what power have the Indians to get it enforced according to their will? It is, therefore, futile to suggest that the non-publication of the Atlantic Charter would have weakened India's case for independence. If India had the power to make the British stick to and fulfil their promises which they had made during and after the last war, she would have become independent long ago. But she is yet as far from independence to-day as she was two hundred years ago.

And who is to blame for that? Has Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru the courage to acknowledge the fault of the Congress, of the Liberal Federation and of the Hindu Mahasabha, or collectively of the Hindus, if it is proved to be so? The British Government may or may not be sincere about India's independence, but this time they have put forward a condition which lies entirely in the hands of the Indians to fulfil.

Non-Party Demands *(Contd)*

But the Hindu leaders do not want to come to terms with the non-Hindu Indians, and they are openly disappointed over this passing of the initiative into Indian hands. They had hoped to persuade Britain to come to terms with them over the head of the Muslims, How can the Atlantic Charter help such a people? Will it emancipate only the Hindus and not the Muslims? Let India have her freedom by all or any means, but the question as to how power will be divided in a future India between the Hindus and the Muslims and how the rights and interests of the various other nationalities will be safeguarded has got to be settled first.

The demands that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has set forward have no other object than the Installation of the Hindus in the seat of Indian Government under the protection of British bayonets. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru seems to go one better than Mr. Gandhi himself. He wishes to capture power through a short cut.

He has demanded that all the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be Indians and that the Executive Council, so formed, should acquire the shape of a Cabinet which, for the duration of the war, is to be responsible to the Crown, While in matters of internal affairs it is to be treated as a Dominion Government. The sum total of the demands of the Non-party Conference is that the problem of India's future constitution should be settled during the war, and the present Government itself may attain the status of a Dominion, and the question of examining the constitutional issue 'de novo' may not arise at all.

It is evident that the present form of government *(Continued on next col. bottom)*

NOTES

AT IT AGAIN

Congress busy bodies since their recent release from jail have again busied themselves in the old game of bringing about a reconciliation, over the head of other affected parties, between the British Government and the author of "Himalayan blunders". They expect to persuade both to eat their own words and relish it, too. The resumption of the old game after their pilgrimage to Wardha leads to the conclusion that this move on their part is inspired.

But is this move—release of Congress political prisoners and resumption of parliamentary activity by the Congress—likely to end the Indian political deadlock, without the Muslim League's contribution? So far, the Government or the Congress have taken no steps to secure the League's support in the matter. Let it be clearly understood that any return to the *status-quo-ante*, a reshuffling of the Central Cabinet or the formation of provincial ministries, without prior consultation with and agreement of the League, would be stoutly opposed by Muslim India. Composite Cabinets have to be "reconstructed not on the basis of a counting of heads but on what the heads contain",

The League not being bound by the creed of non--voilence, any attempt on the part of the Government to force things would certainly lead to chaotic conditions in India. The Government, therefore, would do well to look, and look well, before they take the plunge.

(Continued from previous col,)

is most suited to the Hindus, as they have in it the substance of Hindu Raj. The only thing they want more is to get the status of a Dominion for the Hindu Government, which would amount to final establishment of Hindu Raj in the whole of the Indian Continent, relegating the Muslim nation to a position of perpetual enslavement.

Pakistan

Mr. Munshi in a recent statement has laid special emphasis on the opposition of the Sikhs and the Hindus of the Punjab to the Pakistan scheme. Mr. Munshi is obvionsly under the delusion that the Muslim League counts for the attainment of Pakistan upon the support of the Sikhs and the Hindus. The success of the scheme depends entirely upon the national will of the Muslims. The Muslims have already made up their minds to have Pakistan, and no power on earth is going to stop them. Let Mr. Munshi and the like of him realise this once and for all. The statement of Mr. Munshi is an evidence by itself in support of Mr. Jinnah's claim that Muslim rule is known for justice, fairplay, generosity and brotherly feelings towards non-Muslims. Mr. Munshi has been able to cite only two instances of doubtful veracity of Hindus' grievances in the Muslim majority Provinces. The Pirpur report is now a part of history. It is too late to question its veracity. The League had thrown down this gauntlet to the Congress ministries and its High Command to disprove any of the instances quoted in that report, but they had not the courage to take it up. Mr. Munshi is very much obsessed with the awakening of the Muslims brought about by the League. He wants to set off that awakening by stirring up Hindu feelings against the Muslims which, as he knows, is a sure invitation to civirl war. Pakistan is a purely defensive measure forged to keep the sovereignty of the North and the North-East of India in Muslim hands. There is absolutely nothing offensive in it, as those who are capable of seeing things in their true perspective already realise. That there should be any opposition to Pakistan is not understandable unless it is prompted with the sinister desire to keep the Muslims in perpetual bondage.

Disillusioned

Burma's Premier who had been on a Pilgrimage to England to seek an assurance from the British Government that Burma would be raised to full Dominion status after the war, is on his way back much disillusioned and disappointed. Burma is fully co-operating with the Government in their war efforts, and the Burmese had thought that both as a recognition of their part in the war, as also by virtue of their fundamental right, they were entitled to have a full share in the government of the country. But their expectation was perhaps not in accord with the British policy in the East. Britain is very keen on getting from the peoples as much aid as possible in her war effort but she does not seem inclined to loosen her grip over them in the East. During his sojourn U. Saw had several interviews with Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery and other British statesmen and had tried to impress upon them his country's point of view. It is understood that a formula was handed to U. Saw by the British Government which fell far short of his expectations, and a counter proposal was presented by him setting out Burmese claims. The exact terms of the formulae are not known, but it is evident from the attitude of the Premier that there was a world of difference between the two. Mr. Amery's statement made at a public engagement in London is very illuminating. His denials to the demand of Dominion status after the war can easily be inferred. U. Saw's disappointment, therefore, is not without justification.

NOTES (*Contd.*)

Income-Tax Assessment

There is great consternation in the business circles of Calcutta and suspicion and distrust against the adminstartion of Income-Tax Department has taken hold of the people. The discontent had been brewing for some time past but it reached its climax when one Indian party had been taxed to the extent of Rs. 20 lakhs a year. It is complained that the assessment is not properly made and that it is done with racial discrimination, in as much as the new methods are reserved only for Indian assessees. The whole Indian community of Calcutta are unanimous in their protest against what is generally regarded as the high-handed policy of the Income Tax Department and, at a representative meeting, have expressed their mind in the matter in terms which are a challenge to the authorities. We do not know how far the allegations are true. But if they contain any fringe of truth in them it is a great slur on the administration. An Indian member had brought an abjournment motion in the Central Assembly which was objected to by the Home Member and was ruled out of order by the President. It would have been advisable if the Government had availed this opportunity to clarify the position and disabuse the public mind of the suspicion that the assesment was based on racial discrimination.

Pakistan Conference

Mr. M. A. Jinnah will leave Delhi on November 28 next to attend Pakistan Conference at Lucknow where he is likely to stay for a couple of days.

EXIT ANOTHER DEFIER

LEAGUE POSITION EXPLAINED

By **"Onlooker"**

The reasons enumerated by Mr. Ghiasuddin for his resignation from the All-India Muslim League in the letter written by him to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, published in the Press on Wednesday last, are wholly unjustified. He says: "Mr. Jinnah's demand that during the period the Congress continues to refuse seats in the expanded Executive Council, the Muslim League should have a majority in that body appears to me to be extravagant." Surely Mr. Ghiasuddin has every right to draw his own conclusions, but if he has an open mind it may be pointed out to him that Mr. Jinnah's demands, incorporated in his memorandum presented to the Viceroy last year, were based on the fact that the Indian people as such consisted of two different nations---the Hindus and the Muslims. If the Congress, therefore, refused to joint the expanded Executive Council, the bulk of the Hindus would have remained dissociated with it and the burden of the war effort would have naturally rested on the shoulders of the Muslims. Further, the negotiations on behalf of the All-India Muslim League did not proceed on the basis of the Indianisation of the Executive Council but on the basis of a contract between the Muslim nation and the British Government for the duration of the war. If that contract had been agreed to by the British Government, the responsibility for the successful prosecution of the war as far as India was concerned, would have been solely of the Muslim League.

Contract

If Mr. Ghiasuddin is familiar with the ordinary businesss contracts he will know that when the contract has been concluded the contractor is solely responsible for its execution according to the terms agreed to by the parties concerned. In fact it was generous on the part of the Muslim League to set aside some of the portfolios for the other groups at the discretion of the Viceroy. Ordinarily, they should also have been demanded by the Muslim League to be distributed among those other groups whom the Muslim League would have brought in through their influence and persuasion.

The Hindus, as a nation, had refused through the Congress to co-operate in the war effort. On the other hand Muslim India had been ready and willing to help the British Government in the successful prosecution of the war. The All-India Muslim League had made it clear from the very beginning. It was, therefore, certainly not "expected of the Government to wait until the two major political parties had composed their apparently irreconcilable differences; if they had been wise and sincere they would have proceeded to enter into a contract with the party whose terms were most favourable and reasonable. It is obvious, therefore, that the British Government were not sincere in their desire to enlist the co-operation of Muslim India.

Misunderstanding

The case of Muslim India has often been grossly misrepresented by both the agents of the British Government and by the Anglo-Indian and Hindu Press, in India as well as abroad, as a result of which an expanded Executive Council has been forced upon Iudia in contravention of the desires and in spite of the disapproval of Muslim India. And Mr. Jinnah's decision to withdraw the League Party from the Central Legislature was perfectly justified as a legitimate and constitutional protest against the indifferent attitude of the British Government towards Muslim public opinion. Mr. Ghiasuddin is labouring under the same misunderstanding when he says, the unfortunate result of this method of protest will be (and probably it is intended) that an impression will be created that Muslims are not keen to help in the war effort although nothing can be further from truth, and the League High Command should have known it." Neither Mr. Ghiasuddin nor the League High command can have any control over the impression "this method of protest" may create owing to the irresponsible propaganda of the League's opponents, but it is certainly not intended to create the impression envisaged by Mr. Ghiasuddin. He may rest assured that the League High Command know the truth as well as he does. They have been saying so, and Mr. Ghiasuddin would have been more appropriate to demand the acknowledgement and respect of this truth from the British Government than to make known his own ignorance. He will be perhaps interested to know that Mr. Jinnah's action was intended to drive home to the British Government and men like Mr. Ghiasuddin that they not only disrespected this truth but that they ignored it and, therefore, Muslim India has resented it. Could there be a better method to show that Musalmans were more keen to help them than they are inclined to believe? The protest, therefore, came not as a hindrance in the war effort but as a result of the failure of the Government to recognise the very truth which Mr. Ghiasuddin points out.

Popular Will

Let Mr. Ghiasuddin know that neither Mr. Jinnah's insistence on the majority of seats in the expanded Executive Council, nor his decision to withdraw the Muslim League Party from the Central Legislature was his own creation. It was undoubtedly an expression of the popular will and a strong Muslim opinion. The endorsement that Mr. Jinnah's policy has received from all quarters of Muslim India should open the "eye of the blind and the ear of the deaf".

Mr. Ghiasuddin pities the two major political parties struggling for power. It is needless to examine the bonafides of Mr. Ghiasuddin's resignation, but does he know that detachment from the popular will of the people is not always patriotism? It has, now to be seen how soon Mr. Ghiasuddin, by virtue of his unique sense of duty, is dubbed one of those *representative heroes of patriotism* who in the language of Mr. Amery, "regardless of party leaders and in defiance of party discipline, have come forward to work for India's defence."

Old Game.

Our Delhi correspondent, who is usually well-informed, says that Congress legislators, who have been holding a series of meetings in Delhi for the past few days, are unanimously in favour of a resumption of parliamentary activities by the Congress. The Delhi meeting incidentally bears out what Mr. Jinnah asserted in his letter to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, some five months ago, how Mr. Rajagopalachariar was heroically trying from jail to stage a come-back to the scene of parliamentary activities through the good offices of the Non-Party Leaders' Conference—an unpalatable fact which has been so stoutly denied by Sir Tej and others. Now that the Muslim League Party has decided itself most emphatically against the Viceroy's Expanded Executive Council as well as the Defence Advisory Committee, rejecting the Viceregal offer lock, stock and barrel, the time could not have been more opportune for the Congresmen than at present to decide in favour of resumption of parliamentary activities. This is too good an opportunity to miss. It will enable them to dominate these two bodies by sheer weight of their numbers as well as to return to the policy of persecution of Muslims in Hindu majority provinces which they had so systematically and sedulously followed before giving up their Ministries. The Delhi meeting is therefore, one of playing the old game again.—*Star of India*

Separate States.

It is not understandable that despite great Hindu-Muslim differences as is evident from Press reports—there being hardly any paper without news of communal clashes all over India—and the wide gulf yawning between the cultures, religions, and languages of the two nations—there should be any reluctance with regard to the establishment of two separate States. The partition of India is symbolized by the Hindus as a cow cut into several pieces. It is a pity that at this stage of world civilization Hindu India still hopes to take refuge behind such sentimental trash. It is evident from the attitude of the Congress and the Hindus in general that Pakistan cuts at the root of some very latest Hindu purposes, and hence their opposition to the same—*Azad, Bangalore.*

Muslim Charter.

Commenting on that portion of the Aligarh speech of Mr. Jinnah in which he said that the Muslims had forged their own charter which was PAKISTAN, the *Inqilab* says: We must very carefully consider over these words, Pakistan is not a mere slogan or a counter for bargaining. This is the voice of 10 millions Muslims of India and no power on earth can suppress it. It would not avail the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha to oppose Pakistan even with all the forces at their command, Mr. Gandhi and other Hindus have always opposed the Muslim demands for the last 20 years and without success. Some day Pakistan is bound to come into force. No earthly power can prevent it.—*Inqilab, Lahore.*

Appeal For Legislation

Mr. Abdul Hasib, Joint Secretary, Assam Muslim Association (Calcutta), writes:--

It extremely regrettable that the sanctity of the Holy Quran, which is of utmost concern to Muslims, is being adversely affected through its unauthorised sale by non-Muslim dealers. Many glaring and unpordonable mistakes are very often detectable in the editions published by these non-Muslim traders. Sometimes it is also found that loose leaves of the Quran are sold as waste paper and used for packing etc., in non-Muslim shops. The Government of Sind had last year published in the Provincial Gazette a bill prohibiting the printing, sale and publication of the Holy Quran by non-Muslims. The Government of N. W. F. P. have also, through an order, brought into force from 1st May, 1940, a law which was previously passed in 1939 by the Frontier Legislatures making it a legal offence for any non-Muslim to point, sell or published the Holy Quran in that province. In July 1939 a member of the U.P. Council had given notice for introduction of a similar Bill prohibiting the non-Muslim from dealing with the Holy Quran.

We therefore draw the urgent attention of the Governments of other provinces the Ulama, and the Muslim educated class to the imperative necessity for having similar laws enacted at an early date so that in future, no non-Muslim may have any opportunity of defiling the Holy Book by way of printing, publishing and sale.

Anti-Islamic Writings.

A few days ago our Association had written to the Manager 'Radiant Health', a monthly magazine published from Steno House Agency, Amritsar, drawing his attention to a gravely objectionable and anti-Islamic article entitled "The Failure of Contraception" written by D. H. Keller, and demanded its immediate withdrawal from circulation.

We are glad to state that the Manager of the Magazine has informed us that a public regret

(Continued on next coulmn)

Bombay Muslim League

The Annual General meeting of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League was held on Sunday, November 9 when the following 18 persons were co-opted to the Bombay Provincial Muslim League:---

Miss. F. Jinnah, Mrs. K. A. Somji, Mrs. Shafi Tyebji, Mrs. Qassamally Jairajbhoy, Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Mr. M. A. Chaiwala, Mr. K. A. Somji, Mr. Hussain A. Beg Mohamed, Maulana Fazlullah Khan, Mr. Osman Sobani. Mr. M. S. Narmawala, Mr- Abdul Karim Jafri, Mr. A. M. Thariani, Mr. M. M. S. Isphani, Mr. Mohomed Omer Rajjab, Mr. Ibrahim Gan Sopariwala, Habib Haji Latif and Mr. Aziz Lalji.

OFFICE-BEARERS

Mr. I. I. Chundrigar (President), Haji Noor Mohamed Ahmed (Hon Secretary), Mr. Mohd. Omer Kokil (Hon. Joint Secretary) and Sir Currimbhoy. Ibrahim, and Mr. M. A. Chaiwala (Treasurers).

Resignation Ignored.

The Working Committee of the Karnal Muslim League met there on Sunday last under the presidentship of Sahibzada Wilayat Ali Khan and "resloved that the resignation of Mian Ghiasuddin, M. L. A. (Central) from the All-India Muslim League Council and the Muslim League addressed to the General Secretary, All-India Muslim League, is not a matter of any importance; therefore it is ignored."

(Continued from previous col.)

had been expressed for the publication of the article objected to in a subsequent issue of the Magazine, February 1940. He further assures us that they have been very careful that nothing goes in this magazine which may injure the feelings of any religion.

We trust other publishing concerns dealing with anti-Islamic works will find the above example well worth emulation.

ECHOES FROM BENGAL

By

ORPHEUS

MUSLIM Bengal is sincerely sorry for the turn of events at the last meeting of the MuslimLeagueExecutive inDelhi. Mr. Huq went down to Delhi ostensibly for rapproachment. But the hitch did not heal up. The Qaid-i-Azam and the League leaders were, rightly, all consideration and conciliation. The machinations of the wire-pullers stood in the way. Mr. Huq is always known to be an unsteady mind. Vascillation is in his grain. He is too good and soft to resist the will or importunities of those who cluster round his receptive self. Call it virtue or vice, but there it is. Thus the tangle continues. The door, however, is still open. Mr. Huq will once again be the hero of millions if he buries the hatchet and remains within the fold. He was badly let down by those who drafted his long but mostly irrelevant and unwarranted letter to the League Secretary. To err is human, but to own mistakes is no human frailty. Even "Himalayan Blunders" have been owned and survived. Let us hope Mr. Huq will yet cry halt, pause and ponder. To allow himself to be utilized as the cat's paw for weakening the League in the evening of his eventful life will be a bad finis.

* * *

It is unfortunate the standard of revolt against the League should be sought to be unfurled in the land of its birth. But Muslim Bengal will not kill Sir Salimullah's pet child. The standard of revolt will not fly long and aloft. It will be dragged down and torn to pieces. Muslim Bengal of to-day is not the Muslim Bengal of yesterday. Things have changed. The "Companions of the Cave" have risen. The sleepy lot are awake once again. They will not leave things lying. They have come to realize the value and importance of ideals rather than personalities in the body politic of Muslim India. The ideal of *Muslim Solidarity* for Free Islam in Free India, or to put it in a nut-shell *PAKISTAN*, is too sacred, too soul-stirring and too dynamic to be resisted or set at naught by the selfish, short-sighted and unthinking lot. They may impede, but cannot obstruct, the onward march of the inspired millions.

* * *

If the millennium does not materialize, there must be no flagging of enthusiasm, no faltering of foot-steps. The "Chord of Allah" has to be held fast and pulled together. It cannot be allowed to be snapped or weakened. The *mujahedins* are not to be cowed down by dangers and difficulties. Fight is life. Those on the right path must succeed. Let the Commander's message---*Faith, Unity and Discipline*---be their watch-word, and the Crescent their Flag of Faith to be carried aloft through thick and thin, undaunted and undismayed. "Islam is reborn after every struggle." The emblem of the ten crores of Muslims in India will also be stronger and healthier through trials and tribulations in the way. Hearken unto Voice of Allah: *Nasrum minallahe wa fathun qareeb.*

* * *

Some leading lights of the orthodox, I mean, *de jure*, Congressites of Bengal, recently went toWardha to discuss matters with Mahatma. The deputation has returned. Speculation is rife as to the matters of moment on which the deputationists sought Mahatmic light. It is not for those outside the charmed circle to divine what actually transpired between the High Priest of Congress and his Bengal devotees. Dame Rumour hath it that the deputation, including as it did the Leader of the Congress Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, pleaded with the Mahatma to permit the Congressites to partake of the forbidden fruits of office in case the ministerial tangle materialized. The reason, of course, is the peculiar situation in Bengal. Well, one need not be surprised if the permission sought is obtained. All is fair, they say, in love or war. The Congress is at war with the League, though not in love. So the permission opposed to the present policy will be fair, though of the Congress. If proof is needed, well, Sind is there. The same peculiarity prevails both in Bengal and Sind that is to say, the Muslims constitute the majority, and no stone should be left unturned to deprive them of their legitimate dues. In Sind, this policy of one law for the gander and other for the goose has succeeded. It may be tried in Bengal too, and may succeed if, the "Sher-i-Bengal chooses to be the"sly fox"of Sind. But softly, please, for verily there is many a slip between the cup and the lip. Mysterious indeed are the ways of the goose who poses as nationalist in India.

* * *

The stalwarts of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha are moving heaven earth to create trouble over the vexed question of music before mosques. The Congressites, also are with the Mahasabhaites in this game. In matters communal, they always cry in unison. The sky is rent with the argument that the Hindus are entitled to use the public pathways in whatever way they liked. The religious feelings and susceptibilities of the Muslims do not count with these advocates of personal rights. Nobody need deny the value and sanctity of personal rights. But might one ask: "Have not the Muslims also personal and religious rights?" Why, then, this clamour of opposition to the Muslim right of *Qurbani* in their own land at their own cost? Sacrificing cows or other animals at the time of *Id-ul-Azha* is the obligatory religious duty of the Muslims. Will these advocates of personal rights agree to the Muslim *qurbani* being done as freely and openly as the Hindu want to enjoy the right of music before mosques at the time of their different Pujas, regardless of the religious sentiments of the Muslims? If the Hindus are to be allowed to exercise their religious and personal rights without any restrictions, customary or otherwise, the Muslims also must claim and have the same rights.

There is no denying the fact that the Hindus and Muslims are genuine sons of the soil and have prescriptive rights, religious, social and personal, as citizens of the common land. The social customs and the religious rights of the Hidus and Muslims widely differ. In some cases, these are as the poles assunder. What is virtue to the Hindus is vice to Muslims, and *vice versa*. Idol worship and cow sacrifice are the most glaring instances in point. Good citizenship demands, as also the right religious spirit dictates, that there shall be mutual respect for, and tolerance towards, the sentiments and susceptibilities of the neighbours. It is essentially necessary that one set of neighbours and fellow citizens should consider and respect the feelings and sentiments of the other set living close by, in matters, social religious or customary, in which the view-points widely, or even dimetrically, differ, or peaceful life in a common land with divergent elements in it is impossible.

The *Akhand Hindusthanis* should pause and ponder over the problem before they rend the sky with their hollow cries of one undivided and undivisible Indian Nation. The game of 'heads I win and tails you lose' is too mean, and selfish. Either 'give and take' or 'yours is yours' and 'mine is mine' must be the game. The days of deceptions are gone. The sooner it is realized, the better. May good sense dawn on the demogogues of pseudo-nationalism in India! The Muslims do want religious freedom for all. But even freedom cannot be considered as absolutely free from restrictions. Liberty let loose degenerates into license. Consideration for others is no less important than the exercise of so-called rights. With the Muslims the cordinal principle is: "For you your religion: for me mine."

Another Earthquake in Turkey

It is understood that a severe earthquake, lasting nearly 30 second, occurred on Thursday in Erzinjan, Anatolia, destroying a school and several houses.

Vichy War Minister Killed

PLANE LOST IN FOG

General Huntziger, the Vichy War Minister who was killed in a plane crash at Levigan, 50 miles from Nimes, left Algiers on Wednesday morning, according to *Reuter*. Besides the General there were five occupants of the plane, including M. Jean Laubsquiere, General Huntziger's principal secretary and Captain De Rovere his orderly officer. All were killed. The other three victims were the pilot, the wireless operator and General Huntziger's personal valet.

General Huntziger had been on a 10,000-mile tour of inspection of the French possessions in North Africa. He was due to report to Marshal Petain at Vichy on Wednesday.

The plane in which he met his death--a four-engined machine—lost its way in thick fog according to the Vichy news agency.

Air Raid Near Cairo

Sixty-four persons are reported to have been killed and 95 injured in an air-raid in the Fayon area near Cairo on Wednesday night. A few bombs were dropped without causing any damage early on Thursday in the north of Nile Delta, according to *Reuter*. Alerts were also given in Cairo and other Middle and Upper provinces of Egypt.

Hockey Tournament.

The Islamia High School, Pilibhit, Hockey Tournament begins from November 28 next. The entry fee is Rs. 5 for one team and Rs.8 for two teams. Entries close on Nov. 20. Intending entrants should apply to the Games Superintendent, Islamia High School, Pilibhit.

Litvinov's Plane Overdue at Tehran.

As reported by *Reuter*, the aeroplane in which Litvinov, the New Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Sir Walter Monckton, the new Head of the British Information Services in Cairo, and Mr. Lawrence Steinhardt United States Ambassador to Russia, were travelling from Kujbyshev was overdue on Thursday at Tehran on the route to Cairo. Extremely bad flying weather may have caused the delay.

Principal Freed on Mental Culture.

Experiment being Watched by Educationists.

Principal Q. M. Freed, B. A. Hons. (Cantab), of Islamia College, Jullundur was the guest of honour the other day at R. S. D. College, Ferozepur, Literary circle, which he addressed, the staff and students and the gentry being present. Principal Fareed described Mental Culture as the basis of education and emphasised the importance of providing for it by means of a new course of Mental Culture which aims at imparting knowledge not for the purpose of passing examinations but for the acquisition of culture. It also aims at giving to students some practical efficiencies like public speaking journalism and typewriting etc. enabling them to earn their livelihood in case they remain unemployed. Principal Fareed criticised the present system and method of education, but deemed them as a necessary evil. Hence, until a radical change in both was possible, the new subject of Mental Culture was meant to remove many of the deficiencies of present day education.

Principal Freed has introduced Mental Culture at Islamia College, Jullundur, and all educationists are watching the experiment with interest.

Mr. H. Imam's Statement

(Continued)

of the Home Department. They did not exist before the war". He said: If this fight is for the safety of India and for its future liberty none is more competent to hold the Defence Department than the sons of the soil. But if this is a fight which is being waged to perpetuate our salvery and to keep us down, then we have no place and we are not entitled to have a footing in the Defence Department. It is not defence of India's liberty, but it is defence of India's slavery. By their present action, the Government are making plain what their future intentions are".

Other countries, Mr. Imam said, which had lost their freedom, were continuing their fight from the capital of the British Empire with the hope that at the end of the war they would have their liberty restored to them. "Are we to understand," he asked, "that this present fight is for the future betterment of India—Pakistan for us and Hindustan for our friends here?"

He hoped that the Government of India would not wait for the day when it would be impossible for them to check the advance of India towards her destiny at home.

At the conclusion of the statement, Mr. Imam, followed by other League members, walked out.

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LEAGUE CONFERENCE

(Continued)

A largely attended conference of the Muslim League Machhlishahar, District Jaunpur, was held there on November 8 and 9, presided over on the last day by Al-Haj Maulana Karam Ali and on the previous day by Maulana Safiur Rahman. National Guard was in attendance.

Dr. Najmuddin Ahmad Jafari performed the flag hoisting ceremony and the Conference was opened with the recitation of the Quran. Mr. Zahirul Hasan Lari, Mufti Fakhrul Islam, Dr. Najmuddin Ahmad Jafari, Moulvi Zahiruddin Ansari and Moulvi Ruknuddin Khan were among the prominent speakers. Mr. Zahirul Hasan Lari and Moulvi Ruknuddin Khan spoke on Pakistan and urged upon the Government to give effect to it at an early date.

The next day the following resolutions were passed unanimously:---

This Conference puts on record its absolute and implicit confidence in the leadership of Qaide Azam Jinnah.

This Conference declares that the resolution passed at the Lahore session of the All-India Muslim League regarding the form of government in India in future (Pakistan) is the chief demand of the Musalmans and urges upon the British Government to give effect to it at an early date.

THE DAWN

The Dawn gratefully appreciates the very encouraging response from Muslim brethren all over India and has pleasure to announce that, the first issue having all been sold out, the same will shortly be reprinted owing to the very great demand for that issue. To avoid disappointment, therefore, the readers are requested to book their orders in advance with

The Manager,
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1941

TURKEY PROTESTS TO RUSSIA

Mr. Martin Agronsky, the National Broadcasting Company's correspondent at Ankara, states that the Turkish Government on Wednesday delivered a formal note of protest to the Soviet Government as a result of the sinking by a Russian submarine of the Turkish motor-boat *Kaynardere* last Monday in the Black Sea Turkish territorial waters. The Turkish crew of 70 were allowed to get away safely.

HAJ PILGRIMS

A Press *communique* says:-

In a Press *conmmunique* issued on October, 21. 1941, iniending pilgrims were advised to arrive at Bombay on November 10 and at Karachi on November 11 to catch the first pilgrim ship sailing from those ports, For the second pilgrims ship they were advised to reach these ports on November 17 and 18 respectively.

The latest reports from these two ports show that a large number of pilgrims have already arrived and that bookings for three ships have already been completed.

The sailing of the fourth and subsequent ships will be norified shortly and until that announcement is made pilgrims are advised not to leave their homes; otherwise they may have an unnecessary wait at the ports. Arrangements are now being made to provide sufficient ship to cope with the pilgrim traffic and there is no ground for any apprehension that they will not be available. The notification of sailings will be made in ample time to allow pilgrims to reach the ports.

This *communique* does not apply to pilgrims intending to sail from Calcutta.

KHAKSAR LEADER ON HUNGER-STRIKE

Adjournment Motion Disallowed

In the Central Assembly on Thursday morning the President ruled out Mr. Kazmi's adjournment motion to discuss the condition of Allama Mashraqi who was reported to be fasting in jail.

The Charr asked if it was a religious fast.

Mr. Kazmi reported that it was a fast undertaken in protest against the treatment meted out to him.

The Chair: What treatment?

Mr. Kazmi said it was for the Government of India to explain to the House whether it was or was not a fact that the fast was on account of the treatment meted out to him.

The Chair suggested that the mover should tell the House what the nature of the treatment was.

Mr. Kazmi said, that certain demands were made by Allama Mashraqi and the Government of India did not concede them. It was for the Government of India to show that the demands were unreasonable.

U. S. PILOT'S RECORD

Atlantic Crossing in 19½ Hours

A young American ferry pilot has achieved what is said to be the world's record flight by crossing the Atlantic twice in 19½ hours. He left according to *Reuter*, a British airport before dawn after a snack of breakfast, took luncheon in New-foundland and immediately boarded another plane. With a tail wind chasing him back to Britain he landed in the black-out and had supper in the aerodrome he had left in the morning.

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Under the Supervision of NAWABZADA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, Hony. Secy. All-India Muslim League.

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SERIAL RECORD MAY 20 1944

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Russain War Front

A Soviet communique on Thursday admitted the evacuation of Kerch.

A German surprise flank attack to capture Rastov was defeated, according to Soviet Official sources.

There are reports of increased German activity in various sectors of the Moscow front, Soviet troops were forced to fall back evacuating a number of villages in the Volokolmsk direction. Fighting was also intensified in the Kalinin sector.

Reports from Leningrad state that the German offensive along the Volkhov River---to join the Finns and completely cut off Leningrad---has been defeated. Reconnaissance shows that a new offensive is being prepared.

According to the Rome Radio, German planes bombed the ports of Anapa and Tuapse in the Caucasus.

The Germans have launched a new drive in the central sector to the east of Orel. A few villages are reported to have been captured- In the Tula sector the Germans pushed back the Russains at one point and made a wedge in the defences. The German attack was repulsed at other points.

German Troops are said to be renewing their offensive in the Donetz basin.

British Advance in Cyrenacia

On Tuesday morning, British forces under general Cunningham began a general advance into Cyrenacia. Without encountering stiff resistance by the Germans they are reported to have been able to advance fifty miles. The advance is on a wide arc from Sollum to the Oasis of Jarabub and from Halfaya pass to Sidi Omar.

Mr. Churchill made a statement in the House of Common's on Thursday on the operations in the western desert. He declared that the operations were not so much for occupying territories. But were directed to the destruction of the enemy's armed forces. This was the first time, he said, that British and Empire forces, which had been waiting for a long time, were face to face with the enemy, equally well-equiped, if not more. The British premier said that the axis had been taken completely by surprise by the British advance in Libya.

Viceroy To Go On Leave ?

Sir Roger Likely to Officiate

According to a press report there appears to be a possibility that the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow may go on short leave sometime next year. In that case, it is likely that Sir Roger Lumley, whose term of office as Governor of Bombay expires in September 1942, will officiate as Viceroy during Lord Linlithgow's absence after handing over charge of the Governorship of Bombay to Sir John Dill the latter's appointment as Governor of Bombay has already been announced.

Closing Up Muslim Ranks

League Accepts Mr. Huq's Explanation

GOVT. POLICY CONDEMNED

The working Committee of the All-India Muslim League has accepted the explanation of Mr. Fazlul Huq and decided that no further action is necessary---thus closing up Muslim Ranks. The committee which met in the morning on Sunday last at the Central Office of the All-India Muslim League adjourned after two and-a-half hours discussion to meet the same evening at the Arabic College Hall. The Committee considered a letter received from Mr. Fazlul Huq through Sir Nizamuddin.

Resolutions criticizing the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, urging the early release of the Khaksar leader, Allama Mashriqui, and objecting to some of the proposals in the joint report of the Indo-Ceylon exploratory conference were passed by the Working Committee, Mr. M. A. Jinnah presiding.

The Commitee concluded its sitting late on Sunday evening after passing the following resolutions :---

1. "The Working Commitee considered the following letter of explanation of the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq dated November 14, received by the Honorary Secratary of the All-India Muslim League :---

"Dear Nawabzada,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 29 forwarding for my information a copy of resolution No. 2 adopted by the Working Commitee of the Muslim League and confirmed by the Council of the Muslim League at meetings of both the bodies held on October 27 at Delhi. I regret the delay in sending you my reply. It has been due entirely to the poor state of my health and, I did not feel justified in replying to a communication of such serious import without giving the matter most anxious consideration.

"No one knows better than the President himself that I have always been a loyal member of the League, have never hesitated to carry out its mandates, and once a decision was constitutionally adopted by it, have never hesitated to obey it, even though that decision might not personally commend itself to me. If there were any doubts in regard to this point my resignation from the National Defence Council amply proves it.

"It is an irony of fate that of all those who have given of their best to build up the only national organization of the Muslim India, I should have been the object of so much misunderstanding and so much uninformed criticism. It appears that portions of my letter

(Continued on page 11)

Special Article.

That Cry of Nationalism

By **MAHBOOB.**

The cry of nationalism by a vocal section of India's teeming millions is a false cry. It is, in fact, a clever hoax to hoodwink the world outside and the powers that bein India out of selfish motive. This so-called nationalism is nothing-but rank communalism sailing under false colours, and the self-same people are loudest in their concerted campaign of denouncing the Muslim of India as communalists. This hypocritical cant is mostly responsible for the present unfortunate gulf between the Muslims and Hindus of India.

If love of the land we live in is the fountain-head of nationalism, the Muslims of India are no less nationalistic in their outlook than the Hindus. The Muslims love India as passionately as the Hindus do. Patriotism is an important part of a Musalman's Faith or "Iman." But the Muslim's love of the native land cannot obliterate his obligations in the loftier plane of Inter-nationalism or Universal Brother-hood of the "Faithful" or the mankind having faith in the unity of Allah, as inculcated in the well-known saying of the Prophet: *"Innal Mu'minina Ikhwatun"*—Verily the Believers are a Brotherhood.

Greater Virtue

The Muslims do love the land of their birth but this love transcends narrow geographical or parochial limits. They stand for universal brotherhood of mankind as a cardinal principle of their Faith. They know how to harmonize the demands of nationalism with those of internationalism which is undoubtedly a greater virtue then narrow geographical nationalism. The history of India from the earliest days of the advent of the Muslims in this sub-continent proves it conclusively that the Muslims of India have never sacrificed the vital interests of the country for the sake of their brethren outside the borders of India. "Fifth-columnism" is not in the Muslim grain.

Of course, the Muslims of India do love their brethren outside. They are bound to do so by the dictates of Islam broadbased as it certainly is on universal brotherhood of mankind. It is no offence, no treachery to love one's brethren-in-faith outside certain geographical limits. The Muslims are not, and will never be, blind and bigoted votaries of a particular soil or tract of land; for, *"Chino Arab hamara Hindostan hamara, Muslim hain ham watan hai sara jahan hamara"* is the ideal of the Muslims. To them land is land, and no "mother" to be worshipped in idolatrous fashion. Idolatrous conception even of the land of birth is something to which the Muslims cannot, and will never, subscribe.

Little Affinity.

The Muslims are not an entity devoid of historical or cultural back-ground. Their past glories and traditions are a distinct and common heritage. It is a vital and vitalizing force in their daily and national life. There is little or no affinity between the fundamental conceptions, both cultural and religious, of the Muslims and the Hindus. In fact, these are, fundamentally different and diamatrically opposite. The Muslims are monotheists while the Hindus are polytheists. Muslims of India face west while worshipping Allah, while the Hindus worship idols and do their daily worshipping, facing the East. The Muslims acknowledge no berriers between men and men while the Hindus are caste-ridden and are enjoined by their *Shastras* to shun their own people. It is, therefore, nothing unusual that the Muslims cannot go all the way with the Hindus.

What is Hindu nationalism? To put it bluntly, it is nothing but the inherent and irreconcilable desire to establish Hindu ideals, Hindu conceptions and Hindu practices in the body politic of India, which itself is now *Hindustan* with a vengeance, with the loud and determined cries of *'Hindustan kiska?—Hindu ka'*

(Continued on page 4)

The One Rupee Fund.

Sir—On account of the general depression the Muslim middle class people are finding it difficult to provide University education to their children. We get every year applications from a number of deserving and intelligent students for financial assistance without which they cannot afford to study in the University. The assistance is given after great scrutiny and only to those who are likely to do well in the University and public competitive examinations.

The One Rupee Fund was first initiated by my predecessor, the late Sir Ross Masood, and it was kept up by his successors and it proved very useful to the students. I request the donors, through these columns, to continue their charitable assistance and send the annual contribution of Rs. 12/- for the year 1941-42. The formal receipt of contributions will be sent direct to the donors by the Chief Accountant of the University. In case the money is sent by cheque, it should be a crossed cheque, drawn in favour of the Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University (without mentioning the name.)

Aligarh. Yours etc.,

(Sd.) Zia Uddin Ahmad,
(Lt.-Col. Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor,
Muslim University.

Religious Liberty.

Sir —Religious Liberty is the cardinal principle of British administration in India. The Queen's Proclamation guarantees this to all Indians. But unfortunately, in the case of Muslims in many provinces of India, they are denied the privilege of religious freedom. As for example, Qurbani is a religious obligation for the Muslims. But they cannot exercise the right even in their own lands and at their own expense, although there is the insistent-clamour for the unfettered exercise of the so-called right of playing music before mosques in processions along public pathways belonging to all communities irrespective of the feelings and sentiments of the Muslims.

In the case of music before mosques, the Hindus should consider the fact of causing distraction to Muslim worshippers by noisy demonstrations before mosques at the time of prayers. Playing music with added zeal before mosques is also not infrequent. In fact, this deliberate attempt at wounding Muslim feelings is very often the root-cause of trouble. Mutual respect for respective religions must be the guiding principle in a land where so many divergent elements exist.

The leaders of Hindu opinion should consider the above view-points and instruct their followers accordingly. The Muslim leaders should also do likewise. Insistence on one law for the Hindus and another for the Muslims can only worsen matters. Let us be fair and square to all.

Yours etc.,
Bengal. "Fair-Play".

Sympathetic Fast

Sir—The Muslim Girls of the Indraparastha Girls' College, Delhi, kept a fast for one day, to express their deep sympathy with Allama-Mashriqi, the Khaksar Leader, who has been fasting in the Vellore Jail in protest of the treatment meted out to him by the Government. It is the moral duty of every one of us throughout the country to make a gesture to this effect. I appeal to all the Muslim Girls, and especially the Girls at Aligarh, which is the nerve centre of Muslim India, to rise to the occasion and to give an expression of their sympathy in like manner.

Yours etc.,
Delhi. (Miss) Iftikhar Abid.

Special Article.

Will Freedom Lead to India's Unity?

By M. R. T.

TO mislead British Public opinion Hindu leaders have often declaredin their public statements and speeches that political advance could not be denied to India simply because Hindus and Muslims cannot reconcile their differences and that the declaration of complete independence, which is interpretted by them as equivalent to the grant of Dominion Status, will lead to the unity of the people of India. In support of this argument, the examples of British self-governing Dominions are cited and the British Government is reminded that it never insisted on consent as a condition precedent for the grant of Dominion Status in case of Canada, South Africa, Australia and Ireland.

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, a prominent Hindu leader of Bengal, and now member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, thus defended the Hindu case in an interview which he granted to pressmen in Calcutta on the eve of his taking over charge of his new post on October 13 last. "The monotonous insistence in London on perfect internal unity among all the different elements of national life, preliminary to any constitutional advance was naturally rather irritating to Indian feelings". Unity, he admited,was a precious asset. But was it ever a pre-requisite to the grant of freedom in any country? If so South Africa could not have got her freedom 40 years ago. Neither could freedom be given to the many European countries under Nazi occupation whose freedom England had solemnly pledged to restore. Was there perfect internal unity in Ireland? Was China so united that her freedom should be guaranteed by British and America? Perfect internal unity thus, though not an essential pre-requisite to political freedom, was no doubt necessary for the effective preservation of the freedom of a nation when this freedom was achieved. Mr. Sarkar concluded his statement with the prophetic assertions that "freedom itself is a vital and deciding factor towards the achievement of unity and that history has taught us that freedom will lead to unity."

Fallacy.

Now in this article an attempt will be made to expose the fallacious nature of this line of argument and to lay bare the motives that inspire the Hindu mind. I take up first the main argument that freedom leads to unity. In a country which is inhabited by a homogeneous people allied together by ties of a common religion, race, language and culture and temporarily under the occupation of one or more foreign powers, freedom will undoubtedly lead to unity as was the case of Italy in the 19th century and of Poland after the last war.

Italy was broken up into a number of petty states and principalities, each with its own Duke or Prince while the Emperor of Austria and the Pope held import ant parts under their sway. The people were culturally one and were conscious of their common heritage and their heroic past. They had been roused from their torper and lethargy by the stirring appeals of Mazzini who was held in the highest esteem by the Italians of all classes. There was no tendency in any section of the population for separation of any part. Nor there was any important political organization which questioned the leadership of Mazzini. The latter's own description of the Italian people shows them in marked contrast whith the people of India. Mazzini wrote in 1845: "We are a people of from one and twenty to two and twenty millions of men, known from time immemorial by the same name, as the people of Italy, speaking the same language, modified by dialects varying from each other less than do the Scotch and the English; having the same creed, the same manners, the same habits---proved of the noblest tradition in politics, science and art, that adorns European history; having twice given to humanity a tie, a watchward of Unity---once in the Rome of Emperors, again, ere they had betrayed their mission, in the Rome of the Popes."

Picture of India.

Compared with this description of Italy, I reproduce here the picture of India drawn by Lord Dufferin in 1887: "This population is composed of a large number of distinct nationalities, professing various religions, practising diverse rites, speaking different languages, while many of them are still further separated from one another by discordent prejudices, by conflicting source of usages, and even antagonistic material interests. But perhaps the most patent characteristic of our Indian cosmos is the division into two mighty political communities as distant from each other as poles asunder in their religious faith, their historical antecedents, their social organization and their natural aptitudes, on the one hand the Hindus numbering 190 millions, with their polytheistic beliefs, their temples adorned with images and idols, their venerations for the sacred cow, their elaborate caste distinctions, and their habits of submission to successive conquerors---on the other hand, the Mohomedans, a nation of 50 millions, with their monotheism their iconoclastic fanaticism, their animal sacrifices, their social equality, and their remembrance of the days when, enthroned at Delhi, they reigned supreme from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin." A contrast of Italy with India reveals that whereas Italy had attained complete cultural unity before it aspired for freedom, India still lacks cultural unity and vainly hopes that political unity alone will unite the people on a permanent basis.

Poland too lacked political unity prior to its independence after the last Great War. The country had been split up into three parts, which were included in the former Russian, Austro-Hungarian and German Empires respectively. But as the people were one by religion, race, culture and history, hence the grant of freedom on the collapse of the three empires led to the achievement of complete unity. History is replete with examples which show that cultural unity of a people is an essential pre-requisite to their political unity or what is called in popular language "freedom."

Lack of Unity.

Countries in which the inhabitants have lacked cultural unity have always disintegrated into parts when they had to face some great crisis. The examples of Czarist Russia, Hapsburg Empire of Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire prior to the last Great War clearly illustrate this. These countries were united under ties of political unity as represented by their reigning Dynasties, but their inhabitants differed on cultural, racial and religious grounds. Grant of freedom to them on the collapse of the empires under which they lived meant the freedom of each nationality to determine its own future. Instead of leading towards the achievement of unity, freedom led to the dismemberment of these countries into their natural parts. The minorities occupying compact territories were converted into majorities and recognised as independent nations. Thus the Finns, Esthonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Poles, former minorities of Czarist Russia, formed their own national States. Similarly, the minorities of Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Czechs and Slovaks, the Serbs and Croats, the Magyars, and the Austrians were conceded the right of self-determination.

India's case falls into line with non-homogeneous countries which lack cultural unity. Freedom will not lead towards the achievement of political unity but towards its disintegration into parts, on the principle of self-determination. It is absolutely wrong to say that the mere grant of freedom to a country, devided on cultural grounds, will help effectively to preserve unity. Where unity does not exist, freedom will only hasten the process of disintegration. If the British were to withdraw their armies from India to-day, the country will be plunged into a civil war where one community will be ranged against the other. The struggle for political power and the opportunities which political power confers is alone responsible for the present

(Continued on next page)

Will Freedom Lead to India's Unity?

(Contd.)

communal tension. Unless the political differences are adjusted by mutual consent, and an agreed constitution can be devised for the future, mere declaration of freedom on the part of British Government will do no good.

It is for this reason that the Muslim League insists on consent as a pre-requisite to the grant of freedom. Muslims are not opposed on principle to the independence of India, but they are not prepared to accept a constitution which will reduce them to the position of an insignificant minority. If the Hindus are really keen for independence, they should satisfy the Muslims as to how this independence will turn to their advantage in a scheme of united India. The Muslims will not be a party to any compromise which will lead to the formation of what is called a national government at the centre, responsible to a Legislature. They have made it clear that they are a separate nation, and that they cannot accept any scheme of government which places the Hindu majority in permanent possession of power.

Differences

The present political deadlock clearly proves that the two major communities have fundamental differences in regard to the form of government under which they want to live. The Hindus want on the pretence of India's unity, intergrity and indivisibility to keep under permanent subjection the two distinct Muslim Zones in the north-west and north-east of India. They argue their case as if India were the home of a united nation which simply needs independence to complete the process of unity. On the other hand, Muslims claim the partition of India on the principle of self-determination and do not want to lose their separate political indentity. In face of such insurmountable political differences, it is futile to ask the British Government to declare India's independence and to establish a so-called national government at the centre. The League is committed to its creed of Pakistan, while the Congress to a Federal Government on a unitary basis. The Muslims know that if they accept a government at the centre, responsible to an elected legislature, they will be striking at the root of their own political goal and be strengthening the Hindu scheme for the domination of India as a whole. Political expediency demands that in a non-homogeneous country, where political differences have reached a stage making compromise impossibly except on the principle of self-determination for each community occupying a compact part of the country, no efforts should be made to enforce a constitution which is strongly opposed by an important nationality.

Misrepresentation

But it is very unfortunate that in India prominent Hindu leaders have formed a clique to mislead the British Government in regard to the political aspirations of the Muslims and to force its hands to establish a government at the centre, national in appearance but utterly aggressive and communal in actual practice. To quote Mr. Jayakar's own words, who said in a speech at Dhariwar on October 8, "a compromise formula is possible on the basis of Britain making a definite promise of full Dominion Status within a fixed period after the termination of the war and establishing a national government at the centre with non-officials who enjoy public esteem and confidence, selected by the Viceroy". The Muslims see through the game. They are not opposed to the grant of Dominion Status but they cannot accept a national government which is established on the principle that India is the home of a single nation. If the Muslims are assured of a 50% representation on the Viceroy's Council during the war, as representatives of a nation on terms of equality with Hindus, then alone this compromise formula could make its appeal to them. It is, however, irritating and galling to their pride when they find Hindu politicians lecturing to the British Government that consent should never be insisted on as a preliminary to the grant of freedom and that the framing of the constitution should not be left entirely in Indian hands, as their differences cannot be reconciled.

Contradiction

In one breath these Hindu Leaders assert that freedom will lead to India's unity and that these internal differences will disappear after a national government has been established, but in the other breath they remind the British Government that Congress-League differences cannot be reconciled and that it is useless to insist on consent as a pre-requisite to the grant of freedom. The Hindu leaders try to deceive the Muslims by couching their arguments in a hypocritical language, not easily intelligible to laymen, but in reality they want no compromise with the Muslim League and seek, instead, a direct agreement with the British Government to enforce their own demands. All talk of complete independence for India will vanish if the British Government were to openly declare that they do not recognise the Muslim League as the spokesman of the Muslims and were ready to come to terms with the Congress as the only national organisation of India.

There are signs that if the Muslim demand for Pakistan is finally rejected by the British Government, the Congress and all other Hindu organisations will be quite willing to revers their present policies and to conclude a gentleman's agreement. The Hindu Mahasabha's active co-operation with the Viceroy and Mr. Savarkar's appeals for militarisation of Hindus were inspired by similar motives. The Mahasabha had held out the threat of direct action against the British Government in India if their demand for independence was not accepted, but immediately on Mr. Anney's certain uncalled for words in condemnation of Pakistan the Mahasabha began to reverse its policy and offered full co-operation. The selection of Messrs. Anney and N.R. Sirkar as members of the Viceroy's Council, both of whom have been strong opponents of Pakistan, was really a step to appease the Hindu Mahasabha. It has often been asserted in the Hindu press that if Congress had not retired into wilderness and pursued its parliamentary programme in the Centre and provinces, the League would never have gained its present strength and importance and the demand for Pakistan would have never raised its ugly head. It is truly the characteristic of a non-homogeneous State that the political awakening of progress of one community is the cause of jealousy and bitterness on the part of the other.

(*Continued from page 2*)

reverberating the whole atmosphere "*Bande Mataram*" "*Akhanda jyoti*" etc. even in the ambit of Congress activities, despite the much-vanted claim of the Congress to be the forum of all classes and communities, also tell their own tale. The Muslims of the minority provinces have, even during the brief spell of Congressite Ministries, tasted the bitter fruits of Hindu Nationalism so as to make it all gall and worm wood to them.

Disillusionment

To be sure, Hindu nationalism is nothing but Hindu communalism masquerading as loud-throated nationalism. That is why the sturdy patriots like Maulanas Mohamed Ali, Hasrat Mohani and others were compelled to leave the Congress, sorely disappointed and thoroughly disillusioned. Even the Qaid-i-Azam is an instance in point. There are thousands in Muslim India who trusted the so-called nationalists but have had to leave that camp out of sad experience and bitter disillusionment. The Ahrars are perhaps the latest disillusioned lot.

This parrot cry of tainted nationalism of the Congress-cum-Akhandist brand will not do. The Muslims are wide wake, and will not be bluffed again. You can fool some people for some time but not all people for all time. Muslim politics in India is now on the rightt rack. Pakistan is the rightful goal of Muslim India. The canard of *Akhand Hindustan* will merely widen the gulf and stregthen the Muslim determination to reach the goal of Pakistan at all costs. The Pakistan caravan must pass on and on irrespective of this cry of nationalism of the tainted variety.

Special Article.

RELIGION AND EDUCATION

By Syed Mohd. Yusuf *(Alig)*

ONE cannot help one's amazement at the apparent inconsistency of Professor Jha who, having urged the imperative necessity of religious education, proceeds immediately to launch a broadside against denominational institutions. He says:

"But while I advocate religious education, may I venture to say that denominational schools and colleges are an anachronism? They have had their day and should cease to be. They recognise, if they do not actively promote, religious differences. They impart to the young mind ideas of separation rather than solidarity....... They breath the spirit of discord and faction. From early youth the Musalman, the Christain and the Hindu is taught that he is Musalman, Christian and Hindu". Prof. Jha seeks to remove this inconsistency by defining religious education thus:

"All religions are attempts to state and explain the problems of life, of the universe and of the real nature of man; they are all based on certain fundamental truths.......If the main principles of Christianity, Hinduism, Islam Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and the other faiths are collected together, not only would religious, bitterness and misunderstanding disappear, but every young person would learn to have a wide, tolerant and Catholic outlook that would augur well for the future of mankind. There would than be no talk of kafir, malechha or heathen."

It is clear from the above two quotations that Prof. Jha recoils before the natural and logical conclusion of his own proposition just because of a few obsessions. He is anxious not to recognise religious difference because they militate against his cherished idea of a common nationalism.

Indian Problem.

Will, the Indian Problem has long defied solution just because of a mere idealistic outlook, a refusal to face facts and to acknowledge realities. Of course, some may still like to question that India is a land of nationalities but who can deny that there are so many religions in India? Is it not futile to deny that a Musalman professes a faith which is different from that of a Hindu? The attempt to level religious differences by foisting a new artificial religions a synthesis of religions at best—is in itself the seed of discord and is responsible for a great deal of suspicion and distrust which it apparently seeks to remove. Ill-will is born not out of freedom to profess one's faith but out of the attempt to make one modify one's faith, as some ardent nationalist might wish it to be.

Deeply affected by the discord around us as we are, it is but natural that we should sometimes be apt to carry compromise to dangerous extremes. There are limits to compromise; any attempt to disregard them would only aggravate the malady instead of remedying it. Religious faith and national goal can never be the subject of compromise or arbitration. What is really required is a spirit of tolerance, but here again we have to disabuse our minds of any misconception about the significance and the implications of that word. Does tolerance postulate a belief in the rectitude of the conduct of others? No, far from that. On the contrary, it only connotes forbearance of what one sincerely believes to be wrong, so much so that one is not prepared to adopt it for one's self. We cannot be said to tolerate what we believe to be true and perfect. Hence the suggestion to inculcate a belief that all religions are equally true is only bound to undermine faith in all religions.

Morals

Of course, there are certain morals fundamental truths, as Prof: Jha calls them which are enjoined by all religions, but to confine education to such a bundle of morals would only reduce religious education to a farce. It must also be remembered that mere moral education is not enough. The present world is not in any way ignorant of moral and ethical truths. What is really essential is the motive force which impels a man to adhere to morality and righteousness and that comes only out of an implicit belief in a particular religious system as a whole.

Anxiety to achieve communal unity is indeed praiseworthy, but there is only one way of achieving it. No religious factor is involved in the so-called communal problem in India; it is entirely political. A political settlement between the communities would automatically remove all bitterness and ill-will in public life as well as in the class-room. All indirect approaches like unity conferences, common institution, etc., are only tantamount to watering the leaves of a plant while leaving the roots dry,

Goal

That the view of an educationist should be coloured by his political canvictions is quite natural. As a matter of fact it is impossible to isolate education from the political and the national life of a people. Both in democratic as well as totalitarian countries, education has a definite goal and a particular ideal which it is the duty of the teacher continuously to hold before the pupils. Of course, the vital difference is that in totalitarian countries the goal is determined by a decree of the State, and is imposed in the same spirit, while in democratic countries it is formed by the will of the people and is impressed with full liberty of thought and criticism. Anyhow there must be an aim which is, of necessity, closely related with the political and national life of the country. Hence we see that the slogan of secular education, which is soon dying out was nothing but a mere cloak.

In his foreword to the scheme of Basic National Education, which was loudly claimed to be purely secular, Mr. Gandhi made it clear that 'national connoted non-violence'. Mr. Gandhi has since had many reasons for disillusionment, but this was ample indication of the philosophy (if not religion) and the way of life which the scheme set before the youth. Worship of Mr. Gandhi's portrait and singing of the *Bande Matram* song were only the natural outcome of it.

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The Dawn

DELHI

Sunday, November 23, 1941

BE PREPARED

Now that the stage is slowly but surely being set, by those in power who are spoiling for a fight, for a head-on collision between the Government and the Muslim nation in India, it is time the Musalman should bestir himself for another trial of strength—instances of which abound in Islamic history—with the same faith in God which enabled his forebears, Ali, Omar, Khalid and Tariq, for instance, to go through worse situations and come out with flying colours. We have had enough of debates and discussions, which is all very well when there is leisure to do so. Events have snatched that leisure from us, and the hour for down-right action is approaching fast. The sword that cuts both ways is far more advantageous than the ordinary one to one who knows how to wield it. History bears witness to the fact that a true Muslim by nature and training has all the characteristics of such a sword. Only a people who are fitted to march with the times—to talk, negotiate, deliberate and discuss when there is time to do so as well as to act when the occasion so demands—have survived and will survive the eternal struggle for the survival of the fittest.

The Working Committee of the Muslim League, which met here on Sunday last, has given the right lead to the Musalmans to close up their ranks to meet the common danger. The Committee accepted Mr. Fazlul Haq's earnest assurance of loyalty to the Muslim League and urged upon the Government that no further steps be taken or adjustments be made in the future even within the frame-work of the present constitution and law without the approval and consent of the All-India Muslim League. They warned the Government once again that any action in this connection without the approval of the Muslim League "will be deeply resented and the responsibility for the consequences that may ensue will be entirely that of the Government."

But the Government have given out by their conduct that they care little for Muslim claims or sentiments and that they are bent upon having a trial of strength with Muslim India. They not only rejected with contempt the suggestion of Allama Mashriqi who offered in their hour of need to supply no less than 50,000 flower of Muslim youth for field service abroad, but also refused to take the hand of friendship extended by the Muslim League on behalf of entire Muslim India. They are evidently labouring under a sad miscalculation of Muslim solidarity, which accounts for their complacent disregard of the Muslim case. Their latest doings unmistakably show which way the wind is blowing. We would welcome the release of political prisoners---not only Congress prisoners but also those who are detained on mere suspicion and without trial, like the leader of that eminently social organization, the Khaksars. But if this is followed up by letting Congress obstructionists resume parliamentary activities and return to the policy of persecution of Muslims in Hindu majority provinces, Muslim India would resist that move with all the power at its command. The Government have all along known that any move on their part to disturb the 'status-quo-ante' is bound to meet bitter resistence of Muslim India. They have, nevertheless, launched upon a policy of appeasing the Congress at the expense of the Musalmans. British policy, of late, has been one of appeasing one party at the expense of the rest—quite oblivious of the fact that the rest include themselves. Whether they have broken through the sequence of backing the wrong horse depends upon the result of the trial of strength which they are deliberately seeking with Muslim India. And now that the Government seem inclined to force the issue, Muslim India calls upon every Musalman to be prepared to do his duty—"leaders" not excepted.

NOTES

The Al-Mashriqi.

It is more than a year-and-a-half now that Allama Inayatullah Khan Al-Mashriqi, the leader of the Khaksar movement in India, is rotting without trial behind prison bars at Vellore in South India. How long more he will be detained in jail nobody knows. Nor has he or the public been told of the nature of his crime, if any. He is thus serving an unlimited term of imprisonment for something neither he nor his captors seem to know. Such exasperating detentions get on the nerves of the people who have a right to demand unconditional and immediate release of the detenue if the Government do not have the courage to bring him to a speedy and fair trial.

Well-known for his impatience with politics, the Allama is a well-read practical man who has held positions of trust with the Government of India. Resigning his job with the Government he plunged heart and soul into the task of rebuilding Muslim society strictly according to the Quran and started organising the Musalmans for social service, irrespective of race or creed. The Khaksar movement, which he started, is not confined to Muslims alone, and the movement by its universal appeal drew members at the very outset from almost all creeds and races in India—Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, non-Brahmins and Muslims, etc.

Latest reports go to show that for more than a month now he is fasting and has vowed to fast unto death. What for? ---it is not exactly known. But according to information gathered from some Congress leaders, recently released from the Vellore Jail, he repeatedly made some representations to the Government which did not evoke a sympathetic response. Nor have the Government thought fit to inform the public of the fast or the reason for it. The Government are inviting trouble—of which they do not seem to have had enough—by their callous indifference in the matter which has placed the life of that eminent Muslim leader in jeopardy. Representing as it does the entire Muslim people of India, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, which met on Sunday last, have urged upon the Government of India, in view of

(Continued on next page).

NOTES *(Contd.)*

Ceylon Agreement.

There is a growing tendency in all parts of the Empire not only to restrict the future immigration of Indians but to oust the Indian immigrants by one form of legislation or the other. And as there is no strong Home Government to watch the interests, the situation is worsening all round. The Burma Agreement has already sealed the fate of Indian Burmese and closed the door for future immigration. The proposed Ceylon Agreement, although differing with the latter in that it forms mere suggestions, is based exactly on the same principle. The Indian delegation have again given a very bad account of themselves. They have been completely duped by the Sinhalese, so much so that they have generally approved almost all their proposals. The Indian community at Ceylon was vehemently opposed to the principle of the immigration Bills, but the Indian delega-

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the changed situation, to reconsider their policy and release withoutd elay Allama-Mashriqi "whose indefinite incarceration and detention without trial is causing grave concern not only to the members of Khaksar organisation but to the Musalmans generally". Instances are not wanting of Hindu leaders having been let out on humanitarian ground. Why cannot they set free a Muslim leaders for the same reason. Any discrimination in this regard would be resented by the whole of Muslim India. But do the Government really care for Muslim sentiment.

tion has accepted it with very slight modification as the basis of discussion. It is amazing that they agreed to the imposition of restrictions not only on the entry of new comers but also on the re-entry of Indian residents in Ceylon.

The combined effect of the various clauses in the Agreement relating to (1) restriction on the entry and re-entry of Indians and the quota legislation to be enacted in future will be to quicken the liquidation of Indians from Ceylon. The bulk of the Indian population in Ceylon consists of labourers and the provision of the Agreement with regard to labour are especially very harsh and oppressive. Under the provision relating to repatriation the Ceylon Government will be able to send back to India large number of Indians, and once repatriated the door will be effectively barred against their re-entry. Generally in times of depression the immigrant labourers come back to their homes in India to return when work is again available on the estates. According to the proposed Agreement, if they go back after more than a year all their rights, even though they might have acquired the certificate of permanent settlement, will be confiscated, and in case they are allowed to come back to Ceylon it will be as new entrants with no rights of citizenship. Thus a large number of immigrants will be deprived of ordinary rights of citizenship and would be reduced to serfdom. All immigrants except those who have domicile of origin are debarred from Government and Semi-Government services.

The Indian delegation has approved the provisions of the Land Development Ordinance which deprives Indians, even those who have abiding interests in the country, of participation in the colonization scheme. Indeed this is a great loss. The Government of India had taken a firm stand in 1928 to secure the rights of village franchise for the estate labourers, but the delegation surrendered this right. The proposed Agreement is highly detrimental to Indian interests. The Government of India should see that the immigrant, are conferred with full right of citizenship and that the door for future immigration is kept open.

Karavan-e-X'avier.

The Urdu Magazine, Karavan-e-X'avier started by the Muslim Students Association of St. X'aviers College, Bombay, is a happy step towards Urdu journalism. It will help not only to ventilate the feelings and sentiments of the Association and its members, but will also be a medium to encourage the Urdu language in all its charms. As far as one can judge from the first issue, the magazine, in its get up and printing is far short of what could be expected of such a rich city as Bombay. But the matter contained therein is highly commendable. It is hoped that the venture will have the backing and support of all concerned, which it fully deserves.

The "Palashi."

The Muslim youths of Bengal are shortly bringing out a weekly journal in Bengali from Calcutta—"The Palashi"—the organ of Muslim youths and students of Bengal and Assam. It shall be published by Mr. A. K. M. Shams-ul Alam from 15, Baithak khana Road, Calcutta.

Congress and War.

Sir,—Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders have always proclaimed to the world that the Congress is against Hitlerism and stands for democracy for which Britain also stands. In other words, the Congress hassaught to make out that it is ready to help Britain in the successful prosecution of the war to victory, of course, but cannot do so because Britain is unwilling to part with power. But in a recent statement, Mr. Satyamurti, undoubtedly a leading light of the Congress and a professedly devoted follower of Mr. Gandhi, says that the Congressites "do not want Hitler's victory in this war" nor are they "enthusiastic" about Britain's victory. What then do the Congressites stand for? Do they want victory for non-belligerents? That is a paradox, to be sure. From Mr. Satyamurti's statement, it seems clear that the Congress inwardly wants Britain to go down, so that the Congress may dominate India and establish Hindu Raj. Mr. Gandhi always poses as a friend of Britain and British people. But what does he think of his disciple's statement? Does he endorse it or not? What does Sir Frederic James think of Mr. Satyamurti's latest? Sir James was mighty wroth with Mr. Jinnah because he led the League Party away from the Assembly for reasons unequivocably stated. Sir James fretted that "those who are not with you are against you." He did not even hesitate to make a tilt at Mr. Jinnah by making reference to a "greater personality." Does Sir James think that the Congress is more pro-Britain than the League *vis-a-vis* the present war?

Yours etc.,
Calcutta. "Candour."

Echoes from Bengal

By **ORPHEUS**

SO the tangle between the League and Mr. Huq has been happily ended. This is welcome news. The decision of the Working Committee displays dignity and statesmanship worthy of the great organization of which the Committee is the guiding voice. Now that the bigger issue is settled the lesser tangle in Bengal should also yield to happy solution. Muslim Bengal devoutly prays for peace and demands consolidation, not disruption. Factions must cease. "United you stand, divided you fall," And it is fall for which the opponents are preparing the ground with meticulous care You must realize it. Divide and rule' is their game to facilitate perpetuation vested interests.

This is not the time for domestic wrangle. Apart from the international situation, there are the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, the Calcutta Corporation (Amendment) Bill and other measures of vital importance, awaiting implementation. The Secondary Education Bill, in particular, is long overdue and cannot brook delay. Quarter of a century ago, the Calcutta University Commission, of which the late Sir Asutosh Mukerjee was a leading light, recommended the measure. After years of inaction, agitation and cogitation, the Bill is now on the Legislative anvil It will be suicidal folly to scrape it at this stage out of personal pique. Muslim Bengal has cried hoarse over it, and will not excuse or tolerate those who choose to be party to the scraping of the Bill. The other side is leaving no stone unturned to kill it. Even "riotous agony is being kept alive to achieve the end.

The bogey of Bengalee vs. Non-Bengalee Muslims raised by a selfish section of political opportunists in Bengal is to be greatly deplored and deprecated. The cry is both false and mischievous. The Muslims are Muslims all the world over. Islam is universal and not sectional. Reginal comparments are fundamentally opposed to the spirit and intrinsic conceptions of Islam. The "Faithful are a brotherhood"—that is the Prophet's dictum. To create divisions and discard amongst the Muslims on the score of Geographical entities is to "vivisect" Islam, and to go counter to the true teachings of the Faith Universal.

After all, what is the bogey about? Our Muslim brethren living or domiciled in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal from beyond its borders, in pursuit of trade and other callings, are a definite acqusition to us. The writer is a Bengalee and yields to none in his love of Bengal. If these non-Bengalee Muslims did not come, perhaps the places occupied by them would have been mostly held by non-Muslims. There are thousands of non-Bengalee non-Muslims in and outside Calcutta. Why cavil at the non-Bengalee Muslims? It is a silly cry that has been raised. Stand on your own legs by all means, but why cast aspersions on others? Shake off this inferiority complex and the co-wivish jeolousy. These reflects no credit on your manly self.

Mr. Satyamurti has let the Congress "cat" out of the mystic "Mahatmic" bag containing the conscience seal of the Congressites *vis-a-vis* the present war, by his latest statement in which he says that the Congressites "do not want Hitler's victory" nor are they "entnusiastic" about Britain's victory. This means that the Congress wishes not "victory" but "annihilation" to both Britain and Germany, evidently to facilitate the establishment *Ram Raj* in India, and to allow lebensarm to the Congress Aryans. But will the European "cousins" agree to accommodate them in their sacred soil? There is little chance of Mr. Satyamurti's day-dream being realized. Neither will Radha get nine maunds of oil nor will she dance." The Muslims and other minorities have tasted the hitter fruits of *Ram Raj* during the brief but revealing period of Congress regime in some provinces of India. They are not likely to be beguiled by the Congress game of bluff and bluster. The "Satyamurtis" will do well to remember the adage that goes:- "once bitten, thrice shy".

The Anathematised Seek Separation

By **"Radium"**

Deliberate discourtesy and slur produce deep-rooted resentment and are bound to lead to untoward incidents. Mr. Gandhi and his satellites have maddened the Muslim masses by their irresponsible utterances, statements, attitude, behaviour and character. Circumstances —religious, racial, cultural, linguistic and social —have driven the Muslims to demand partition of India, Vidhya Mandir Scheme, Vande Matram, introduction of Hindi under the garb of Hindustani, Chandur-Biswa riots, social boycott of the beef-eating Muslims, etc. etc., side by side with the criminal neglect of the "National Governments", convinced the Muslims of the type of "impartiality and justice" of the Congress gods. Humane feelings were smothered at the alter of the 'Tri-coloured Flag' by the upholders of the standard of religious, racial cultural, linguistic and social equity and justice.

Mr. Gandhi, personally, is cautious. Not only cautious but cunning. His words and deeds are, therefore like those of an Indian juggler, well-balanced and well-planned. His words are shrouded in the mysteries of *Ahimsa* and hence are unintelligible to the average intellect. His arguments, like those of a successful barrister, as most probably he was, may be euphuistic but they lack in sincerity. It is really unfortunate that his heart and tongue are poles apart though they are hardly a cubit apart from one another.

Atmosphere Created

He, by his dress, by his deeds and by his words, has created such an atmosphere in which every Hindu can safely pass as a nationalist. Anyone dressed in *Khadi* is an angel and a Crusader. Everything pertaining to Hindu culture and Hindu religion is an important item of Nationalistic life, Indian art or Indian history. But in this very atmosphere the beard of a Muslim, the prayer of a Muslim, the God of a Muslim, are all proofs of communalism. A Congressite Hindu who sings *Vande Matram* or shouts *Ram Chandra ji ki jai* is a staunch Nationalist. A Muslim who says *"Alla-ho-Akbar"* is a dire communalist. If a Hindu builds a water-tank, only for the Hindus. Shri Patel performs its opening ceremony and awards him a certificate of Nationalism. If Rajenbabu lays the foundation-stone of a limited Company the company is an embodiment of Indian Nationalism. If trading companies with *"Om"* as their emblem and Hindus with *Tilak* on their foreheads 'decorate' the Congress Camp they are the best examples of Nationalism. But if Muslims begin their works and letters with *"Bismillah"* they are religious fanatics and dogmatics.

Mr. Gandhi's statements regarding the Hindu-Muslim riots at Dacca and Ahmedabad betrayed him in his true colours. We know that he is a Hindu, hence all his sympathies are with them. But he poses himself to be a leader of the Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Indian Christians and last though not the least of the so-called 'Untouchables'. It it hoped that as he advances in age he will, by self-imposition, bear the burden of all the black, white, red and yellow races of the world.

Revelation

In his statement he had made a revelation that religion is a personal affair which must not come in the way of politics. But has he checked himself and his actions in the light of his statement? Has he ever realised that the greater part of his political life has been spent in opposition to the ideal? Is it not the meddling of religion with politics to paint foreheads with

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The Views expressed in this and other contributions from readers are not necessarily those of "The Dawn",

PRESS

Discrimination.

While the question of the release of detenus and non-co-operators is under consideration the whole scheme has been treated as an exclusive overture to the Congress party and it is remarkable that even in the discussion of fasting prisoners, not a word is mentioned by the Hindu press about unfortunate prisoners like Allama Mashriqi at Vellore. As the Head of an organisation the Allama had offered co-operation in the war undertaking to furnish fifty thousand recruits for the army. His offence is not known while more than one who has been publicly sabotaging war effort has been enjoying a privileged position.

The Muslim League Committee has rightly called upon the Government to the injustice now being suffered by the Allama who is reported to be fasting. In this connection we cannot forbear criticising Muslim leadership, because the parallel instance in Congress politics would have been attended by activities for the release of the prisoners in question, many going to and fro, reporting matters, giving statements and generally keeping the issue in the lime light. Nor should the lack of an outcry over the Allama's incarceration be allowed to be taken as an excuse for continuing this act of gross injustice. Allama has been convicted of no crime while those who openly break the law and who are directed in advance by the Mahatma seem to monopolize the attention of the authorities at New Delhi—*Star of India.*

Political Prisoners.

A curious situation has arisen in connection with the expected release of political prisoners in India. The Government of India seem to be anxious to effect the jail delivery of Congressite Satyagrahis and even of a number of detenus. But if Congressites are to be released, justice demands the extension of similar treatment to Allama Mashriqi and other Mussalman political prisoners and detenus. The founder of the Khaksar movement, so far from non-co-operating with the Government in its war effort, offered no less than 50 thousand volunteers for recruitment to the Indian Army. Besides, not only is there an insistent Muslim demand for his early jail delivery but even Congressite leaders who have recently been released from the Vellore jail and who have been in intimate touch with him for months past, have urged a similar course on the Government. If there is to be a jail delivery, let it not be confined to the followers of Mr. Gandhi alone. It should include in its scope all Khaksars, Ahraris and other Muslims political prisoners and detenus.—*Eastern Times.*

Breach of faith

The Government are bound by the August Declaration not to allow the enforcement of any system or the establishment of any Government, both in the Centre and the Provinces, which is opposed by the Muslims or any other important section of the country's population. The memory of the Congress atrocities are still vivid in the minds of Muslims. To allow the Congress to resume offices on the old lines would be a clear breach of faith on the part of Government with the Muslims. It would be construed as an act of deliberate oppression.This is a position to which the Muslims would never agree. Al Wahid, Bijnor.

Justice Denied.

Unlike the League, no Hindu political party is co-operating with the Government in their war efforts. But despite their attitude the Hindus have been benefitted in the expansion scheme, the Government allowing them majority of seats. Now they are busy preparing ground for the return of the Congress. Muslims are justifiably aggrieved, for the Government have not been fair to them. In spite of their hostile attitude there are showers of Government favours upon Hindus; while even bare justice is denied to Muslims. It is unpalatable to Muslims to bear out threats, but if any step is taken with regard to the future constitution contrary to the Declaration of August 8, British pledges will lose all respect in the eyes of the Muslims who are prepared to defend themselves against any odds.—*Manshoor Delhi.*

Equal Rights

What would be the position of the League if on their release from jail the Congress leaders wanted to resume offices both at the Centre and in the provinces? The League demands equal rights with the Congress. Will the Government agree to concede this right? The Congress is opposed to it, and the Government too had rejected it in their Expansion Scheme—which drove the Muslims to boycott the Central Legislature. Whether the Government invite the Congress or the Congress offers to resume offices, the Muslim League, in no case, should be ignored and all its demands should be accepted. If the Muslims are represented in the Central Government as a small minority they will have absolutely no voice in the Government and will always find themselves at the mercy of the Hindus. The Muslims can never accept that false position.

Iqbal,
Bombay.

The Danger

We should like all to perceive the tactics behind the recent veiled negotiations in New Delhi during the presence there of Congress leaders. What they are angling for is a procedure dangerous to non-Hindus. Their plan consists of two parts; firstly, it is that the Congress should be taken to share power in the Central Executive irrespective of any understanding with the Muslims. After having installed themselves, they would put an end to the Advisers' regime in a peculiar manner The proposal has been mooted that in each province under Section 93, the minority in Opposition should constitute a ministry, the Congress members themseives by way of grace, sitting on the Opposition benches. With characteristic airs of selfsacrifice, they would undertake to cause no obstruction in their great anxiety to restore the parliamentary system now held in abeyance. The minorities should appreciate the danger of the projected bargain against which had moved the working Committee of the Muslim League to enter its *caveat*. The idea of a minority being put in power with the majority propping it up on its own apex is the negation of the parliamentary pricniple. Further, a ministry so tolerated would be working with a halter round its neck, because any moment the majority can turn them out of office by a vote of no-confidence; nor should it be forgotten that the political hermits who suggest the course, have in them the ambition to seize power and they are just constructing a situation in which, after a pause, they could execute a wheeling movement to recover their old position.—*Star of India*

A. I. MUSLIM STUDENTS FEDERATION

Council Condemns British Policy

A meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim student's federation was held recently at Aligarh under the presidentship of Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad. Many members came from outside provinces. Mr. Jinnah's election for the presidentship was confirmed and the programme of the All-India session was approved of.

A committee consisting of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. Jamil-ud-din, Dr. Aziz and Mr. M. Noman was appointed to redraft the constitution.

The Council strongly disapproved the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the National Defence Council. The Council further condemned the methods employed by the Government in weaning prominent members of the League over the head of the leader and the Executive of that organization. In the opinion of the Council "individual members of an organization are as a matter of principal neverapproached behind the back of the leader and the executive of the organization in any democratic country, for it constitutes a gross breach of democratic principal which the British Government profess to uphold." The council congratulated Mr. Jinnah and the League executive for the bold and statesmanlike decision. The Council gave full powers of organization to the President.

The Council disaffiliated and dissolved the present Bengal organisation, for in the opinion of the Council the present organisation failed in organising the students effectively and also failed to comply with the resolution of the Council for holding fresh elections.

The Council endorsed the statement of the President and the appointment of a committee with Mr. Fazlul Quader Chaudhry as the Secretary of the Committee to call a session before the 2nd week of December. All the office-bearers and members from Bengal ceased to be

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Muzaffarpur Muslim League

The following office bearers have been elected for the Town and the District Muslim Leagues, Muzaffarpur: M. Badrul Hasan M. L. A. Advocate, (President) District League; M. Jamil Ahmad Pleader, (Secretary District League;) M. Fazilat Hussain, Pleader President Town League. S. A. Samad, Pleader Secretary Town League; K. B. M. D. Jaffar Bar-at-Law Vice President District League; S. A. Zafar, Pleader Joint Secretary; Moulana N. Abbas Propaganda Secretary, DistristLeague Moulana N Abbas vice-President, Town League and Jalil Akhtar and Syed Akhtar Imam, Assistant Secretaries Town Muslim League.

Bihar League Council.

The Bihar Sub-divisional Muslim League Council has elected the following as office bearers for the year 1941-42 President, Moulana Abdul Matin General Secretary, M. Mehdi Hasan and Financial Secretary, Shah Husain Sajjad.

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members of the present body.

The Council conferred life membership on Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz and Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung and conveyed their thanks for the life membership donation. The terms of office of the Raja Sahibof Mahmudabad and Mr. Noman as President and Duputy President respectively was extended. The Council viewed with concern the widespread disturbances in educational institutions, brought about by certain persons in pursuance of the ends and designs of some political parties and appreciated the restraint shown by the Muslim students. The Council gave a warning to the effect that any attempt made by non-Muslim bodies to coerce Muslim students will be resisted.

The Council expressed its great indignation over the article published in the "Sunday Times" and considered the Government's reply as highly unsatisfactory and urged upon the Govt. to respect the Muslim sentiments and to request the U. S. Govt. to force the newspaper to submit an unqualfied apology.

The Council also passed condolence resolutions on the sad death of Dr. Sir Shah Sulaiman and Maulana Inayatullah of Firangi Mahel, Lucknow.

K. B. Obaidur Rehman Khan gave a lunch to the members of the Council and Mr Noman an "At Home."

The Madras Presidency Muslim League

At a meeting of the Madras Presidency Muslim League held on November 1. the following Office-bearers for 1941-42, were elected :---

President : The Hon'ble Mr. Syed Mahmood Padshah Saheb; Vice Presidents: Sultan Abdur Rahiman Ali Rajah Saheb of Cannanore Khan Saheb N. M. Khajamain Rowther, Abdul Hameed Khan Saheb M.L.A., Khan Bahadur Mahmood Schamned Saheb M.L.A., M. Jamal Mohamod Ibrahim Saheb M.L.C., M. Mohamed Ismail Saheb, Secretaries: K.T.M. Ahmed Ibrahim Saheb B.A., B.L., Abdul Latif Saheb Farookhi, A.M Allapichai Saheb B.A.,B.L., Treasurer: Khan Bahadur A. Abdul Kareem Saheb Bahadur.

Provincial Council

Dr. Umar Ali Sha, M.L.A. (Central) B. Pocker, K. Uppi, K.M. Sethi, S.K Sheik Rowther, M.L.A. Malang Ahmed Badshah, M.L.A. Yusuf Sait, Syed Azizuddin, A. Naseer Ahmed, M.A. Hafiz, Mahmood Raza Khan, K.T. Sheriff, S.S.M. Bahmany, Mahboob Ali Baig, M.L.A., M.J. Jamal Mohideen, A.S.D. Ibramsa Ambalam, M.A. Mohamed Ibrahim, Maulvi S.A. Mohamed Ali, M. N. Mohamed, K. S. K. Mahmood Hussain, Khan Saheb Mahim Schamnad, V.S. Mohamed Ibrahim, D. Abdul Ravoof, M.L.A., T. Abdul Shaheed, M.S. Athavulla, Dr. Abdus Salam M. L. A., S. K. Ahmed Meeran M.L.C., Khan Sahad K.A. Sheik Dawood Saheb, M. L. A., K. Mahamed Rahmathullah Saheb, M.L.A.

Ex-Officio Members: Office-bearers of the All-India Muslim League and Hajee Abdus Sathar Hajee Ishaq Sait Sahib, M.L.A. (Central).

Representives to the council of the All-India Muslim League: Hajee M. Jamal Mohamed, B. Pocker, Abdul Hameed Khan, M.L.A., K.T. M. Ahmed Ibrahim, M. Mohamed Ismail Malang Ahmed Badsha, M. L. A., D. Abdul Rawoof, M.L.A., K. M. Seethi Saheb, Sultan Abdul Rahman Ali Rajah Saheb, M.L.A. Jagirdar Mohamed Ghulam Mohideen Saheb, Khan Saheb Mahim Schamnad Saheb, K. Uppi Saheb, Moulana Abdul Latif, Farookhi. A.M. Allapichai, A. K. Khader Kutti, M.L.A. K. Rahmathulla, M.L.A., K.K. Pocker Saheb, B.A., B.L, M.A. Mohamed Ibrahim. J.M Jamal Mohideen A.K. Sherfuddin, Mohamed Fakruddin.

Will the Government Act?

The communal situation in Nellore is very serious. The Muslim population of the town is in a state of panic and those who could afford to do so have left for other places leaving their belongings. We wonder what the authorities are doing. It is surprising that no efforts have been made to get to the root of the trouble and punish those who are primarily responsible for the riots. What is required is that those who are instigating the misguided people should be at once dealt with. The attitude and utterances of Mr. Sanarkar and his band of mischief-mongers will create further mischief, and what happened at Madura and is now taking place in Nellore will spread to other places in the province. Will the Govt. act? – *Deccan Times.*

(Continued from page 8)

vermilion, to take bath with the water of the Ganges, to write *"Om"* on the gates of the Congress Pandals, to adjourn the Congress sessions for *Katha* to fix time for *Prarthana* at the annual sessions of the Congress and make it compulsory for all the members to join it, to build *Gau-Shalas* in the premises of the Congress Pandals, and to hold 'Gau-Raksha Conferences' side by side with the Congress Sessions? If it is not mixing religion with politics then will Mr. Gandhi define his religion which is different from his *Ahimsa*, Inner Voice and Inner Light?

He does not see the beam in his own eye but does see the mole in the eyes of others. It may or may not be true that his laws, which have yet to pass the test, are harmless and are meant for international peace and brotherhood. But the fact remains that the Islamic Laws, which have stood the test of centuries, are more suitable for international peace and brotherhood than all the political and social laws of the world put together. The Muslims, therefore, have no need to run after every mirage and have every right to stick to their own laws, even as Mr. Gandhi has the option to follow his own.

L.W.C. Resolutions
(Continued)

have hurt the feelings of the President and some of my other friends. I convey to them through you my assurance that nothing was further from my intention than to hurt the feelings of or to cast aspersions on any one, and I hope that my assurance in this respect will be accepted and the matter considered as closed,---(Sd.) Fazlul Huq."

"The Working Committee excuse the delay in not sending the reply within 10 days on the ground of his ill-health as the matter was of such serious import that it required his anxious consideration. The Working Committee note Mr. Fazlul Huq's earnest reaffirmation of his loyalty to the Muslim League and his statement that he has never hesitated to carry out the mandates of the League; the latest instance in proof there of is his resignation from the National Defence Council in obedience to the decision of the Working Committee. The Working Committee further note his assurance that nothing was further from his intention than to hurt the feelings of or to cast aspersions on the President or the Executive of the League and others concerned; and as Mr. Fazlul Huq requests the Working Committee that his assurance should be accepted, it is resolved that no further action should be taken in the matter."

Viceroy's Council

2.---"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League regrets that the British Government has not only failed to accept the offer of co-operation made by the Muslim League by its resolution dated June 17, 1940 but in utter disregard of it has expanded the Governor-General's Executive Council by associating with it persons representing nobody except themselves. This ill-advised and unfair action on the part of the Government in the opinion of the Committee was due to the fact that the British Government was not prepared to concede the just demands of the Muslim League, even when the Congress party was engaged in obstructionist tactics and civil disobedience and refused to even consider any agreement within the framework of the present constitution.

"The Working Committee therefore urge upon the Government that no further steps be taken or adjustments be made in future, even within the framework of the present constitution and law without the approval and consent of the All-India Muslim League, and once more warn the Government that any action in

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this connexion without the approval of the Muslim League will be deeply resented and the responsibility for the consequences that may ensue will be entirely that of the Government."

Allama Mashriqi

3. "The Working Committee wish to draw the attention of the Government that the prolonged and indefinite incarceration and detention without trial of Allama Mashriqi is causing grave concern not only to the members of Khaksar organization but to the Musalmans generally. In view of the changed situation the Committee urges the Government of India to reconsider their policy and release Allama Mashriqi without delay.

Indians in Ceylon

4. "The Working Committee are of the opinion that some of the proposals contained in the joint report of the Indo-Ceylon exploratory conference are open to serious objection and adversely affect the rights of Indians in Ceylon. The Committee call upon the Government that such modifications as would guarantee and ensure those just rights of Indians should be made in those proposals before any action is taken in the matter."

By another resolution the Working Committee appointed Nawab Ismail Khan, Mr. Hussain Imam, Sir Nazim-uddin, Kazi Mohammed Isa and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to form the Parliamentary Committee as required by a resolution of the Working Committee meeting held at Madras in April, 1941.

A sub-committee consisting of Nawab Ismail Khan and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was set up to consider and decide the appeals to the Working Committee from the various branches of the League organization.

League Propaganda Tour.

Mr. S. M. Yasin Khan, Secretary, Barh Sub-Divisional Muslim League (Bihar), accompanied by Maulana A. M. Mohd. Amir Hasan, visited Khusropur on a propaganda tour recently. They visited about twelve adjoining villages explaining the aims and objects of the Muslim League and enlisting new members. They organised the Fatwah Thana Muslim League and held the election of office-bearers in the Anjuman Hall Khusropur. Syed Shah Wali and Syed Akhtar Hasan were elected president and secretary respectively. Mr. Yasin Khan and Maulana Amir Hasan returned back to their Sub-Divisional head office after three days tour in the interior.

ASSURANCE TO Nellore Muslims

Mahasabha Attitude Condemned

A public meeting of the Muslims of Madras was held on November 5 at the Big Mosque, Triplicane, under the auspices of the Madras Presidency Muslim League and a resolution on Nellore disturbances was adopted. The Hon. Mr. Syed Mahmood Pasha was in the Chair.

Mr. Abdul Latheef Farookhi moved a resolution which stated that "while highly appreciating the courage and the peaceful and law-abiding conduct of the Muslims of Nellore under grave provocation and severe persecution," the meeting strongly condemned the activities of the Hindu Maha Sabha and urged on the Government "the immediate and imperative necessity of putting down such activities. safe-guarding the religious rights of the Muslims and restoring peace and security of life and property in Nellore". It gave assurance to the Muslims of Nellore that every Muslim would "stand by them in their hour of trial," and earnestly appealed to the Muslim public to render every possible help.

Messrs. Raza Khan and S.S. M. Bahmany supported the resolution.

Another resolution, moved by Mr. K. T. M. Ahmed Ibrahim and seconded by Mr. A.M. Alla Pichai prayed to the Government to introduce necessary legislation prohibiting the playing of music before mosque at all times and thereby giving effect to the observations of Mr. Justice Pand rang Row in A.I.R. 1939, Madras 305, and by which peace and concord on a permanent basis between the two communities could be established in the country.

Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu

A public meeting of the Muslims of Melvisharam, North Arcot was held there on November 9 last at the Islamia High School Hall to elect office-bearers for the local branch of the All-India Anjumane Taraqqi Urdu (Delhi). Ali Janab S. Abdul Wahab Sahib Bahadur, President of the local Muslim League and of the Anjumane Tableeghul Islam presided. Moulavi Hakim Siddiq Hassan, M. Abdul Quddus "Shadhan" and Sri Venkatachalam Iyer spoke on the origin and importance of the Urdu Language.

The following gentlemen were elected office-bearers: President S. M. Abdul Jameel; Vice-President: T. M. Rahamatulla Secretary: Adam Ahamed Badsha Sahib; Joint Secretary: L. Obaidulla Sahib and Treasurer: M. Abdur Rahaman Sahib.

NO TROOPS TO BE SENT TO EUROPE

Herbert Hoover's Opposition

Describing the Europen war as "literally a stalemate", ex-President, Mr. Herbert Hoover, in a broadcast on Thursday evening is said to have opposed the sending of United Sates troops to Europe. Asserting that the great majority of Americans were opposed to sending armies to Europe and Afri a the ex-President demanded that Congress should expose the attempts at the artificial conditioning of the American mind for war.

Mr. Hoover pointed out that in the first world war American troops were transported to Europe by instalments over a year. This time it would be necessary to land an over-powering force all at once. Five to eight million men would be needed and it would take five years to build the necessary ships. No military expert believed that such a force could be landed.

Price of Newspapers

The question that the price of newspaper should be linked to its size is under the consideration of the Government of India as 9 result of certain suggestions made by the deputation of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society which waited on the Honourable the Commerce Member on November 5, says a Press note.

In view however, of the desire of newspaper to place orders urgently with importers, it has been decided to grant quotas for six months on the basis of 75 per cent, consumption in the year 1940. In the meantime, the accuracy of returns of consumption submitted by newspapers under the Newsprint Control Order is being checked.

Population of India

A Press *Communique* states that the All-India population discovered at the recent census was 38.8 millions as on March 1, 1941. The 1931 figure for the corresponding year was 338.1 millions. This represents an increase of 15 per cent. The level of increase in British India is 15.2 per cent. and in the States and Agencies 14.3 per cent. The picture is one of general increase rather higher in British India than in the States and only in part of Baluchistan and a few minor States is a decrease recorded.

Japan At Cross-Roads

The Prime Minister of Japan General Togo is reported to have said on Thursday that Japan faced the greatest crisis in her history and was literally at the cross-roads of a rise or fall.

KHAKSAR LEADER'S FAST UNTO DEATH

Allama Mashriqui's Representations to Govt. & Reply

Allama Inyathullah Khan Mashriqui, leader of the Khaksar movement, who is interned in Vellore Jail has embarked on a fast unto death, declared Gadde Rangiah Naidu, M. L. A., who was recently released from Vellore Jail in the course of an interview.

The Allama, he said, ever since his arrest and imprisonment was making representations to the Government regarding himself and the movement. He contended, that the Khaksar movement is a social organisation and had nothing, to do with politics. He even went to the extent of offering 50,000 Khaksar, to the British Government as soon as war broke out. But the Government heeded not his appeals. They went ahead with their policy. The Khaksar movement was banned in all the provinces.

Decision to Fast.

Two months ogo. Mr. Naidu proceeded, theKhaksar leader sent an important representation (final one) to the Government refuting the undesirable motives attributed to himself and his followers and demanding the release of all Khaksar throughout India, in default of which he intimated that he will go on a penitential fast unto death.

In the meantimeRamzan, holy month for Muslims approached and like all Muslims he began his fast.

But by the middle of October he received the Government's reply. It was a big No. The Government refused to conisder any of his representations. And on October 16, Allama Mashriqui commenced his fast unto death.

At first, Mr, Rangiah Naidu informed me, the Khaksar leader could not be persuaded to take anything except lime water, not even juice, twice a day, But the other detenus like Mr. B. Sambamurthi Speaker, Madras Legislative Assembly. Messers Gadde Rangiah Naidu, and Pattabhi Sitaramiah persuaded him to take some fruit juice also, to which he agreed.

Mr. Naidu in conclusion said that Mr. Mashriqui who was very active and healthy has become very weak. He was confined to his room. He had also very much reduced in weight and voice has become feeble,

Asked whether they (the other detenus) did not request Mr, Mashriqui to desist from undertaking such a course, he said, "we did, but to no purpose. He was determined and as a last resort he had taken this step".

Public Meeting

The release of Allama Mashriqui, Khaksar leaders was urged at a public meeting held recently at the Big Mosque, Triplicane Madras Maulana Abdul Latif Faruqui was in the chair.

The following resolution was moved by Mr. Allapichai.

"This meeting of the citizens of Madras learns with deep concern the news of the fast from the 16th October of Allama Inyatulla Khan Mashriqui, the founder and leader of the Khaksar movement detained in the Central Jail, Vellore, and appeals to the Government of India to relsase him immediately."

The mover pointed out that the Government would be taking a grave responsibility if anything untowards happened to Mr. Mashriqui He made a fervent appeal for the immediate release of the leaders.

Mr. Gadde Rangish Naidu who was recently released

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from the Vellore Jail in seconding the resolution said that the Khaksar leader had lost weight considerably due to the fast.

Mr. Bahmany said that Allama Mashriqui was not a politician and the Khaksar movement was non-political.

The President said that the appeal for the release of the Allama Mashriqui was purely on the humanitarain grounds and had nothing to do with the political views of the leader. He was of the opinion that if the Government wished to respect law and liberties of citizene, they should not detain any one indefintely; but either bring up the person for trial or if they had nothing against him at once order his release. By releasing AllamaMashriqui before his life was jeopardised by fast, Mr. Faruqui concluded, the Government would be acting wisely and saving themselves from a very serious responsibility.

The resolution was unanimously passed.

Messrs Bulusu Sambamurthi, Speaker, Madras Assembly, and Mr . B. S. Murthy were also present at the meeting.

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WEYGAND'S DISMISSAL

Closer Collaboration With Nazis?

It is officially announced that General Weygand has retired and that Generel Juin has been appointed Commander-in-Chief in North Africa.

It is authoritatively stated in Washington that General Maxim Weygand has been dismissed by the Vichy Government from his posts as Delegate-General in North Africa and Commander-in-Chief of the French forces in Algeria. This is interpreted as a Vichy step towards closer collaboration with the Nazis. General Weygand departed on a holiday to South France.

A decree suppressing the post of Delegate-General in North Africa is believed to be imminent. The post has been held by General Maxim Weygand since September, 1940.

It is officially announced according to Reuter that the post of Delegate-General in French Africa, which General Weygand held is suppressed and is being replaced by a permanent Secretary-General for French Africa Vice-Admiral Senard. While M. Chateri becomes Governor-General of Algiers.

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NEWS OF THE WEEK

Russian War Front.

Slackening of the German offensive on the flanks after seventeen days' attack against Moscow was reported on Thursday. In the Volokolamsk direction there were strenuous engagements with the Soviet troops, and the situation is still serious in the Mojaisk direction. The Germans are trying to move eastward between the Volokolamsk and Mojaisk highway. The Germans are trying to take Tula at any cost and the fighting in that direction is growing in violence. The situation on the south western front is still dangerous owing to the German drive eastward from Oral.

The German plan to cut off Leningrad is reported to have failed and the German movement has been definitely stopped.

Finnish troops are reported to have occupied Hangoe.

Germans are now in full retreat from Taganrog to Marinpol.

Panse In Libya

There is a temporary pause in the Libyan operations. After nearly a fortnight's intensive fighting, the British attacking forces which have covered long distances require a brief interval for refitting tanks and regrouping formations whose dispositions have become confused in the fluid battle. nowstyled the "Battle of the Parallelogram."

Lease-And-Lend Aid To Turkey

President Roosevelt's Announcement

An official statement issued from Washington says that the President, having found the defence of Turkey vital to the defence of the United States, has directed that the needs of Turkey were to be filled as fast as possible. The announcement comes at a time when the President is sending Mr. Bullitt as his special representative to the Near East. Mr. Bullitt is expected to leave late this week. Just what kind of materials might go to Turkey is not disclosed.

There is no official information whether Turkey sought any aid nor is there any inkling that negotiations had been proceeding with Turkey. Meanwhile, the Turkish Ambassador has told the Press that he knew nothing of the President's action, which had not been preceded by any negotiations in which he participated.

Petain-Goering Agreement

It is learned on reliable authority in London that the Petain-Goering Agreement provides that Germany should receive all naval and air bases she required in North Africa on condition that she will occupy them herself without the assistance of the French Fleet.

MUSLIM'S CHARTER OF INDEPENDENCE

Pakistan Conference at Lucknow,

The Lucknow Pakistan Conference opened on Saturday night October 29 last in a specially erected *pandal* in Lalbagh Park which was packed to capacity, Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot presided. Nearly 25,000 persons were present. Prominent among them were: Begum Muhammad Ali, the Raja of Mahmudabad, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Begum Habibullah, Mr. S. N. Nauman, Mr. M. Isa Khan, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badauni, Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan, Mr Zahiruddin Farooqi, Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Syed Zakir Ali.

Chaudhari Khaliquzzaman read out the following message from Mr. M. A. Jinnah who was to inaugurate the Conference but could not make the journey due to ill-health :

"I fully realise the great importance of theConference. I am advised and feel myself that it will be dangerous for me to undertake the journey in the condition in which I am. I assure you that I would not have disappointed the historically and politically most important city in the province of U. P. if I could have managed to travel.

"The Muslim League is now strong enough to take care of itself. I have no doubt that your conference will be a magnificent success and perhaps another occasion will present itself at no distant date when I will have the honour to visit Lucknow.

Inaugural Address

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, inaugurating the Conference, said Pakistan meant the division of India into separate independent units where Hindus and Muslims ruled their own countries. The opponents of Pakistan first tried to ridicule the scheme. That failed to crush the movement and now they were theatening bloodshed if Muslims persisted in their demand,

Referring to Mr. Munshi's criticism of Pakistan, he said that Mr. Munshi had practised non-violence and truth for 20 years. But on resigning from the Congress he had forgotton both. He claimed that India was always a united country. Nothing could be further from historical truth. India was never united, its unity in times of Muslim and British rule was due to force.

He challenged Mr. Gandhi to suggest any method by which it could be determined whether the majority of Muslims were tor Pakistan. But Mr. Gandhi should be also prepared to join hands with Muslims in securing for them Pakistan if it was found that the Muslim majority was in its favour.

(Continued on next page)

Continuing, he claimed that Pakistan was the Muslims' charter of independence. For them there was no other course open but to have their own government. Muslims had decided rather to die than live as slaves.

Nawabzada appealed to Hindus to give up their threatening attitude and think coolly whether the scheme was just and fair.

Replying to the British criticism that division of India would create small states which would not be able to maintain their independence and that they would suffer the same fate as the small states of Europe, he said that the British forgot that they claimed to fight the present the war for the restoration of the independence of those very small European states. Then again if Ireland could be divided, why not India? The truth was, the speaker claimed, that the British knew that they could not stay in India once the Hindu-Muslim problem was solved and that is why they opposed the Pakistan scheme.

Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, Chairman of the Reception Committee, said that he did not believe in a Chairman airing his views and he requested the Nawab of Mamdot to address the Conference.

Presidential Address

"We have not gathered here to remind ourselves of the past splendour of Muslim Kings, but to reiterate our resolve to get back our past power and glory. Pakistan is the purpose of life and political ideal of nine crores of Muslims. They are determined to win it and will not step back," said the Nawab of Mamdot, presiding over the Pakistan Conference.

Dealing with the Pakistan problem he said: "Unfortunately our rulers ignored the historical truth that Pakistan and Hindustan were two separate, cultural, political and religious units. The Round Table Conferences created a united India ignoring the geographical, historical, cultural and other differences. While the Hindus and British were consolidating their position

Pakistan Conference *(Contd.)*

even our political leaders were carried away by them. The result was the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1935. What the Muslims got out of it was separate electorate, weightage and safeguards.

"I admit that separate electorates did, to some extent, protect our national life and political entity, but even this was not pleasing to our Hindu brethren. They are trying their best to overthrow the present constitution. They are after all trying to achieve their ends. Our complaint is against those Muslim brothers who, in their enthusiasm for independence, have fallen a prey to Hindu political machinations which would throw them and the Muslim community into slavery."

Proceeding, he said: "The net result is that the Muslims of minority provinces are in a much better position than we in the majority provinces. Our Ministries are dependent on non-Muslims. We have to put up with their just and unjust demands. We are sacrificing our rightful claims on the ephemeral altar of toleration. Even then our *bania* neighbours are dissatisfied with us"

Dealing with the safeguards he said: "The special powers of the Governors were meant to protect the interest of minorities. Did the Governors ever exercise these powers to save the Muslim minorities from the atrocities committed by the Congress Ministries?"

"It was the bitter experience of the working of the 1935 Act which has forced the Muslims to take effective steps to safeguard their religious, political and cultural rights. We do not want to encroach upon the rights of the other communities. We respect their religious institutions and social customs. We are equally jealous to protect the lives and property of non-Muslims as our own. The fact that we want to protect our religion and culture does not make us communal. In fact it is the service of humanity, and it is also the demand of justice and fair-play.

DIFFERENT NATIONS

"Unlike Europe the elements constituting the various nations of India are not confined to particular areas. India, is a small continent inhabited by different nations and groups which profess different religions. Their civilisation and culture are not based on the principle of a united nation.

"The Western democracy, which is being foisted on us, takes the unity of nations for granted. To ignore realities for sentiments is idiocy. Hindus and Muslims have two separate identities. Therefore, we must act on principles which, instead of destroying the individual elements, give them full scope for development so that the two neighbouring nations can live in peace and harmony.

"The Muslim demand for Pakistan aims at 'Live and let live.' The demand is based on justice and fairplay. It only means that the Muslims are opposed to the creation of any such Central Government which gives a majority to a nation on the basis of its numerical superiority. The Hindus and Muslims should rule where they are in majority.

"The Hindus want a democracy of the Dominion variety. The Muslims want to get rid of the British domination in every form. They are not prepared to be slaves of any nation. At present there were only two alternatives. If it is to be Dominion Status then Hindu and Muslim India should be separated. If it is to be independence then two separate independent units have to be set up.

NO PAN-ISLAMISM

"The English are under the delusion that in demanding Pakistan we want to revive pan-Islamism which they feel is against their interest. The Pakistan aims only at making the Muslims of India free and no more. This does in no way mean that we are enemies of the English or any other nation.

Replying to the various objections against the Pakistan scheme he said: "Some people threaten bloodshed if any attempt was made to divide 'Bharatmata.' This was absured. They should realise that the Muslims were awakened and would not brook any opposition in the attainment of their goal.

Flag Hoisting

Speaking at the flag-hoisting ceremony, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, President of the U.P. Muslim League, said that it was in Lucknow that the League for the first time in its history decided to have a flag of its own and it was Mr. Jinnah who unfurled the first flag in Lalbagh Park. Again it was at Lucknow that the League constitution was democratised and the League became a mass organisation. He further exhorted Muslim students to join the Muslim National Guard organisation in large numbers.

Parliamentary Committee

Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman was re-elected leader of the Muslim League Party of the U.P. Legislative Assembly at a meeting of the League legislators held in Lucknow on Saturday. The other office-bearers elected at the meeting were: Secretary—Mr. Mubhasir Husain Kidwai; Chief Whip of the Assembly Party--Mr. Zaheeruddin Faruqi; Chief Whip of the Council Party--Begum Aizaz Rasool.

The meeting passed a resolution protesting against the inadequate number of Muslim students in the medical colleges at Lucknow and Agra and requested His Excellency the Chancellor to fix a definite proportion for the Muslims in these colleges.

Another resolution pointed out that there were no Muslims either in the executive or the staff of the Hindustan Scout and Girl Guide Association and

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Special Article.

Political Evolution of Muslim India

By **MOMTAZ-UL-HUQ**

THE Muslims came to India as conquerors and settled here centuries ago, just as the Aryans did thousands of years ago. Originally, India belongs neither to the Hindus nor to the Muslims, but to the aboriginals. The Aryans defeated and dominated the original residents of India by virtue of superior culture civilization and strength. So did the Muslims, with this difference that they did not dominate the then inhabitants of this vast sub-continent as completely and as ruthlessly as the Aryans did. This is history put in a nut-shell.

The sturdy Pathans and the mighty Mughals ruled over India but none could subjugate the whole of it. Akbar brought under his suzerainty vast tracts of India, but he sought to bring about an amalgam of Muslim and Hindu cultures under a new system of religion, called "Din-i-Ilahi", but failed, though he himself married a Hindu princess and got one of his sons married to another Hindu princess. Of the Mughal Emperors, Aurangzeb alone made mighty efforts to establish a truly Islamic empire. His weak successors, however, failed to keep it up. The mighty Mughal empire crumbled to pieces.

The Marhatta hero, Sivajee, sought to establish Hindu sovereignty in India but did not succeed, mainly because of Aurangzeb's might. After Aurangzeb's death in 1707, far-reaching changes took place in the far-flung Bengal where the sun of Muslim glory and Indian independence set in the Battle of Plassey in 1757, through the treachery of Muslim and Hindu potentates and fortune-hunters. In the memorable words of Rabindranath, "scale of the merchants came to be the sceptre of administration at the end of that gloomy night."

New Opportunities

The British rule in India was gradually established. The Hindus, as seasoned opportunists, adapted themselves to the new administration and took the fullest advantage of the new opportunities. Their spirit of independence was gone by centuries of subjugation immediately preceding. The Muslims, however, got dazed by the severe blow. They could not acclimatize themselves so easily under the changed environments. The glamour of the glory gone by still haunted their minds. But alas! they were on the downward grade, just as night followeth the dazzling day. It is Nature's dispensation and retribution.

English supplanted Persian as the Court language, and threw open the flood-gates of Western culture, civilization and sentiments to India. The country got westernized rapidly at least in general outlook on forms of government. Muslim conservatism stood in the way: they did not move with the times. After a century of British rule came the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857. It was, more or less, an attempt at throwing off the foreign yoke. The attempt failed with disastrous consequences. The insurgents were ruthlessly dealt with for their insurrection.

The Hindus, by then, advanced far in the domain of English education with its concommitant advantages in the realm of political power and privilege. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan before whose eyes the scenes of Sepoy Mutiny passed with lurid light and shade, read the future of the Muslims aright. In 1872, he sponsored the scheme of Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. The school section was opened in 1875. On the 8th January, 1877, the foundation of the Aligarh College was laid by Lord Lytton, the then Governor-General of India. The Aligarh inspiration spread far and wide in Muslim India. The All-India Muslim Educational Conference also played its part in inspiring the Muslims with the ideals of English Education and modern culture.

Fore-taste

The All-India Congress came into being in 1885. It made rapid strides and rose to be a powerful political organization. Sir Syed kept aloof from the Congress. He felt that unless the Muslims were strong, educationally and culturally, there could be no real collaboration and co-ordination between the advanced and the back-ward. The Councils Act of 1892 threw political opportunities to Indians. The results of elections, however, gave the Muslims a rude shock. The best of the Muslims could not get in owing to the narrow-visioned machinations of the majority. Then came the Bengal Partition and the wave of Swadeshi Movement in its wake. This gave the Muslims fore-taste of what was in the offing of the Hindu nationalist movement.

In August 1906, Lord Minto constituted a committee comprising prominent Indians and other for the extension of Provincial Legislatures. The Muslim leaders of India sat at Lucknow for formulating the Muslim demands. In October following a memorandum signed by 35 leading Muslims of India was submitted to the Viceroy under the leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan. The deputation interalia demanded separate representation for the Muslims. Lord Minto conceded the Muslim view-point in the following words: "Any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of the continent."

Birth of League

In December, 1906, the All-India Muslim Educational Conference was called at Dacca at the instance of Nawab Sir Salimullah of revered memory. The Conference concluded on the 29th December. On the 30th December, the All-India leaders met, under the presidency of Nawab Viqarul Mulk Mushtaq Husain Bahadur, at the Conference pandal to set up a political organisation of Muslim India. On the motion of Nawab Sir Salimullah, seconded by Hakim Ajmal Khan and supported by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and others present, including Nawab Mohsen-ul.Mulk, Messrs Hasan Imam, Shaukat Ali, Muhammad Ali, Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, etc., the resolution to start the "All-India Muslim League" was unanimously adopted at Jehangirnagar (modern Dacca). where the Conference took place at the initiative and expense of Sir Salimullah, the acknowledged Leader of East Bengal and Assam, then welded into one Province.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and Nawab Mohsen-ul Mulk were elected Joint-Secretaries of the League. The task of drafting the constitution was entrusted to a Sub-Committee. The Constitution of the League was adopted at its special session at Aligarh in March, 1907. The League held its first annual session at Karachi in December following under the presidency of Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy. His Highness the Aga Khan was then elected its President and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk its Secretary. Provinciel branches were also organized. Thus the Muslim League came into being as a political organization of Muslim India.

Separate Electorates

In 1909, the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali led a deputation on behalf of Muslim India and waited upon the then Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, in London. The deputation, *interalia*, urged that the Muslims "have common ideals, and by traditions of race and religion, from a nationality quite apart from all other peoples in India." Lord Morley and the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, acknowledged the weight of the deputation's arguments and the justice of the Muslim cause in India. Thus the Muslim got separte electorates in the Morley-Minto Reforms, promulgated in 1909. Both in theHouse ofLords and the House of Commons, Lord Minto and Mr. Asquith admitted t separate electorates were nothing unusual, these were in vogue in Austria Bohemia, etc. and that the differences between the Muslim and the Hindus of India were due not only to religion but also to their culture and social traditions.

On the 12th of December, 1911, was announced the annulment of Bengal Partition at the Delhi Durbar. It was a stunning blow to the Muslims of India, in particular, of Bengal, and to

(Continued on next page)

Nawab Sir Salimullah Bahadur who, however, was decorated with the title of G.C.I.E., as "a bait, a bribe and a halter of disgrace" round his neck, as he himself put it in deep resentment. Sir Salimullah died with a broken heart in 1915. Till his death, he nurtured the pet child of his creation –the Bengal Provincial Muslim League which, later, suffered from lack of able guidance. The death of Sir Salimullah was a terrible blow to Bengal and a great loss to Muslim India.

Certain international events in Islamic world moved Muslim India to its depths. The massacre of Muslims in Tripoli by the Italians in 1911 and the Balkan War in 1912 caused great resentment in Muslim India. The Cawnpore Mosque demolition in August, 1913, and the tragedy that followed from police fire also caused All-India commotion amongst the Muslims. The appeal for help to the Muslims of Macedonia massacred by the Christian Powers of the Balkan States, in the shape of "Come Over To Macedonia And Help Us", had its repercussions in the forfeiture of the security of Maulana Muhammad Ali's *COMRADE*. Efforts for helping Turkey with money for the Red Crescent Mission, under the leadership of Dr. M. A. Ansari, also roused Muslim India considerably.

Jinnah joins League

In 1921, the Muslim leaders met at Lucknow for considering a change in the League creed. Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, then a Radical Congressite, also joined the Convention on invitation. Mr. Jinnah was even then a force to reckon with. The creed and constitution of the League were changed into "attainment of self-government for India along with other communities" at the Lucknow session in March, 1913. Mr. Jinnah was then persuaded to join the League, which he did subject to the reservation that in matters affecting the wider interests of the country, he would be with the Congress. Through the efforts of Mr. Jinnah, and other protagonists of Hindu-Muslim unity, the Congress and the League began to hold their annual sessions at the same place from 1915 at Bombay to 1921. Mr. Jinnah was then the most outstanding link between the League and the Congress.

The Lucknow Pact was implemented in 1916 under which the Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab, the former in particular, agreed to considerable sacrifice for the sake of their brethren in Muslim minority provinces, and out of their desire for settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem. This Pact between the Congress and the League was the result of earnest efforts on the part of realistic politicians like Messrs Gokhale, Jinnah and others. Mr. Gokhale, of course, died in 1915 but he worked hard and earnestly for Hindu Muslim *concordat* till his death. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, then a Congressite, acquisced in the arrangement, but the late Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Choudhury insisted on 50 per cent seats to the Muslims of Bengal which they certainly deserved. But the Muslims of Bengal got 37 seats whereas the Hindus got 70 seats. The arrangement was undoubtedly inequitable. But Muslim Bengal had to accept *fiat accompli*, as the leaders, including Mr. Huq, had agreed.

The Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwalla Bagh Tragedy and the Khilafat Movement brought the Muslims and Hindus closer together, so much so that thousands of Muslims joined the Congress and the Non-Co-operation Movement, inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi. The Ali Brothers and other Muslim leaders threw themselves heart and soul into the Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience Movements, which led to the terrible tragedies at Chauri Chaura, Madras and Bombay. Mr. Gandhi cried halt and fasted. These movements collapsed but the Hindu Mahasabha then raised its head with ideas like "Hindustan for the Hindus", etc.---ideas which made the Muslims wary. Till 1927, the Ali Brothers, Dr. Ansari and others clung to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress. In 1927, Dr. Ansari presided over the Madras session of the Congress in which the Independence of India Resolution was adopted on the motion of Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

Disillusionment

In 1928, the Nehru Report was out with the demands of India formulated therein, together with what the Muslims might expect from the Nehru Scheme of Government. The Madras resolution of Independence at the instance and under the presidency of two Muslim leaders was scraped at the Calcutta session of the Congress, presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru, with the blessing and under the inspiration of Mr. Gandhi himself. Dominion Status was adopted as the goal of India. Next year, however, complete Independence was once again adopted as the goal of the Congress, presided over by Pandit Jawaherlal Nehru. For these curious and rapid changes, it is difficult to assign reasons except that independence, soiled with Muslim hands, was not acceptable to the Congress nationalists.

The Nehru Report denied the Muslims the right of separate electorates. It did not even concede to the Muslims their rightful dues. The dream of Maulana Muhammad Ali and others was shattered. They washed their hands clean of the Congress. Mr. Jinnah had already left the Congress in disgust. Only a handful of self-deluded Muslims still clung to the Congress.

Muslim Demands

Mr. Jinnah had already formulated the Muslim demands under the now-famous 14 points. The Convention of Muslim leaders in March 1927, ratified Mr. Jinnah's points with two more additions regarding separation of Sind from Bombay and reforms in the N. W. F. and Beluchistan. The Nehru Report, however, rejected the main demands of separate electorates, territorial integrity of the Muslim-majority provinces etc. This rejection disillusioned the Muslims of India still further. It was crystal clear that the Congress or Hindu India was determined to establish *Hindu Raj* in India under the camouflage of *Swaraj* or "complete independence", call it by whatever name you please. The Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha were the same so far as the Muslim rights and aspirations were concerned.

Then came the Round Table Conferences in London. The Congress abstained at first but later participated through Mr. Gandhi, the sole representative of the Congress. Mr. Gandhi sought to bluff the Muslims by the bait of a blank cheque which was never signed. Nor could it be cashed, if signed. The Hindus refused to budge from the Nehru Report, which, if implemented, would be as good as "*Khalq Khoda ki, Mulk Angrez ka, Hukm Hindu Mahasabha Bahadur ka,*" as so pithily put by Maulana Muhammad Ali of blessed memory, the "prophet of nationalism" who never returned to slave India from England where he went to attend the Round Table Conferences. The Muslims, however, did not agree to forego the points embodied in the Jinnah Formula. Sir Chimanlal Setalbad alone amongst the Hindu delegates pleaded for meeting the just demands of the Muslims, but in vain.

Communal Award

Impasse followed. On the 14th of November, 1931, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other Hindu leaders agreed in writing to abide by the award of the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, regarding the communal issue, in the following terms: "*With reference to your offer made yesterday to members of the Minorities Committee we have decided to approach you with a request and a promise. We request you that, in order to enable the work of the Federal Structure Committee to be continued and completed, and report on the remaining subject considered, you will kindly undertake to arbitrate on the communal issue as affecting the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. We shall abide by your decision and recommend the same course to those we represent.*" Thus came the Communal Award which can only be altered by agreement amongst the parties concerned, as was done under the Poona Pact after Mr. Gandhi's historic fast, ostensibly for the Harijans but really to keep Hindu India undivided statutorily.

The Reforms of 1935 came. Mr. Jinnah was persuaded back

(Continued on page 8)

Plight of Railway Muslim Employees

SEVEN-YEAR PLAN SUGGESTED BY PRESIDENT

Annual Conference at Lucknow

"To do adequate justice to the Muslims the Government should execute without delay a seven-year plan, calculated to secure at least one-third proportion for Muslims in each and every grade and class of the Railway service on an All-India Basis," said Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, M.L.A. (Central), Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League, presiding over the annual session of the All-India Railway Muslim Employees Conference, held at Lucknow on November 29 last.

"This Association has been in existence for many years and the builders of the association deserve to be congratulated on the steps they have taken in making this association well-established in the country inspite of the several disadvantages and difficulties that they had to encounter.

"The first problem which is facing the association to day is that of its recognition. Although many years have elapsed since this association came into existence and proved its utility and strength, yet it has not been recognised by the Government of India. The reason advanced by them for not recognising it is that it is a communal body.

"The Muslims by virtue of their traditions, ideology and culture are a nation unto themselves and therefore it is no use saying that they cannot form a distinct and seperate class of people. It is a pity that Government has been consistently refusing to recognise a body of well-organised workers for the only fault that they are Muslim and because it voices the grievances of the Muslim employees in the Railways all over India.

"In a country like India it is futile to create a unity of interest by means of artificial devices. The interest of the Hindus and the Muslims are not identical and in any joint association or organization the interest of those who are numerically less are bound to suffer when both of them are wanting the same loaf. The moment places are reserved in the services for any one section of the people, it becomes absolutely necessary for them to organise themselves to secure their just and due share and to see that what is promised to them is actually received by them.

"There cannot be any justice or logic in the Government not giving recognition to this association. On the contrary the Government should give every encourgement to this association so that the real feelings of the Muslim employees and their grievances reach the Government directly and authoritatively. In the interest of the administration itself, the sooner it is done the better.

"Now I come to the longstanding grievances regarding the inadequate representation of Muslims in services in the Railways all over India. For a period of nearly 20 years the Muslim members of the Legislative Assembly have been ventilating the grievances of Muslims with regard to their representation in the Railway services through all possible constitutional means.

Spirit Destroyed

"The Government tried to solve the difficulty by their Home Department Resolution No. F. 14/17 B./33 of the 4th July 1934, which reserved for Muslims 25% of the appointments. But when it came to giving effect to it, the spirit of the resolution was totally destroyed in as much as the Railway authorities went on promoting men in the lower grade to a higher grade and thus depriving the Muslims from getting their due share in the grade and tried to mislead the people by recruiting Muslims for the vacancies so caused in the lowest grade on the basis of the resolution to which I have just referred. By a skilful manoeuvring such as this, the Muslims were deprived of even that little advantage which they might have got under the Government Resolution.

"The Muslim League party in the Legislative Assembly brought to the notice of the Government, how the policy of securing to Muslims a due share in the services was being defeated by excluding a large number of posts in higher grades on technicle grounds and by filling up posts in the higher grades by promotions and similar other devices."

The Nawabzada then read out the statement, made by the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly on February 22 last when the party decided to withdraw from the Assembly as a protest against the attitude of the Government in this matter, and added:

Deterioration

"The last two years particularly, have witnessed a considerable deterioration owing to the attitude adopted by the Government. To quote one more instance, the latest report published by the Railway Board reveals that out of the total number of 40 gazetted officers, appointed in the State Railway. only one is Muslim. This fact alone would be sufficient to indicate the gravity of the present situation.

"The annual wage bill of India class 1 Railways amounts to 36 crores of rupees. Of these 36 crores, only about four crores go to Muslims by way of salaries and the rest to the non-Muslims. It is clear from this that a grave injustice is being done to the Muslim Nation and it is suffering a loss of several crores every year.

"These figures include only the salaries and other monetary benefits accruing from service in the Railway Department. But Railways are not employers of labour alone, they play an important part in the economic life of the country. They buy stores of the value of many crores and also have their works carried out by contractors. The business community reaps enormous profits from these contracts.

Heavy Loss

"As Muslims are seldom represented in the higher official grades of railway services, Muslim commerce, industry and trade have to suffer a heavy loss on account of the entire absence of any patronage from the Railway Department. Muslim tradesmen and the traveling public cannot obtain the same transportation facillities as non-Muslims do. Even the vending contracts at railway stations and on trains are given almost entirely to non-Muslims.

"In short, this important national asset, which represents a capital investment of eight hundred crores and an annual turn over of over one hundred crores is administered in such a manner that its benefits are shared by the Europeans and the Hindus, the Muslim share being more or less nominal.

Muslim Demand

The Muslims demand their legitimate rights and no more and shall not accept anything less. They have their share of the responsibility along with others for the national debt of eight hundred crores with which the railways in India have been built. They want their due share of the benefits accruing from the administration of this national asset.

"If the will is there justice can be done overnight as it was done in Czechoslovakia under the award of Lord Runciman. But Muslims do not expect a change overnight. Nor are they prepared to wait indefinitely.

"About eight months ago a detailed memorandum was sent to H. E. the Viceroy by Mr. M.A. Jinnah, leader

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DELHI

Sunday, December 7, 1941

THE BALANCED WAY.

The world needs no "new orders" if only it follows the balanced way which conforms to human nature and requirements. And the world, despite innumerable experiments, has not been able to find a better balanced way ("Sirat-e-Mustaqeem") than that indicated in the Quran—the acceptance of which turns warring elements into one great loving brotherhood. Being a comprehensive code of conduct for the guidance of the whole human race, the Quran is not the monopoly of any particular people. It is open to the peoples of the world at large to seek the guidance of that book without identifying themselves, if they so desire, with the people who have already accepted it as their guide. Commonsense dictates that unless you have found out something better you should accept what, having stood the test of centuries, is best for the time being, if not for all time.

It is not our purpose here to discuss at length what is best for the world as a whole. But so far as this sub-continent is concerned we cannot afford to remain indifferent. What then is the balanced way, other than the one indicated above, for all the warring elements in the political life of this continent? — Domination of different peoples by one particular people under the threadbare disguise of "majority rule" or "nationalism"? "Invention" of some sort of unity where none exists? Refusal to face facts and letting things drift? — It is this, as the Qa'ide Azam tersely puts it: "Let the Hindus guard the South and the West. Let the Musalmans guard the North and East. Let us live as good neighbours and we will stand together and say to the world: Hands off India! India for Indians".

Goodwill and fellow feeling cannot be had by force. On the contrary, it flows from mutual give-and-take and a spirit of accommodation. Admittedly when the two peoples in this continent—Hindus and Muslims—are not prepared to pull together under one common government for India, it is dangerous to the peace of the continent to yoke them together against their will. To give a "fair trial" to the domination of Muslims by the Hindus miscalled "nationalism" by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in his convocation address at Benares, will obviously not effect even that unity which, according to Mr. Amery's counsel of despair, has to be "invented" as the last resort regardless of consequences. Unity, invented or otherwise, does not spring from wishful thinking. Where is that national unity which Sir Tej deceives himself to assume? If only Hindu leaders could get over the temptation of appropriating other peoples' dues, peace and prosperity for this unhappy continent is even now in sight. For, it is common knowledge that Indian Muslims are not in a position to encroach upon the rights of other nations in the continent. As the Nawab of Mamdot, presiding over the Lucknow Pakistan Conference, said: "we must act on principles which, instead of destroying the individual elements, give them full scope for development so that the two neighbouring nations can live in peace and harmony".

The one artificially expanded British-made India with its discontented peoples perpetually running at one another's throats, or the well-contented India, consisting of a couple of friendly and sovereign States—that is the choice before the leaders of this sub-continent.

NOTES

PAKISTAN

The Pakistan Conference, held recently at Lucknow, reiterated Muslim India's demand for Pakistan. It was no longer possible for Muslims, as one of the speakers pointed out, "to live honourably except under Pakistan. The sooner the Hindus realised it the better. Muslims are determined to have Pakistan and would brook no opposition". The challenge is understandable in view of the campaign of hate started by the Congress and other Hindu leaders against Pakistan and the Muslim nation without waiting to consider dispassionately what the scheme really aimed at. Whether or not the scheme embodies an amicable and permanent solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem in the continent, the Hindu leaders did not stop to think. Consciousness of the weight of their numbers and the advantage of having a highly strung press which, in the absence of Muslim press, monopolises the attention of English speaking peoples abroad, they are not in a reasonable frame of mind and are bent upon drowning all discordant notes to the establishment of Hindu Raj in India. That they can grab all with impunity has gone to their heads, wooly expressions, deliberately made by British politicians across the seas from time to time, having encouraged them in their sinister desire. And that is why they keep on turning a deaf ear to all talk of honourable compromise, which they know, must be based on something which they are not prepared to concede—the principle of 'live and let live'. The dead-lock thus created serves the purpose of Britain. Knowing as they do that greed is the weakest point in a *bania's* character, British authorities have made it a point to occasionally administer doses of false hopes to the Hindu leaders who react according to the British plan of keeping the Indian political deadlock unresolved, thus postponing the eventuality of their having to part with power. The truth is, as Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan pointed out in his inaugural address, that "the British Government know that they could not stay in India once the Hindu-Muslim problem was solved." Pakistan, as he claimed, was the charter of independence for the Musalmans who would rather die than live as slaves.

ANOTHER SPORTING OFFER

So, here comes another sporting offer. Mr. Satyamurthi in a speech at Madras, referring to British appreciation of the work of Indian troops in the present war, made a sporting offer to Mr.

NOTES (Contd.)

Amery that he should concede freedom to India without any equivocation, if Indian troops unanimously voted for the same at the end of the war. How very simple and innocent too! It was left to the lot of Mr. Satyamurthi to stumble upon that precious bit of brainwave to the utter inantification of saints and politicians alike at Wardha and Whitehall. Perhaps the offer would have been more in line with the traditions of his race if Mr. Satyamurthi had suggested that the matter of Indian freedom be decided by a toss. Hindu literature is replete with instances of sportsmanship of the Raja Nul brand who once went to the length of staking his kingdom and all, Rani Damyanti not excepted. Mr. Satyamurthi in his offer accepts the principle of unanimity in the matter of determination of political status for India. But it is the unanimity of the Indian troops—who, according to the Congress, are fighting for British imperialism in a war in which India had not been consulted—that he accepts and not of the general public. The Musalmans could as well have thrown an offer of accepting the verdict of the Muslim soldiers on the question of Pakistan, and safely too, had they regarded their position so untenable as to depend upon chance than on logic or the sanction behind the demand.

CONGRESS KITE-FLYING

Acharya Kriplani's recent statement in connection with a Hindu-Muslim settlement comes as a painful surprise to those who have been following the trend of events. As early as May 1937, Mr. Jinnah was anxious to meet Mr. Gandhi and he actually wrote to the latter initiating an approach to Hindu-Muslim problem. The reply received from Mr. Gandhi from Teethal was most disappointing. Later, however, when the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah was resumed, the former in his letter, dated February 15, 1938, wrote to the latter. "Believe me, the moment I can do something that can bring the two communities together, nothing in the world can prevent me from so doing." Mr. Jinnah wrote back to say: "Now, what am I to gather from this? Am I right in interpreting that the moment is not come?" Whether Mr. Jinnah was right or wrong in interpreting Mr. Gandhi's attitude, will be evident from what Mr. Gandhi wrote to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on March 7, 1941—"And what I fear is that the time for communal settlement has not come."

Acharya Kriplani goes on to say; "the Congress bides its time and waits for a favourable opportunity" Perhaps it is awaiting the result of its manoevres, intended to bring round the British Government to forcing upon India a political system of the Congress patern. Acharya Kriplani says further: "If however, Mr. Jinnah is desirous of establishing contact with the Congress, nothing stands in the way of his doing so, and Gandhiji, who has never stood on the false idea of dignity, would meet even at Mr. Jinnah's own place..........Ways were always open to Mr. Jinnah and he had only to write to Mahatma Gandhi." Mr. Jinnah has always been "ready and will-

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ing to see Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader on behalf of the Hindu community." Mr. Gandhi, on the other hand, has been "obsessed by the notion that he holds a transcendental status far above controversies; but then there is no denying the fact that he is the dictator of the Congress."

The object of such a meeting would be "the creation of a Hindu Muslim *concordat* in which parties should weigh their capacity for adjustments both in their own views and in the expectation of their followers," for which it is but fair that the two participants should have the authority to deliver the goods on behalf of their respective communities and to get the agreement, so arrived at, ratified. If, therefore, Mr. Gandhi is not willing to meet Mr. Jinnah in the capacity of a Hindu representative, does Acharaya Kriplani expect Mr. Jinnah to discuss with Mr. Gandhi the nutrition of *Soya* beans and the nourishing qualities of goat's milk?

India and Majority Rule

(*By* ORPHEUS)

"India must give up, as Europe has to give up, simple majority rule. It did not work in Czecho-Slovakia, or Poland; it did not work in the United Kingdom, treated as one whole without reference to the Irish minority. And the fear of simple majority rule to this day keeps Ulster out of Eire." These words deserve deep thinking and searching of the hearts by the advocates of democracy or simple majority rule in India on basis of a constitution to be framed by the grandiloquent body called "Constituent Assembly" which is to be constituted guided by the counting of heads and hands. That is the fond dream of those who want to establish *Hindu Raj* in India through subterfuge of simple majority rule.

By the way, whose are the words quoted at the outset? Is it the reactionary utterance of a Muslim Leaguer or Pakistanist, out to sabbotage simple majority rule and "vivisect Mother India"? No, it is not. He is Mr. Arthur Moore, Editor of the *Statesman*, who can certainly be credited with the fullest sense of responsibility about the burden of his utterance and who belongs to a race whose democratic ideals are the dreams and aspirations of our "nationalist" compatriots.

If simple majority rule has failed in western countries, it is a day-dream to try the experiment in the vast sub-continent of India with innumerable races, religions, cultures and outlooks, not only widely but fundamentally differing from one another. Democracy can function only if the constituents agree to work it harmoniously. Such harmony, again, is possible if the majority enjoys the confidence of the minorities. The so-called nationalists got the chance of proving their *bana fides* and goodwill towards the minorities in seven out of eleven provinces in India during the Congress regime. But the majority have completely forfeited the confidence of the minorities. Democracy now lies guillotined. There may be a sporting chance for democracy only if the Pakistan Scheme of the Muslim League is implemented. In that case, the two major elements in India may try the experiment in their respective zones. India, as constituted at present, is totally unsuitable for democracy. This is what the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah are trying to bring home to all concerned.

Railway Muslim Employees Conference

(*Continued from page 5*)

of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly. I understand that it is being considered by the Government. I would request the Government to conclude their considration at an early date and meet the just demands of the Muslim.

Seven-Year Plan

To do adequate justice to the Muslims (i) the Government should think out and then execute without delay a seven-year plan calculated to secure at least one third proportion for Muslims in each and every grade and class of the Railway service on an All-India basis. From the members of the Railway Board down to the humblest employee, the share of Muslims should be ensured, so that they should get one third share of the total wage bill; (ii) in the future also recruitment and promotion should be made to all grades and classes in such a manner as not to disturb this proportion; and (iii) the Muslims should get a similar share of all the contracts of every description on an All-India basis."

Gentlemen, you are aware that the Muslim League has been doing everything possible to secure justice and fairplay for you and let me tell you that we shall not rest content till we have secured a rightful place for the Muslims not only in the Railway Department but in every sphere of life in this country.

MUSLIM DEMANDS

The All-India Railway Muslim Employees' Conference, which opened in the Municipal Hall, Lucknow. on Saturday October 29 last concluded its session on Sunday. In the absence of Nawabzaba Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. Muhammad Nauman, M. L. A. (Central), Acting President of the All-India Railway Muslim Employees' Association, presided the next day.

Among those present at the Conference were: Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, Mr. Mobashir Husain Kidwai Mr. Muhammad Ishaq Khan, Mr. Zahiruddin Faruqui, Mr. Aziz Ahmed Khan, Mr. Shaukat Ali Khan, Mr. Fakhrul Islam, Mr. Ejaz Ahmed and Chaudhri Ahmad Shafi.

The Conference passed as many as 14 resolutions, mostly dealing with the various "grievances" of Muslim railway employees.

Resolutions

The first resolution was moved by Chaudhri Khaliqzzaman, viewing with concern the "conversion of a large number of direct recruitment posts on certain railways into promotion posts". The mover characterised that move as directed to "affect the Muslim community adversely." and urged the Government of India to issue necessary instructions to the railways concerned to follow strictly the quota fixed for recruitment of Muslims on each railway.

The resolution was supported by Mr. Muhammad Farooq and was unanimously passed.

By another resolution the Conference demanded that the Muslim quota in the lower grades and gazetted services and also in the upper subordinate services should be completed within seven years to the extent of 33 1/3 per cent. in each grade. At present, it was stated, the representation of Muslims in these services was only about six per cent.

By another resolution the Conference noted with concern that in spite of the repeated demand of the Muslim community and the promise given by the Government of India that the number of Muslims in the administrative sections of railways, specially dealing with recruitment, promotions and postings, would be increased, nothing had been done by the railway administration in that direction. The resolution urged Government to remove this "longstanding grievance" of the Muslim community.

Dearness Allowance

Owing to the rise in prices of foodstuffs and other necessities, a demand was made by another resolution for 25 per cent. dearness allowance to those employees drawing a salary of Rs. 65 or less, and 15 per cent. for those drawing a salary between Rs. 65 and 100 with a minimum increase of rupees five in salary.

By another resolution the Conference regretted that the railway administration in general gave financial aid only to non-Muslim educational institutions and demanded that out of the total education grant, one-third should be reserved for Muslim educational institutions. The Conference also demanded that leave for *jumma* prayers should be granted to Muslim employees in railway workshops and that there should be no deduction in pay on that account.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman, winding up the proceedings of the Conference appealed to the Muslim employees of railways to consolidate their position by joining the All-India Railway Muslim Employees' Association. He also urged the Government of India to recognise the Association.

The Conference concluded late in the afternoon.

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to India from England where he had gone to practise before the Privy Council. On his return to India in 1934, Mr. Jinnah advised the Muslims to work the reforms in the Provinces for what they were worth, and took up the re-organization of the All-India Muslim League which had passed through many vicissitudes during the years preceding owing to internal wranglings. New life came into the almost dry bones of the League. The bitter experiences of the Muslims at the hands of the Congress and Hindu Mahasabha added zest to the League re-organisation work. The response from the country was marvellous despite the Congress machinations through "Mass Contact" and the like.

Political Evolution of Muslim India

(*Continued from page 4*)

In seven out of eleven provinces, the Cogress came to power after considerable higgling, but refused to share the same with the League. Muslim "Show Boys" or "renegades" were taken into the Congress Cabinets, in preference to the real representatives of the Muslims. Then followed the oppression of the Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces. The mala-fides of the Congress-cum-Hindu Mahasabha stalwarts now came into still lurid light. Muslim India stood aghast but completely disillusioned. The Muslims must unite and organize themselves under the League, or they would be reduced to serfs and slaves,

Pakistan

In 1925, Sir Abdur Rahim struck a sturdy note of separatism in his famous speech at the Aligarh session of the Muslim League. The chorus of condemnation from Hindu India demonstrated that Sir Abdur Rahim struck the right note of Muslim India. In 1936 the Great Seer of Muslim India, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, put forward the plea of *Pakistan*, yet as a poet's dream at the Allahabad session of the Muslim League. In April, 1936, Mr. Jinnah asked the Muslims to stand on their own legs and make their demands felt; they could not expect their salvation from others.

The elections to the provincial legislatures carried the message of the League far and wide. The results were beyond expectation despite difficulties on all sides. In the historic session of the League at Lucknow in 1937, the League was practically reborn with its creed changed into "establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic states". The ideal of *Pakistan* loomed large and crystalized, and was adopted at the Lahore session of the League in 1940. In 1941, *Pakistan* was adopted as creed of the League at the Madras session. The rest is recent history.

Under the magnificent lead of the *Qaid-i-Azam*, the All-India Muslim League, born in Bengal in 1906, is now the sheet anchor of Muslim India. The anchor is deels down into the hearts of millions of Muslim India, and cannot be cast aside or cut asunder. That is a certainty.

30,00 DESTITUTE MUSLIMS ENROUTE TO INDIA

Refugees from Kazakistan

Three thousand destitude Muslims are on their way to British India through the territories of Kashmir. These include men, women and children who have been rendered homeless. They belong to the country known as Kazakistan and according to their own statement made before Kashmir authorities they have been driven out of their country. Though details of the political reasons which led to their leaving their own country are still unknown, this huge number of the followers of Islam are now seeking protection in British India.

In some earlier messages appearing in the British India press, these Muslims were described as "Chinese Muslim robbers" and it was stated that they had been looting in Tibet for some time past.

Driven Out

From the vast number of sheep, horses and yaks, which they possess, it is hard to believe that they are robbers by profession. It appears that having been driven out of their country long ago, and owing to the fact that they were not hospitably treated on their way, these people were led into conflict in order to maintain themselves. They have more than 25,000 sheep and goats, about 1,000 camels and about 5,000 horses and yaks with them.

On 6th October last this caravan came on the borders of the Kashmir State at a place known as Damchuk, about 200 miles away from Leh. Having been rendered desperate they came into clash with the Kashmir troops and suffered six casualties. They, however, surrendered on the condition that they should be allowed to pass peacefully through Kashmir to British India. This condition was agreed to by the Wazir at Leh and now the caravan is on its way to Srinagar.

It is hoped that the Government of India will make arrangements for these homeless wanderers who have suffered so much to settle in British India to earn their livelihood.

The Nizam Elected Chancellor

Unanimous Decision of M. U. Court.

A Special Meeting of the Muslim University Court was held there on Sunday, November 30, Lieut-Col. Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor, presiding. Nawab Sadr Yar Jung Bahadur moved the following resolution:—

That His Exalted Highness General Asif Jah, Muzaffarul Mulk-wal-Mumalik, Nizamud Daula, Sultanul Uloom, Nawab Sir Mir Usman Ali Khan Bahadur, Fateh Jung, G.C.S.I., C.B.E., Faithful Ally of the British Government, be elected Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University and be requested to be graciously pleased to accept the Chancellorship.

The resolution was unanimously passed amid accalamation. The meeting was adjourned as a mark of respect to His Exalted Highness without transacting other business.

Muslim University Union

Inter-College Competitive Debates

The All-India Inter-College Competitive Debates of the Muslim University Union will be held on December 14 and 15 at 6-30 p.m. in the Strachey Hall.

For the English debate on December 14 the subject is: "In the opinion of this House universal disarmament is essential for world peace and the progress of civilisation."

For the Urdu debate on December 15 the subject is: Nazar ko khira karti hai chamak Tahzeebe hazir ki; yeh sanna'i, magar jhoote nagon ki rezahkari hai.

Each constituent institution will be entitled to send two representatives for each debate, one to speak for, and the other against the proposition. Competitors will be the guests of the Union.

Special arrangements have been made for the accomodation of girl speakers with the Lady Principal of the Girl's College.

Special Article.

Is India Ripe for Democracy?

By M. A. SHAKOOR, M.A., (Alig.)

The Vicws expressed in the article are not necessarily those of The Dawn.

Perhaps the interrogation with which I open this may startle some of the readers, especially if they happen to be of the so-called nationalistic way of thinking. Today, after one year of 'Non-violent war' by the *Satyagraha* Army, under the command of its self-styled Generalissims, for establishing what they complacently call democratic self-government in India, when the 'communiques' issued from the Wardha General Head Quarters claim that "every thing is proceeding according to plan" it may seem idle to pose such a question at all. But the question is possed only to be answered. The present struggle is a struggle carried on in the name of the Indian masses. All mass struggles depend for their success upon the emotional excitement to which the mass mind can be worked up. Even in the present state of excitement to which the minds of the masses have been worked up by the astute politicians of the Congress ranks, it will not be alltogether in vain to appeal to them to look at the matter dispassionately.

Psychological Point.

Is India ripe for Democracy? One may view the question from different angles. It is not intended here to consider the constitutional and communal aspects of the problem. On the other hand, my object here is to examine the subject from a psychological point of view. In making this review the fundamental question whether Democracy of the western type is suitable to the condition and genius of the Indian people is left untouched, as it is not germane to the subject in hand

Democracy, as every one knows, is the government of the people, by the people. It is almost a truism that he alone can govern properly who can judge properly, It is indispensable to think properly. Now among the great mass of people that inhabit Indfa, how many in a thousand can think properly, at least think independently?

It is a sad tale to tell. When we see that even among the so-called intelligentsia of the country the number of people who can think independently is deplorably small, what can be said of the vast illiterate masses? More than ninety per cent of the people are illiterate. Even among the ten per cent literates who are, for the purposes of the Census Report, considered literates, how many are there who can understand and take lively interest in the events of the day in and outside India? To one whose vision is not bluned by political myopia and and whose judgment is not tainted by partizan zeal, it will be clear that there is little independent thinking among the Indian masses, their self-imposed leaders not excluded. I shall presently show, how rare this quality is even in the rank and file of the Congress who claim to be recognized as the Indian nation.

Reason.

Democracy is not built on mere sentiments. It is founded on reason, and capicity and freedom to exercise that faculty Sentimental regard and super stations. reverence for institutions or personalities, are not conducive to the healthy growth of democracy. It is not personality that counts but thought, and the one should not be confused with the other. We may have reverence for the personality of a leader but that should not vitiate our judgement of his thoughts. There is little gratitude in politics. Gratitude to a leader who has rendered valuable services, is one thing; judging his individual acts is quite another. The one should not be allowed to bias the other.

But this is seldom the case in India. Even Pandit Jawahar lal Nehru seems almost to believe that Mr. Gandhi is infallible.

(Continued on page 11)

requested Government that it should ask the Association to give proper representation to the Muslims. In case the Association refused to do so Government should stop its grant which annually amounted to about Rs. 50,000.

The meeting decided that the five elected members of Central Sunni Waqf Board should immediately resign and send their resignations to the leader of the party and that new elections be held.

Sunday's Session.

Next day the Pakistan Conference was held at 2-30 p.m. The proceedings began with a recitation from the quran by Maulana Abdul Hamid Badauni and of "Tarana-i-Milli by Mr. Manzoor Mahmud,

Resolutions of condolence were passed on the deaths of Maulana Enayetullah of Ferangi Mahal, Maulana Subhanullah of Gorakhpur and Syed Muhammad Hussain of Bahraich.

Mufti Fakhrul Islam moved a resolution which urged that a fixed number of seats should be reserved for Muslim students in Lucknow and Agra Medical Colleges, the Engineering College Roorkee, and all Technological institutes.

Dr. S N. A. Jafri moved the second resolution which condemned the highly Sanscritised Handustani language used by the A.I.R. in its news broadcasts.

Mr. Zahiruddin Earuqi claimed that Urdu was the common language of Hindus and Muslims.

Another resolution urging unconditional release of Allama Mashriqi was moved by Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan.

All the above resolutions were adopted.

The session was then adjourned till 8 p.m.

Fourteen speakers supported the main resolution of the Pakistan Conference which was moved at 9-15 p.m. and was passed after midnight. The resolution reiterated the Muslims' demand for Pakistan and expressed their readiness to sacrifice everything to achieve it.

Qazi Muhammad Isa of

Pakistan Conference *(Contd.)*

Baluchistan moving the resolution said that Pakistan was the best cure for the communal malady. Muslims would not have been afraid of Hindus if decision were to be taken by the sword and not by the mere counting of hands. Pakistan did not mean that there would be war with Hindu India. There would be mutual treaties and treaties were better than safe-guards.

ONLY WAY

Mr. Karimur Raza Khan M.L.A., said it was impossible for Muslims to live honourably except under Pakistan. The sooner Hindus realised it the better. Muslims were determined to have Pakistan and would brook no opposition.

Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan, M.L.A., said office acceptance turned Congressmen's heads. Instead of trying to govern impartially, they took every possible advantage of their position and trampled upon the just rights of Muslims.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani said he fully supported the Pakistan scheme. He declared it was he who first moved the independence resolution in the Congress. By independence of India he meant a united states of India on the lines of the U.S.A. The Pakistan scheme differed from his original scheme as Pakistan did not provide for a centre.

Continuing, he said that he left Congress because he found that the followers of *ahimsa* could envisage of no form of independence except form of government under a unitary British protection.

He said the League should make it clear that the Pakistan zones would be independent units and not of the dominion variety. The Pakistan ideal was incompatible with dominion status. For if the latter was accepted then these units would be reduced to the mere status of Indian states.

Mr S. N. Nauman, M.L.A. (Central), Maulana Jamal Mian, Maulana Abdul Hamid Budauni, Maulana Karam Ali, Mr. Rizwanullah, Begum Muhammad Ali and Mr. Nauman also supported the resolution.

Women's Committee Resolution

At a meeting of the Women's Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League held on Sunday at the Lucknow residence of Begum Aizaz Rasool, a resolution was passed "condemning the statement of Begum Shah Nawaz issued on September 9, claiming to be the representative of the women in India." The Committee held that Begum Shah Nawaz was not the representative of Muslim women and did not enjoy their confidence.

FAITH IN MR. JINNAH

"This Committee has implicit faith in the leadership of Mr. Jinnah and approves of the actions taken against those members who are guilty of indiscipline."

The Committee also pointed out that the struggle for the emancipation of Muslim women in India was bound up with the struggle of the Muslim nation for the achievement of Pakistan.

By another resolution the Sub-Committee appointed some members to tour the various provinces in India with a view to propagating the work of the League, and establish branches of the League at various places.

Among those who attended the meeting were: Bugam Muhammad Ali, Begum Isa Begum Akhtar Muhammad Khan, Begum Habib-ullah, and Begum Wasim. In the absence of Begum Hafizuddin Begum Muhammad Ali presided.

No settlement over Muslims' Heads

Nawabzada warning to Government

If Government wanted a settlement with Congress without consulting Muslims "they would be responsible for creating a situation the repercussions of which no one was able to guess today," said Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Secratary of the All-India Muslim League on Sunday when addressing a meeting held under the auspices of the Lucknow Muslim Students' Federation. The meeting was held in the Ganga Prasad Memorial Hall under the presidentship of Begum Aizaz Rasool.

The Nawabzada added that Muslim India would have to consider what action to take to secure its own position in such circumstances "There shall not be any settlement over our head."

In his opening remarks, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan said he always welcomed an opportunity to speak to "young men" because it was his firm conviction that the future of Muslim India was with Muslim students.

GREAT ACHIEVEMENT

The Nawabzada continuing said that he had often been asked what the League had done for Mussalmans. His only reply was that it has taught them self-respect had created among them a sense of self-realisation, had given them a leader whose voice was the voice of 90 million Muslims, and had given them an ideal---the ideal of Pakistan, "an ideal worth living for and dying for." These were achievements, he said, which were great considering the fact that the Muslim organisation was only four years old.

Continuing, the Nawabzada said Mussalmans were determined to reach their goal and no amount of "bluffing or manoeuvring" would deter them from achieving it. Muslims had no designs and ambitions regarding the rights of others and the sooner the people of India realised it, the better it was. So long as some people continued to try to usurp what belonged to others, there could be no freedom,

WAR ISSUE.

Dealing with the League position on the issue of war, he said their attitude was very definite, and consistent. "We want to defend our country, we want that the defence of India should be entrusted to Indians and we are anxious that India should

(Continued on page 11)

Is India Ripe for Democracy ? *(Contd.)*

About the suspension of Civil Disobedience by Mr. Gandhi in 1933. Pandit Nehru Writes: "the reason he had given seemed to me an insult to intelligence and an amazing performance for the leader of a national movement." But in the same breath he says that 'Mr. Gandhi had acted rightly inspite of that. Again, regarding Mr. Gandhi's fast in 1933 Pandit Nehru says: "I had struggled against my utter disapproval of his act and my desire not to hurt him". After shaking himself up and overcoming the struggle, he wired to Mr. Gandhi, "I feel more clearly now that whatever happens it is well, and whatever happens you win." About a year back when the Mahatma received a 'divine' command for launching on a fast, Pandit Nehru, according to A.P.I. reports, completely endorsed the idea, emphasising the appropriateness and utility of a fast at that juncture. But the Mahatma himself did not venture upon that uncertain game, either for want of clarity of the 'inner voice' about the date, or due the difficulty of living on salt water or on account of better wisdom. When a person of the type of Pandit Jawaharlal is not immune from the irrational faith in a leader, the blindness of the lesser luminaries and the common folk need no longer surprise us.

Blind Faith.

Congress itself presents several classic examples to show how blind faith defeats settled convictions. In 1938 there was the Presidential election at Haripur. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Dr. Pattabhi Sita Ramayya were the condidates for the Presidential *Gadi*. Everyone knows what happened then. Mr. Bose, by the bold lead he had given to Congress during the preceding year and by virtue of the more vational nature of his appeal to the youthful minds, came out successful in the election. Mr. Gandhi, during the period of this election campaign enshrouded himself in a protentously profound silence. For once Congress Delegates voted, obeying the dictates of their own reason and good conscience. But Mr. Gandhi, sorely vexed at the outcome of the election, which fact he did not conceal from others, came out with a statement that Dr. Pattabhi was his condidate and that his defeat was tantamount to his (Mr. Gandhi's) own defeat. The Delegates who had duly elected Mr. Bose as President by exercising their democratic right of voting, were flabbergasted. The cry went forth from among them "if only we knew this beforehand!" They realised that it was a folly to have exercised their own individual and independent judgement. Tables were turned overnight Mr. Bose woke up to find himself faced with the imminent danger of a vote of non-confidence. Forces had mustered strong against him. Thus he was 'non-violently' compelled to resign.

This is the sort of Democracy one finds in Congress. A person who is not even a primary member of Congress is still holding dictatorial powers over it. Congress Delegates who are supposed to be the cream of the country's intelligentsia are swayed by their sentiments for the personality of a man and not guided by their own individual convictions. They readily allowed their sentiments to veto their rational judgement.

Melodrama.

It is to be admitted, of course, to the credit of Mr. Gandhi that he knows the psychology of the Hindu masses. He can touch the right string at the right time for producing the sound he wants. He knows the value of melodrama in Indian politics. He catches the popular gaze by his melodramatic performances of hunger-strikes and fast-unto-death. He scores an easy victory over the credulous idolatrous minds of the masses by his carefully-conceived sensation-mongering. His Rajkot fast was a cheap device to divert the attention of the people from the burning problem of the day, namely the conflict between the Right and the Left in Congress, which reached a critical stage and in which victory seemed uncertain for the former. The dumb masses with their dummy leaders turned their eyes to that unknown spot in Kathiawar, and with dramatic suddeness Mr Bose was hurled off his Presidential chair. All was well afterwards. This is one of the ways in which Mr. Gandhi sccres n his political game.

Where independent thinking is not encouraged, where sentiment takes the place of reason, where idolatory can oust convictions, how can the democratic spirit survive? The mention of the word idolatory brings to mind one curious fact. Many persons among the Hindus actually worship Mr. Gandhi in the right ceremonial form. There are many in India even among the educated persons who keep images or portraits of Mr. Gandhi in their houses and worship him like one of their innumerable gods. Atleast in one province, viz the Central Provinces, schoolmasters and school children were ordered by the Congress ministry to worship Mr. Gandhi's potrait on the occasion of his birth day.

As soon as a vational hero is deified he ceases to have a vational appeal for his fellow beings. His very name is shrouded in a sort of fanatical faith and superstitious reverence. No one hear of a national hero having ever been deified in England or worshipped by Englishmen. Perhaps that is the reason why Democracy can still survive on English Soil.

No Faith.

The relation between Mr. Gandhi and the Congress is a strange one. I don't mean the glaring fact that Mr. Gandhi who is not even an ordinary member of that body is yet virtually its dictator. What I mean is that Congress, that is to say the great majority of the persons representing Congress have no faith in the Gandhian doctrine. They have to the great chagrin and discomfiture of Mr. Gandhi, declared it is the well-known Wardha Resolution. Congress knows that its convictions and ideals are fundamentally different from those of Mr. Gandhi's. It is doubtful that it has got faith even in his political wisdom. Yet it cannot do without him. He is simply indispens able if they want to play upon the mass mind and work it up to excitement. So, in spite of the final rupture of Mr. Gandhi with Congress and the severance of his connection with it; when Congress thought of direct action, they were compelled to bow before him and call him back. And Mr. Gandhi will never let go an opportunity to play his favourite game of making the Hindu masses dance to his tune like performing bears in a circuss.

"Mahatma Magician"

If Congress depended upon their rational hold on the popular mind, where was the necessity to have the services of the 'Mahatma Magician'? A reasonable thing does not become less reasonable when uttered by a less saintly man. So it is clear that the Congress is not depending on reason for its support but something else. A party which has got a rationally sound and workable programme, which it is sure will be accepted by the people has little need for a saint to lead it.

In a democratic country or a country aspiring for democracy there is no place for saints in politics, Mr. Gandhi is the one living argument against democracy in India. It appears as though we are trying to buy political independent at the cost of intellectual and moral independence. How long things can go on like this, it is difficult to say. But certain it is that so long will India be not ripe for Democracy.

(Contd. fron page 10)

be free from foreign aggression, but we are not prepared to live as slaves." The Congress attitude, on the other hand as expressed by Mr. Gandhi, was that if Hitler invaded India we should go and do *namaskar* to him."

Regarding the release of political prisoners he said if Government released political prisoners and detenus belonging to only one political party or community they would be creating trouble for themselves.

The Nawabzada concluded his speech by stating, "Muslim India expects every Massalman to do his duty."

Stand by the League

QA'IDE AZAM'S COMMAND FOR MUSLIM BENGAL

Rush to Join Legislature Party

"I congratulate the members of the Muslim League in Bengal for having formed the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and having elected Sir Nazimuddin as their leader," says Qaide Azam Jinnah in a statement, issued to the Press this (Friday) morning.

Continuing he says: "I appeal to every Muslim Leaguer, in particular, and other Muslim members of the Bengal Assembly to join the party and maintain the solidarity and unity of Muslim Bengal to meet the machinations of over half-a-dozen miscellaneous groups who, otherwise being poles asunder have come together and call themselves as Coalition Party merely on the basis of causing disruption amongst the Mussalmans, and Mr. Fazlul Haq has accepted the leadership of such a combination.

"I regret that Mr. Fazlul Haq has been a party to intrigues with other groups and has broken away from the Muslim League. He has been now for some considerable time trying to stab the Muslim League in the back and now his open departure from the League, I hope, will enable the Muslim League party to work on sound healthy and honourable lines.

"Finally, I appeal to all Muslims Inside and outside the legislature to stand by the leadership of Sir Nazimuddin and the Muslim League Party in the Assembly. I assure Sir Nazimuddin and the Muslim League Party in the Assembly of the fullest support and help of the All-India Muslim League,"

League Strength

Following the publication of the resolutions adopted at a recent meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, 55 Muslim members of the Assembly during the course of the day signed the requisition to form the Muslim League Party in the Legislature.

It is gathered from responsible Muslim Leaguers and reliable political quarters that not less than 90 Muslim League members in the Assembly will join the Muslim League Legislature Party.

Make-believe

The statement released to the Press by Mr. Sarat Chander Boes on Tuesday seems to have not been taken notice of in high political circles perhaps because of its dubious make-believe sort of arguments and exaggerated claims. A prominent Muslim Leaguer when interviewed said that Muslims have dismissed the statement as "wild, baseless, pompous and bambastic in keeping with the reputation of Mr. Bose."

From the views prevailing in different groups in Bengal politics it can be confidently asserted that things are moving fast in favour of protecting the Muslim solidarity from the misguided onslaught of vested interests.

It is reliably understood that Muslim members of the Legislature are determined to line up with the League Legislature Party, now in full formation. The present number of Muslim Leaguers is about 88 which is expected to be considerably reinforced during the week. Besides, 15 Scheduled Castes; 5 Caste-Hindus; 4 Anglo-Indians and Indian Christains; 3 unat-

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tached, and 25 Eurpeans together form a strength of 140. It is thus obvious that a majority, and a working majority, will join hands with the party that is determined to root out cliques, intrigues and manupulations of the so-called progressive Coalition Party which is plotting not only to create disruption in Muslim solidarity but to repudiate the smooth running of the administration and inflict incalculable harm to the general interests of the Muslims as well as the Scheduled Castes and other minority communities. Confident of their victory, more Muslim are rallying round the Muslim League.

Political Prisoners Released

Govt. Will Be Disillusioned Says Mr. Gandhi

Following the Government of India's decision to release political prisoners "convicted of formal or symbolic offences," Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were released on Thursday.

It is learnt that the U, P. Government have issued orders for the release of 3,000 Satyagrahi prisoners confined in the provincial jails.

"The Government of India's decision cannot evoke a single response or appreciative chord in me," says Mr. Gandhi, in a statement on the release of Satyagrahi prisoners. Mr. Gandhi adds: "The only meaning I can attach to the release is that the Government of India expects the prisoners to have changed their opinion regarding their self-invited solitude. I am hoping that the Government of India will soon be disillusioned."

Communique

The following announcement has been made by the Government of India in a communique :-

The Government of India, confident in the determination of all responsible opinion in India to support the war effort until victory is secured, have reached the conclusion that those civil disobedience prisoners whose offences have been formal or symbolic in character can be set free. Effect will be given to this course as soon as possible.

There are provinces in which the numbers and local condition may mean delay: but before the end of the year, the Government of India hope that throughout India practically all such persons will have been set free. With them there will be released also Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Truth-shy

Commenting on the speech of Mr. Amery the Mashoor says: we wonder why Mr. Amery feel shy to tell the truth that the Hindus and the Muslims in India constitute two different nations, the Dravidians forming yet another. Any commitment in advance regarding the future system of Government for India is both inopportune and opposed to the August declaration. But the declaration of the truth that these three nations do exist in India does in no way adversely affect India's future constitution. It it a reality and a historical truth. why then should Mr. Amery take pains to avoid telling the truth ? Its it because it serves the political convenience of Britain to do so for the time being?---*Manshoor*, Delhi.

Prayers For Allama

As a protest against the Government's treatment of Allama Mashriqi, a large number of the students of the Government College. Lahore, observed fast on Thursday, November 27 last. After the evening prayers in the college mosque, Muslim students prayed for the release and health of the Allama and for the prosperity of the great Muslim nation.

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Germany & Italy At War with U.S.A.

TRIPPLE ALLIANCE AGAINST DEMOCRACIES

Hitler's Announcement In Reichstag

Germany and Italy declared war on the United States on Thursday afternoon. The U.S. Congress met soon afterwards and both the Senate and the House of Representatives voted for war against Germany and Italy.

Herr Hitler, addressing the Reichstag at 1 p.m. on Thursday, said:—A year of historic events is behind us and a year of great decision before us. The German nation led by me is facing the unique task set by the Creator."

During his speech Hitler announced the declaration of war against the United States at 2-45 p.m. (G.M.T.) and the signature of the Military Pact between Germany, Japan and Italy against Britain and U.S. at 2-15 p.m. (G.M.T.):

Hitler continued: "We are not fighting for ourselves alone but for the whole of the European Continent. At present there is one large system of roads connecting the Spanish frontier and the Norwegian seas. It is my unshakable determination to make this European front which I have thus erected unassailable."

Hitler said Germany is the only Power which has never had any colony or ambitions in North or South America. Hitler announced German casualties as 162,314 dead, 33.334 missing and 577,767 wounded.

Hitler attacked the activities of American diplomats in Europe and added: "This is a world for work, not a world for deceit and swindles."

Terms of the Pact

The following are the principal terms of the War Pact between Italy, Germany and Japan:

Article 1—"Japan, Germany and Italy will wage the common war, which was imposed on them by the United States and Great Britain, by all means at their disposal until the conclusion of hostilities."

Article 2—"Japan, Germany and Italy undertake to conclude neither an armistice nor a peace whatever with the United States or Great Britain without full reciprocal agreements."

Article 3—"Japan, Germany and Italy will continue even after the victorious conclusion of the war to collaborate very closely in the sense of the Tripartite Pact, which they concluded in September, 1940, with the object of accomplishing a new equitable order."

He recalled the enrolment of Americans in the British Air Force and the training of British airmen in America.

Hitler gave Russian losses at German hands up to December 1:---Prisoners: 3,806,865; Panzers: 21,391 captured or destroyed; Planes: 17,322 captured or destroyed.

Mr, Fazlul Huq Expelled From League

Found "Unworthy" of Organisation

Expelling Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq from the organisation, Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, issued the following statement to the press on Thursday last:

"The following charges were communicated to Mr. Fazlul Haq telegraphically—that he had acted contrary to the rules and constitution of the Provincial and the All-India Muslim League; that he had joined a Coalition. Party of the miscellaneous groups whose policy and programme were antagonistic to those of the All-India Muslim League, and that in itself was an express breach and defiance of the decision and resolutions of the All-India Muslim League; that he had defied the Provincial Muslim League and their decision of which he was the President, without reference to the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League or the President; that he had declined to join the Muslim League Party in the legislature, recently decided upon by the Provincial Muslim League; that he had betrayed the former coalition party of which he was the leader and in which the Muslim League group was the largest, by his secret intrigues with the miscellaneous opposition groups which culminated in the formation of the so-called coalition party, behind the back of the former coalition party and the Provincial Muslim League; that he was given time to send in his fullest explanation by December 10 last. He has failed to do so.

Revelation

"In his telegram to the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, received on the morning of December 9, he has, for the first time, made the astounding revelation, that the crisis in Bengal was due solely to the personal differences between him and a few members of the Provincial Muslim League. He has asserted his loyalty to the League to be as unshakable as ever and appealed for an inquiry to be made with regard to the alleged differences, without even specifying what they were. In reply he was informed that he had already violated the rules and resolutions of the All-India Muslim League by joining a coalition party of miscellaneous groups whose policy and programme were beyond doubt antagonistic to the All-India Muslim League and that he was guilty of flouting the express mandate of the League in this behalf, by not only associating himself with this combination but accepting the leadership of such a combination. He was informed that the President and the Working Committee would be willing to hold an inquiry, as requested by him, provided he completely dissociated himself from the coalition and resigned his leadership by December 10, to which also he has sent no reply.

Guilty

"In these circumstances I have come to the conclusion that Mr. Fazlul Haq is guilty of gross misconduct which is calculated to harm not only the Muslim League organisation in Bengal and the vital interests of Bengal Muslims but the All-India Muslim League and Muslim India generally. I, therefore, hold that he is unworthy of membership of the Muslim League, and that he should be expelled from the organisation. I, therefore, remove his name from the Working Committee, the Council of the All-India Muslim League and the membership of the Provincial, District and Primary Leagues of Bengal, and he shall not be elligible for membership of the Muslim League organisation."

ECHOES FROM BENGAL

(*By* **Orpheus**)

Bengal is in pictures again. It is a bad picture. The settled things are unsettled out of personal pique and not of public policy. Self-seeking politics are bad and deserve nothing but condemnation. But, unfortunately, it is personal factors which dominate present-day politics rather than matters of public policy and concern. This is the most sickening feature of Indian politics.

* * *

The Bengal Cabinet has resigned under dramatic circumstances. At the moment of writing, it is difficult to foresee the "shape of things to come." The crisis was in the air for days. It has now come to a head. The circumstances leading to the crisis are recent history. The barge of Bengal Cabinet has been in troubled waters for days past. The currents and cross-currents have tossed it dangerously. The dangers were aggravated by the personal factors, and the Pilot's shifting courses.

* * *

The Assembly met and adjourned, ostensibly for devising ways and means for the smooth passage of the Secondary Education Bill. But the Bill now stands buried seven fathoms deep. Muslim Bengal was crying hoarse over the Bill. It is buried for the time being. The day of reckoning for those responsible for the burial will dawn one day—even earlier than the self-seekers think.

* * *

The Leaguers are naturally upset. But why worry? it is better that the chaff should be blown from the corn. The luke-worm are more a drag than help to a big organization. The base coins cannot be current for all time. Their detection is inevitable. The temporary set-back need not be a damper. The trials have their value and utility. Face them boldly, and with faith and courage. A big organization like the League cannot have smooth sailing right through.

The League stands for justice, truth and fair-play. Its cause cannot be killed. The League has survived tribulations in the past. It is now in a much better position. These tactics by the luke-worm cannot wreck its course. These may impede, but will not obstruct, its onward march. The difficulties will wear off. These will make the League stronger and healthier. Fire not only consumes but purifies the gold too. The gloss may dazzle for a while, but cannot stand the wear and tear of time.

The "chord of Allah" is there. Hold it straight and true. Even the Prophet had to fight against tremendous odds. The *Munafiqs* created endless obstacles. But they ultimately faded out. Have faith and fight the forces down. Hypocracy cannot stand the glamour of truth. Public memory may be proverbially short, but common sense is not so transient. The man in the street is shrewd enough to sort out the base from the genuine coins.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS

By **Shakir Husain Khan, B.A.** *(Alig.)*

The Views expressed in this article are not necessarily those of The Dawn.

THE question of student's participation in politics has been a subject of controversy for some years past in India. It is well-known how sedulous attempts were made to wean away students from the educational institutions to reinforce the abortive movements of direct action launched in 1920 and again in 1930 and 1932.

But one thing is remarkable in this connection. Care is always taken that no Hindu national institution suffers in any way. In 1920 a conserted attack was launched against the Muslim University of Aligarh, while Benares was left untouched. Aligarh was all but annihilated. Its escape was miraculous. In 1930 and 1932 again Benares was specifically excluded from the picketing operations which had brought the work of other institutions to a standstill. It is therefore obvious that no uniform principle or policy has been followed with regard to students and their association with politics.

Not very long ago it was freely preached among Muslim students, also in Aligarh, by the pseudo-Nationalists that politics was a very desirable thing and they must play their full part in the so-called National movement. It was considered to be all right as long as the Muslim students were willing to be camp-followers of the congress Caucus and to serve as convenient tools of their party propaganda, but when they turn to their own national organisation, the Muslim League, and show interest in their own national politics, the cry is at once raised that students should really keep aloof from politics and their sole aim should be to do well at studies.

Recently some of the foremost Congress Leaders like Mr. Rajagopal Acharya and Mr. Satyamurti have been going about counselling the general body of students to keep away from active politics. These fluctuations in the opinions of the so-called nationalist leaders with regard to students can only be explained with reference to the ups and downs in the fortunes of their party and the extent to which they can make use of the student body.

One common mistake made by people in discussing the students' role in politics is that they look at the matter without reference to the peculiar conditions in India. In independent countries which possess full sovereign powers, like England or America, conditions of political life are normal. The main concern of students is their studies and their interest in politics is only academic. There is usually no serious internal crisis to distract their attention from their studies.

But the conditions in a politically dependent country like India are totally different. The situation has two main features. Firstly, the one consideration which

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Special Article.

The Leaders of Tomorrow.

By **Jamiluddin Ahmad**
Lecturer in English, Muslim University, Aligarh.

A truth does not stale itself by reputation. We are often told by our elderly leaders that the older generation have lived their life; the young have to live theirs and the future is in their hands. It is true. But we must understand the significance of this profound truth and its implications and be prepared to shoulder the responsibilities that it entails. I am not one of those who advocate the complete cutting away from all the moorings of one's past. If I may so put it, we must live on the past in the present for the future. We derive inspiration from our past heritage and work in the present to build up a greater future.

No great movement in the world has ever been launched and carried on except by and with the support of youth. Our Holy Prophet too (peace be on him) started and carried to fulfilment his unique mission with the help of young blood, chiefly represented by Hazrat Ali (peace be on him.)

If any one can at all live up to ideals it is studedts; for they really have no axe of their own to grind and no vested interests to preserve. Their vision is clear, their minds unclouded, their hearts unsullied.

Preparation

But that is not all. To translate our ideals into practice, to override the current of events and change their course so as to fulfil the destiny of our people, in short, to be men of action, we require preparation. And preparation involves character. We must have one definite kind of character. Philosophical exposition apart, what we generally understand by character is to live consistently up to certain standards. Character is the sheet-anchor, the very pivot of our life and doings.

What standards shall we have before us? Shall we have the Fascist standards, or the communist-cum-atheiststandards, or the Imperialist standards or the Gandhian standards which would take us back to the monkey age? I would say emphatically, in spite of the waverers and sceptics among us that the only standard it behoves us to adopt, the only standard which can save us from annihilation is the Islamic standard, the standard set up by our Holy Prophet and followed and kept up by his righteous companions (Peace and blessings of Allah be upon them).

What are the distinctive features of the Islamic character? I am not going into details. The distinctive marks of Islamic chatacter are unity and consistency, the spirit of *Faqr* (which may briefly be expressed as complete indifference towards the accidents of material prosperity or penury), service, brotherly feelings, knowledge and righteousness, and true meekness born of complete submission to the Will of God.

Unity

Unity and consistency are the direct result of belief in the Oneness of God. The inner life of the mind and the heart becomes attuned to the outer life of man in his environment. There is no such thing as private morality, and public morality, private life as divorced from public life in Islam. Life is an organic unity. The Musalman is at peace within himself and at peace with the world. He must reconcile the two and will be prepared to sacrifice even his life in the attempt, if necessary.

Unity of thought leads to unity of action. What we lack to day is the ability to translate the one into the other.

Knowledge by itself is a dangerous thing, as demonstrated by the peoples of Europe who are playing havoc with their vast store of knowledge. The Muslim character combines knowledge with *Faqr*. It is my profound conviction that what the Muslims need today is the spirit of *Faqr* which rises above all mundane vicissitudes. One must not confuse *Faqr* with penury. Knowledge has also to be combined with the spirit of service and love; else knowledge becomes putrified.

Knowledge

We have seen how different ideas, different ideologies, have failed in country after country to cure human ills and relieve suffering. No system, however well thought-out can by itself bring progress and bliss. It is only when men of character take up knowledge and ideas that anything substantial is achieved. That is why Islam recognises only one aristocracy—the aristocracy of knowledge and character. It rules out any other aristocracy of birth, rank, wealth, colour or race. Our motto, if I may so put it, should be to know the truth, to feel the beautiful and to do good. Not for nothing did the poet say 'Truth is Beauty. Beauty Truth!' But we must not stop there: we must go further and always endeavour to do good.

The Views expressed in this article are not necessarily those of The Dawn.

The crowning of all knowledge is to be homo-politicus; in other words, to be a good citizen. Aristotle calls man a 'political animal'. Between politics and education there is and there should be no inconsistency. I am not using the word 'politics' in any narrow sense of party bickerings and factious wranglings. Politics in in its truer and larger sense means the ordering of the life of man according to certain broad and high moral principles and social laws and the adjustment of the relations of the individual and the society. Education is the means of preparation for the attainment of higher ends laid down by the political consciousness of man. Knowledge for the sake of knowledge is an old exploded theory. It is such soulless doctrines which have arrested progress and thrown nations into decay. Knowledge for its own sake is dead knowledge.

"Khudi"

It is when the *Khudi* (selfhood) of man or a nation awakens and asserts itself that learning, literature, art, poetry and all other accomplishments catch the spark of vitality and the way to progress and advancement is thrown open. Political organization is one manifestation, perhaps the most important, of the urge known as *Khudi*. When so vital and close are the links between politics and education it is no wonder that every state has recognised its duty towards its people in the matter of education by establishing ministries and departments of education which control and direct educational policy and activity.

The control of educational policy does not mean the turning out of blind automatons who have learnt certain dogmas and theories, parrot-fashion, and whose talents and energies have been regimented to fit into some mechanical patterns to serve some ulterior objects; it means an attempt to evoke and galvanise the energies and faculties latent in man and to discipline his intellect and impulses towards a known higher end.

Education, therefore, is a preparation and a training to enable us to grapple with political problems, find their solution, develop and evolve clear ideas and concepts and be not misled by slogans and shibboleths which have no meaning. It is my considered opinion that half the trouble in the world is due to catchwords and slogans and the wave of blind popular fury they generate.

Freedom

Great play is made of such words as freedom, democracy, self-determination, and so forth, and so on. People talk of 'revolution' without knowing what they want it for. They go into hysterics about 'freedom' as if it were a goddess to be worshipped.

When we talk of freedom what is it that we have in mind. Freedom has two aspects, nagative and positive. Everyone of us has an 'auto', a self of his own. If there are conditions and environments which obstruct the

(Continued on next page)

expression of his self it is slavery. The negative freedom would be achieved when he has broken through the fetters which restricted the expression of his self. But that is not real freedom. True freedom is attained when man finds unrestricted scope of life and activity with the full consiousness of his aims and destiny after his release from his previous shackles. If out of one set of uncongenial conditions man steps into another uncongenial environment it would be no freedom. And if he merely gets out of his fetters without knowing as to what he is going to do then, his freedom merely degenerates into license and chaos.

It will, therefore, be seen that freedom has its meaning and value in relation to groups of human beings. What is meat for one may be poison for others. Too long have the Muslim youths of India been exploited in the name of freedom and nationalism. It is only recently that they have awakened to the true meaning and content of freedom and the real basis of their own position.

Political Power

Freedom implies political power to live and regulate one's own life according to one's genius, culture and traditions. This position can best be realised if there is a compact homogeneous nation possessing a homeland and controlling a State of its own. The State is only a machinery for the expression of the collective will of a nation and the materialization of its cultural aspirations.

A minority in the accepted sense of the term can only live at the sufferance of the majority. Any amount of constitutional safeguards may be provided for a minority, but they can really be of no avail unless they are backed by the sanction of real political power. In a democratic unitary state the essence of power, notwithstanding all constitutional provisions and devices, becomes concentrated in the hands of the majority which can always find ways and means to circumscribe the safeguards.

Two Entities

In India it has become more evident than ever that the majority and minority are not political parties whose complexion and strength keep changing as is the

The Leaders of Tomorrow.

(Continued.)

case in western countries. They represent two distinct religious and social groups and two separate cultural and political entities incapable of merging together. If there were any doubts on this point they have been effectively set at rest by the Congress rule in Hindu majority provinces.

The upshot of the whole upheaval has been that the Musalmans have re-discovered their cultural and national self-consciousness. Once awakened from their stupor it took them no time to realise that the logical and inevitable consequence of their claim to be a separate national and cultural entity was to demand their own homelands and states where they could "remould the world nearer to heart's desire".

Pakistan

This in brief is the psychological genesis of the basis principle of the future constitution of India as propounded by the Muslim League, popularly known as the Pakistan scheme, namely, the constitution of regions of Muslim majority, such as the North-West and the North-East of India into independent sovereign states, leaving the Hindus and other non-Muslims to manage the rest of India according to their lights with effective and mandatory safeguards for the minorities in each regional State.

So far as the Muslims are concerned the Pakistan scheme has passed beyond the stage of discussion and deliberation. It is now an article of faith with them; it is steeped in their blood. It is an eminently fair and practical solution of the most complex problem of India's future constitution, based, as it is, on the principle of justice for all and freedom for every one. But the irony of modern politics is that people who are loudest in their claims of justice and freedom would deny these very blessings when it comes to settling matters with their own neighbours!

Pakistan also is an issue which will put to test the integrity and sincerity, and also the willingness to make sacrifice, of everyone of us. Pakistan is a challenge to the rising generation to the leaders of tomorrow. If we have not learnt so far let us learn now—and the sooner we do the better—that Pakistan is not going to be achieved merely by resolutions and speeches, conferences and negotiations. It is not a prize to be offered, nor a decoration or gift to be conferred on us by any outside authority. It will only be the consummation of a certain set to conditions which it is in our power to bring into existence.

Leaders of Tomorrow

The leaders of tomorrow have a double role to play. They have to prepare and equip themselves as thoroughly as they can mentally, morally, physically and spiritually. They have to build up unimpeachable character and un-breakable morale, without which no movement has ever been or ever will be successful. Our leaders of tomorrow will have to be men with vision, courage and character men who will take a long-range view of things and will be prepared to resist the temptation of the temporary gains of to day for the greater good of tomorrow.

Alone among the political luminaries of India our Qa'id-e-Azam, Mr. M.A. Jinnah, stands out as a paragon of all the virtues and qualities which go to make a true leader. He has never sought leadership; leadership has come to him as a result of his ability, integrity and service. He is the one leader who is unpurchasable, who scrupulously refrains from all methods of self-aggrandisement and who never attempts to trade on the ignorance, the superstition and the instincts of hero-worship of the masses of the people. He has given us 'Faith, Unity and Discipline' as our watchwords.

Discipline

Let us have faith in our ideal and mission which no adversities and leaderships can ever weaken. Let us have unity which will make us stand as a solid block of steel which it would be useless for anyone to attempt to disrupt. Let us have discipline which will enable us to come out unscathed from the severest trial of temptation, threat and suffering, a discipline which will make it impossible for anyone in our ranks, however, overgrown he may appear to be, to think of betraying or revolting.

These are not Utopian ideals. Nations have achieved them before our very eyes. We need not look to them. Our own history seems with examples of such leaders. Once our youth make up their mind to realise these standards, each in his own measure, and to raise our whole people to that level of morale and discipline which the Pakistan ideal calls for, the dawn of a new era will be ushered in, guaranteeing peace and prosperity to every nationality of this unfortunate land.

Release Allama Mashriqi

Ahmedabad Musalmans' Demand

A largely attended public meeting of the Musalmans of Ahmedabad, held there on December 6 under the auspices of the Ahmedabad District Muslim League, Mr. Syed Safdar Husain S. A. Bukhari presiding, adopted the following resolutions unanimously:

"This public meeting of the Musalmans of Ahmedabad draws the attention of the Government of India to the fact that prolonged and indefinite incarceration and detention without trial of Allama Mashriqui is causing grave concern not only to the members of the Khaksar organization but to the Muslims generally. In view of the changed situation, this meeting urges upon the Government of India to reconsider their policy and release Allama Mashriqui without delay.

"This public meeting of the Musalmans of Ahmedabad urges upon the British Government and the Government of India that no further steps be taken or adjustment be made in future, even within the frame-work of the present constitution and law without the approval and consent of the All-India Muslim League, and warns the Government that any action in this connection without the approval of the Muslim League, will be deeply resented by the Muslims and the responsibility for the consequences that may ensue will be entirely that of the Government."

Special Article.

Consent Essential To Freedom--II

By **M. R. T.**

THE final phase in the movement towards confederation began in 1864 both in Upper and Lower Canada and in the Maritime Provinces. In June of that year a committee of the Legislative Assembly, representing both Upper and Lower Canada reported in favour of "changes in the direction of a federal system". In September of the same year, the Government of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island sent delegates who assembled at Charlottetown to devise measures for a legislative union of the three Provinces. When the Canadian Government heard of the conference at Charlottetown it decided to send a delegation to bring before the Legislative Assembly the much greater question of the union of all the Canadian Provinces. At that time a coalition Government was in power in Canada. The French and the British parties which respectively represented Lower and Upper Canada had agreed to reconcile their party differences in view of the rising tide of public opinion which was tending towards Union. The delegates of the Canadian Government were cordially received at Charlottetown Conference and after a full discussion of a Federal union of all the British North American Provinces, it was decided to hold a conference at Quebec to advance this end under the sanction of the Imperial Government which so far had maintained an attitude of strict neutrality. The Quebec Convention sat in private for 18 days and the outcome of the discussion of 33 men who composed it, was an eloborate document of 72 resolutions which was subsequently submitted to the Imperial Government and became the foundation of the Act of Union. The Convention enjoyed the full support of French members of the Canadian Legislative Assembly, the only party which should have opposed a scheme of federation. But on the British side, though it commanded the confidence of the delegates from the maritime Provinces and Upper Canada, it was privately opposed by a section of the British who were republicans at heart and were in favour not of a union of the Provinces, but of annexation by the United States.

The London Conference of 1866 which was held to consider the 72 Quebec resolutions and was representative of delegates from Canada, and two maritime Provinces, but not of Prince Edward Island, adopted the original scheme after making some financial modifications to meet the objections raised by the maritime provinces. The Republicans, who now styled themselves as peoples' delegates and were in favour of union with U.S.A., came to London to place their views before the British Government but could not impress the latter as the scheme of federation served imperial interests. The alternative proposed by the peoples' delegates was a union with U. S. A. with a republican form of government which meant an irretrievable loss to the British Empire. In 1867, the British North America Act was finally passed but even then the Act did not bring about a complete union of the whole of Canada. It united the old Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but still large parts of Canada were free to manage their own affairs.

Exception

Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, British Columbia, Rupents Land, and the great and at that time ill-defined territories of the North West were still excluded from the purview of the Act. Subsequently the Imperial Government ceded to Canada, the Hudson Bay Territory, out which were created the Provinces of Manitoba. Saskachewan, Alberta, and N. W. Territories. In 1871, British Columbia with Vancouver Island and in 1873, Prince Edward Island entered the confederation. Thus, with the exception of Newfoundland which has so far held aloof to preserve its own special position, the whole of British North America has willingly accepted the role of the British Dominion of Canada.

A brief review of the facts detailed above will reveal that the Federal Constitution of Canada was the result of the free discussion among the representatives of French and British parts of Canada, that prior to Federation, there had developed a strong sentiment among the French and the British for Union with other provinces, and that this sentiment derived its strength from an appeal to their own personal interests. Both the British and French parts of Canada wanted Federation as they were alive to the advantage "of the splendid opportunities presented by an everexpanding territory" and the steady growth of population and resources. The Maritime Provinces, as well as Ontario and Quebec were all eager to share in the economic exploitation of the vast territories in the North-West.

No Urge

No such economic urge exists in India which can unite Muslim and Hindu parts of India for a greater share in the economic exploitation of the country. In fact, the economic inequality between the two communities is so marked that one community is looked upon with suspicion by the other. The Hindu middle and upper classes possess wealth and influence out of proportion to their numerical strength and most of their public leaders are drawn from these classes. In Canada, the French were so strong in Quebec that they could hold their own successfully against the rival Province of Ontario. But yet this factor could not have induced them to remain content with the Act of Union if other weightier considerations had not claimed their attention. The desire to seek economic advantages and to share in the exploitation of a bigger Canada was strong enough to suppress the movement towards separatism.

Another factor which encouraged the desire towards union was the fear of annexation of Canada by the United States. The French being Roman Catholic by creed and Latin by Blood could not accept the role of a minority under the Anglo-Saxon protestant Republic of the U.S.A. which in view of its huge population would reduce them to a position of insignificance. No such fear haunts the imagination of Muslims in India. Union of Muslim parts of India with Hindu parts will place the Muslims at the mercy of a permanent hostile communal mojority in the Central Government while complete separation of the Muslim parts will place them permanently in a position of majority. The French had to choose between two alternatives. Union with U.S.A. implied a total suppression of their political aspirations while union with British parts of Canada assured them of additional economic advantages in the exploitation of undeveloped territories in the West. Hence they chose the latter course. But the Muslims of India are neither threatened by any fear of aggression from their Muslim neighbours beyond the North-West Frontier nor they are induced by any additional economic advantages to such union with Hindu India. The French Canadians could not but sacrifice their independence as they are even now a minority of 3 millions in a population of 11 millions, and could not even if granted independence maintain it long as their state was enclosed between two hostile Anglo-Saxon Powers ---the British Government and the U.S.A. The question of defence does not present insuperable difficulties to Muslim parts of India. The N.W. Frontier will lose its strategic importance the moment a Muslim government comes into power in the Punjab and the adjoining areas, while Hindu India will not be a source of threat as the latter will enter in its own interest into a treaty of peace with the new Muslim states in the North-West and North-East.

Lesson

The main lesson that one learns from a close study of Canadian history is that its Federal Government was not imposed upon the people against their will, but it was slowly evolved in response to the desire among the people towards Federation. The Maritime Provinces of Nova

(Continued on page 10)

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DELHI

Sunday, December 14, 1941

WRONG ADDRESS

Referring to expansion of the Viceroy's Council, Mr. Amery in his recent speech said that "Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, while regarding our general declaration of policy as satisfactory, was only prepared to join the Viceroy's Council on terms that would have prejudged the future in another sense". The question naturally arises: in what other sense? Mr. Amery leaves the question unanswered, nor does he tell his hearers what those terms were or how an acceptance of the same would have "prejudged the future".

To appreciate the propriety or otherwise of the Muslim League terms and to see whether or not they "prejudged the future," it is necessary to delve for a little while in what is now past history. War had broken out in Europe and his Majesty's Government wanted to utilise the resources of the Indian continent in their war against the Axis forces. The peoples of this continent were told that it was a war which was equally theirs, for, it threatened, if not their independence, at least the possibility of the same. For that purpose co-operation of the leaders of the Indian peoples was essential. But how to get that co-operation?

Just when the Government of India were racking their brains to devise a formula, Mr. M. A. Jinnah dropped a hint in one of his conversations with the Viceroy to associate the representatives of the various political parties in India, within the framework of the present constitution and without prejudice to the major issues latter on, with the authority of Government as an interim measure for the duration of the war. The Viceroy took up the hint and announced his intention of re-organising his Executive Council accordingly.

The Muslim League and the Congress being the two greatest and most influential bodies of public opinion, representing two different peoples—the Muslims and the Hindus respectively—the Viceroy first approached these two for co-operation in the matter. While the Muslim League declared its readiness, within the framework of the present constitution and without prejudice to the major issues later on, to shoulder the responsibilities of mobilising the resources of the continent for the defence of India, the Congress refused to co-operate within the framework of the present constitution.

After this refusal by the most influential organisation of the Hindus, the Muslim League was left alone to shoulder that responsibility. The Muslim League, therefore, was perfectly justified in demanding more than 50 per cent representation on the Viceroy's Council. The League was, nevertheless, prepared to share equal authority in the Government with the Congress if the latter was, at all, willing to come in at the outset; if, however, the Congress thought of coming in some time later, their share in the authority of the Government was to be determined by the general sense of the Council.

In times of emergency, such as the present war, composite councils cannot, of necessity, be formed on the basis of the numerical strength of the parties or interests in a country. The only consideration, influencing the composition of such councils, should be the measure of resourcefulness of those parties. Even to-day the Cabinet of Mr. Churchill includes more Labour members than what their numerical strength in the Parliament could allow. Resourcefulness, not arithmetic, should determine their share in the authority of Government. On that principle the Muslim League's offer to share equal authority in the Government with the Hindus was a modest one. For, Muslim India, besides contributing generously in money towards the war funds and supplying man-power in greater proportion than that of the Hindus, has already given the standing Army of India no less than sixty-five per cent of its personnel.

The response from the Viceroy to Muslim League's offer of co-operation amounted to a negation of partnership. The whole position was effectively summed up by Mr. Jinnah in his admirable speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on November 19, 1940. He expressed himself to the following effect:

> You want my help. You are in danger and so am I. We will not apportion the degree of danger between us both. We both are in danger. I am willing to throw into the pool all the resources I can command and I say, "I am ready; let us both face together the peril and the danger. Let us both sink or swim. But what about my having a voice in the use of the assets that I bring into this pool, leave alone a share in the victory. Am I not to have some share, some voice, some say as to how it is going to be used, and how the joint venture is to be run?" The answer is—"Oh, no, I will use that as I like. I will take you as my partner. So you will also have a voice and a share and a say in the matter." What will be my share? I ask. "I will give you two jobs to your representatives." What is going to be the total number of the Controlling authority? "I cannot tell you." Who else is coming into this portfolios? "I cannot tell you". It means really, to put it shortly—"I will have you as my partner, but I will give you only one-pie share." In that case why do you want my partnership in name or at all? Is that business?

Co-operation of the representatives of the political parties was being sought as an interim measure for the duration of the war, which amounted to a war contract. But contract or no contract, the terms of the Muslim League in no way "prejudged the future", for they did not go beyond the framework of the present constitution. The Viceroy, however, was not prepared to accept those reasonable terms and the matter ended there. Mr. Amery's complaint that the League members were not allowed to join the "National Defence Council" has, therefore, been directed to the wrong address.

NOTES

The Call of Reason

Hold fast *en bloc* to the chord of God, and never stray from the fold. Thus goes forth the command of *Allah* through eternity for all who care to listen. That fold being universal brotherhood, otherwise called Islam in the language of the Quran, and that command having already been recorded in the Quran, Muslims, of all the people, cannot feign ignorance of that law of all laws. And ignorance of even man-made law is no excuse. That chord is intended to rope in humanity in a great loving brotherhood. Now that the fate of nations, peoples and civilisation itself is in the melting pot once again, it is in the interests of those who are yet out of it to rally round that chord—a source of unity in the world's diversity and a great steadying factor which promotes peace and prosperity of all those who not only believe in but live up to all the implications of the same. The Muslims of the world, particularly those of India, are in duty bound to hearken to that call of Reason—Reason, otherwise called *Allah*. And the call is in the air all the time for those who care to pick it up: *wa' tasemu behablillahe jamee'a, wala-tafarraqu.* It is in India, more than anywhere else, that they are desparately in need of a steadying factor in a sphere wider than politics—the Muslim League having already fulfilled that want in the latter sphere. They are heading for certain suicide in Bengal, if they have not already committed it. Will the Muslims of Bengal, therefore, pause to listen to that call of Reason, for considerations of self-preservation if not for anything else?

Gesture Gone Wrong?

The release of political prisoners failed entirely to serve any useful purpose. It has been a thankless task for the expanded Executive Council as this gesture of the Government did not succeed in softening Mr. Gandhi's heart to suspend his anti-war activities. This decision of the Government, not amounting to a general amnesty, did not bring popularity to them or to the new members of the expanded Council. The Government, unimaginatively, as ever, decided to release only such political prisoners as were and are avowedly opposed to the war effort, while those who are interned for no apparent offence have been left to rot where they are—Allama Mashriqi being one of them.

The two subsequent statements of Mr. Gandhi are very suggestive. While declaring that the decision could not evoke a single responsive or appreciative chord in him, he has commanded the members of the Working Committee and of the All-India Congress Committee not to re-offer civil disobedience and to await the decision of the Congress which is shortly going to review its policy in this regard.

How the offences, which were formerly a source of embarrassment, suddenly ceased to be so, is a question which the Government alone can answer. But if there is going to be another "gentleman's agreement" behind the back of the Musalmans between the British Government and the Congress, with the non-entities of the expanded Council serving as instruments in that ungentlemanly and most ignoble trick, Muslim India, which is not pledged to non-violence, will avenge that betrayal with all the resources at its command.

New Adjustment.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta has made a strong outburst of vilification against the Pakistan scheme in his presidential address to the Akhand Bharat Conference at Lahore. He has characterised the partition of India on the lines of Pakistan scheme as an attempt to disturb the territorial integrity of India. This shows his utter ignorance of history. The India of to-day is not the India of the Muslim Period, and the India of the Muslim Period was not the India of the Hindu Period, when it was divided into small but independent Kingdoms. Great Britain have treated for their administrative convenience the whole continent of India as one country. While, as a matter of fact, almost every Province is a country by itself. Therefore, a new adjustment in accordance with the Pakistan scheme is quite in consonance with the natural condition of India. Mr. Jinnah has repeatedly declared that the Muslims want only one third of India, leaving the rest to the Hindus. After this clean statement of policy any opposition to the Pakistan scheme lends support to Muslim apprehensions that the Hindus want to dominate the Muslim and other nationalities in the whole of the continent. Unlike the Congress and other Hindu organisations, the League and its Pakistan scheme stand for justice and fairplay to all. While the scheme insists on a proper share for the Muslims in the continent, it also concedes the same rights to other nationalities, whether big or small, in their own spheres. The Pakistan scheme is the natural answer to the desire of the Hindus to usurp all power in the Government, reducing Muslims to a state of helplessness, as has been evident during the short-lived Congress regime in the Hindu majority provinces. It is the solution of all the outstanding questions of India—political, social, economic, etc., etc. It obviates the chances of friction between Hindus, Muslims and other nationalities. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta must rest assured that the Muslims are undaunted by threats of opposition, and the scheme is bound to come to fruition.

Air Raid Precautions

As a result of the war developing in the Far East Air Raid Precautions are being taken in the eastern and southern provinces of India, particularly in the cities of Calcutta, Shillong, Dacca, Bombay and Madras and black-out tests are being carried out.

A *Gazette Extraordinary* issued at Calcutta on Tuesday announced that no hooter or siren shall be sounded except for purpose of giving an "air-raid warning" and a "raiders passed" signal. The order will not, however, apply to a hooter required to be sounded for *bona fide* purposes of navigation.

The same *Gazette Extraordinary* also published orders bringing into force certain provisions empowering the police authorities in Calcutta and the District authorities to requisition any place or premises in their respective areas for use during the period of a state of emergency for A. R. P. services. The orders also provide for restriction of lights in public places, private dwellings, roads, streets and vessels on inland waters.

LETTERS

Call To Womanhood

Sir—I have read with great interest "Bengal Womanhood's" letter in the "Dawn" dated the 30 November. I endorse her call to womanhood with all the emphasis at my command.

The women are the bigger, if not the better, half of society. With the bigger half inert, it is idle to expect the society as a whole to be as active and alive as it should be.

The Muslim womanhood of India have been slumbering far too long. The number of those awake can be counted at the finger's end. Things are changing slowly but steadily. It is for the awakened to take the lead in rousing those yet asleep.

It is unfortunate that one of the awakened few should have behaved so badly with Muslim League. We did not expect Begum Shah Nawaz to do what she has done. The mess of pottage of the Defence Council should not have led her astray. We repudiate her claim to represent us. I join my humble voice in the request to Begum Shah Nawaz to come out of the Council even now. She has branded us with the stamp of disloyalty and selfishness, so foreign to women's nature.

I agree that our talented sister, Begum Mohammad Ali, should take the lead in inspiring the Muslim womanhood with the League ideals. I am sure her appeal will find the required response. The field is fairly ready for the seeds. The scattering should be done now.

We are ready to do our bits. The League Cabinet should create the necessary forum. Propaganda should be initiated now. The "Dawn" should open a women's corner. This may be helpful. The other Muslim papers should do likewise.

Yours etc.,

Calcutta S. Begum.

The days of relegating them to a mere "corner" are long past. They have already taken the initiative, which we hasten to welcome.—Editor.

Self-Denial.

Sir—In this land of the Orient, where saints and seers abound; where standards of truth are raised and lowered every day; where banners of *Ahimsa* are unfurled and folded very often; where ethical codes and principles are always hanging in the balance, amid the vissicitudes of human frailty, the spirit of "self-denial," however, has reigned supreme. Is it not "self-denial" to dispossess what one owns, to disown what belongs to one, and to deny at other occasions what one has once believed? The lowly heights of Wardha are radiant with the gleaming lustre of "self-denial." The crowd that gathered at Poona denied themselves the Conress belief at Delhi, and extended "the hand of friendship" to the "enemy," but again withdrew it at Bombay. The non-voilent hero, who found himself suddenly raised to the position of a dictator at Ramgarh, denied himself a certain pleasure at Poona, although at Bombay the temptation was irresistible. To err is human. He is the representative of all people, but oftimes "represents himself alone." The paradox is pleasing to him and a magnificent manifestation of the spirit of "self-denial."

The "Idol of Truth," the junior leaders of the Congress crusadors in the Central Assembly, once discovered in his mental laboratory the "acid test of Mr. Amery's ability" and asked him to say to the rest of the people of India: "no impossible safeguards, no coalition ministries no Pakistan, you must settle with the majority." But when his attention was drawn to it on the floor of the House, he completely denied it in a spirit of traditional "self-denial," peculiar to his school of thought. It was the same Mr. Satyamurthi, who said, "I must plead guilty to the charge that, as I see the world today, I see no chance of even a free India defending herself without adequate means of doing so," and yet at another moment, "we realise that the defence of India is a vital concern, but India ought to be free to decide for herself." Here is another instance of self-denial from one of Mr. Satyamurthi's oratorical effusions —"The Muslim League cannot be perpetually used as an argument against India's freedom. In recent weeks, the League has shown itself to be much more anti-British than the Congress has been or ever will be."

Convenient indeed is the cult of Gandhian self-denial—conveniently confounding and *vice versa*. Yours etc.,

Bombay. Onlooker.

Pakistan

Sir — From every nook and corner, daily emerges the cry from Hindu lips that Pakistan means vivisection of the motherland and to prevent it they will shed their lost drop of blood. It shows that having failed, in the garb of nationalists, to deceive the Indian Muslims, they now want to terrorise them to subjection. But it does not require a prophet to foretell that in this also they will miserably fail. I will advise Hindus not to waste their time and energy in trying to do something which can ever be accomplished.

In this connection one thing is most amazing. If we read the Indian political history of the last half a century, we see that not Muslims but Hindus are entirely responsible for "vivisection of the motherland." The day when they decided to keep aloof from Urdu, the *lingua franca* of the country and a sign of Hindu-Muslim unity, and direct their energies in advancing Hindi, a language long forgotten, the "vivisection" began. By living side by side for centuries, the two nations had come to adopt common dress and common habits, especially in Northern India, but Hindus in their zeal to give up every thing originating from Muslim culture, quickened the speed of "vivisection" of the country. And now when the Muslims decided to establish two independent zones in the country the Hindus began to move heaven and earth against them.

The theory of one nation thus stands refuted. Hindus realise the weakness of their arguments, but they are fighting Muslims tooth and nail, because if Pakistan is once established their dream of dominating other nationalities comes to naught. Hindus' policy is "tails you lose and heads we win." They want Muslims to live here as Shudras. Muslims cannot agree to it and will never agree to it.

The Congress Dictator, Mr. Gandhi, does not want to give any share in the Government of the country to Muslims. That is why he has always avoided to come to terms with them. I cannot understand why the Hindus should shed crocodile tears over their own misdeeds. Will the Hindus even now realise the situation and not waste their time and energy in trying to do a thing which they can never do?

Delhi. Yours etc.,

S. M. Anwar Husain.

Allama Mashriqi

Urging the Government to release Allama Mashriqi the Haque says:—The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League had passed a resolution demanding his release, which was also endorsed by the Lucknow Pakistan Conference. It shows that the demand for the release of the Allama is on behalf of the whole Muslim India and not by a few lakhs of the Khaksars. According to the latest information his condition is cansing anxiety and he can hardly move in bed. In the circumstances it is imperative that the Government should forthwith release the Allama. Will those who are at the helm of affairs in the Government of India respond to the popular sentiment of Muslim India?—*Haque*, Lucknow.

No Hindu Raj

Commenting on the proceedings of the Akhand Bharat Conference, held at Lahore, the *Inqilab* says: The Hindus have wasted best opportunities for the service of India on account of their foolish vagaries. India would have shaken off the foreign yoke twenty years ago if Mr. Gandhi had not been an embodiment of Hindu communalism. In the meantime the Hindus had adopted diverse objectionable tactics. They intrigued with the British Labour Party, tried to achieve their ends with the support of a few irresponsible Muslims, excited the Sikhs and wanted to overcome the Government by starting Civil disobedience movement with the result that the Muslims, who wanted till 1930 in the Round Table Conference the majority of a single seat in the Punjab and in Bengal and a permanent equality in Sind and the N. W. F. Province, to-day stand for Pakistan. Time was when the English people were not prepared to recognize the majority right of Muslims in their majority provinces, but now they realize the importance of the Pakistan demand and the true aspectly of the Indian question. That the Muslims are opposed to Hindu Raj is an established fact. The future of India may take any shape but there will be no Hindu Raj. There is no solution for the Indian questions unless the Muslim demands, which are incorporated in the Pakistan scheme, are fully conceded. *Inquilab*, Lahore.

PRESS

Release of Prisoners

Commenting on the release of the political prisoners the *Iqbal* says: Let us see what would be the position of the League. So far as the release is concerned the League circles are absolutely disinterested, there being neither rejoicing nor any sorrow. But the League would take keen interest in the next stages which the Congress and Government would take. In case the Congress is allowed to form ministries on the old lines or any settlement is made between the Government and Congress with regard to the Central Government, it would not be agreeable to the League. In the circumstances the Government and the Congress should take no further step without due regard to this position. Would it not be advisable, in view of the impending changes, for the Congress to enter into negotiations with the League in order to arrive at an agreement? If, however, a settlement is made between the Government and the Congress behind the back of the League the consequences would be disastrous.—*Iqbal*, —Bombay.

Freedom of Muslims

Commenting on the statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which he gave immediately after his release the *Adil* says:—All the communalist Hindu leaders have been vehemently opposing the Pakistan scheme despite the repeated assurances of Muslim leaders that it aims at nothing but the freedom of Muslims in a free India. In the circumstances, the opposition will only lead to permanently intensify the bitter feelings between Hindus and Muslims. As a matter of fact the Hindus are really responsible for the "visection" of India for which they have been wrongly accusing Muslims. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should try to put a stop to that stubborn opposition to Pakistan and induce the Congress to come to terms with the Muslim League.—*Adil*,—Delhi.

A Striking Contrast

The speeches delivered during the last week-end at Lucknow and Lahore provide a striking contrast. In the course of their addresses to the Lucknow Pakistan Conference both the Nawab of Mamdot and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan took particular care not to offend the susceptibilities of non-Muslims in the slightest degree. Both laid great stress on the argument that Pakistan is in the best interests of not only Musalmans but also Hindus, as providing a means of living in perfectly amicable and neighbourly relation for the different communities.

It would, however, be a bold man who would advance a similar claim on behalf of the Akhand Bharat Conference held in Lahore. The last week-end of November in this town witnesses every year the anniversaries of the two wings of the Arya Samaj which have earned an unenviable notoriety for hymns of hate against Islam and Muslims freely indulged in by the exponents of the Arya cult. But this year the venom against Islam and Muslims found its chief vent through the Akhand Bharat Conference which was organised under the auspices of the Arya Samaj—*Eastern Times*.

Consent Essential to Freedom—II

(Continued)

Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island held independent governments subject to the direct control of the Crown, but their own interests induced them to seek union with Canada. The British Parliament was only moved to interfere when it noted a genuine desire on the part of all sections in Canada to have a federal Government. The Coalition Government of 1864 in Canada which represented Upper and Lower Canada in equal proportions—as the constitution provided equal numbers of members in the Legislative Assembly for both the Provinces—furnished the first signal of a real sense of unity between the French and the British. The Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences were purely private affairs and had been summoned without official guidance. The major political parties of the country as represented by conservatives of Quebec (French) and Liberals of Ontario (British) were all one in their desire for Union. Hence in view of the unanimous will of the people to have Federation, there was no occasion for the British to insist on consent as pre-requisite to the grant of freedom. The Canadian representatives in the Quebec Convention framed their own constitution and the same was accepted by the British Parliament as the basis of the Canadian Federation Act of 1867.

No Parallel

India does not furnish any parallel to the Canadian case. Here the differences between the two major communities are so great that they cannot be reconciled under a scheme of federation. There is no desire on the part of Muslim League, which at present is the strongest political organisation of the Muslims, to accept a scheme of united India. Unless the Muslims in Muslim parts of India agree to forego their right to self-determination, they cannot be forced to seek union with Hindu India. The British Government should pursue the same old policy which it applied in case of Canada in reminding the political parties of India that they alone are the judge of their own constitution which should be framed by mutual consent. Any other course will be a gross betrayal of the past. For 37 years from 1840 to 1867, the French and British were ranged against each other in hostile groups in Canada, and the new Federal Act was not passed till both the communities had come to a definite understanding and had framed a constitution with their own free will. The Quebec Convention of 1864 which was composed of 33 delegates and represented all shades of opinion was the first systematic attempt to arrive at a compromise. The London Conference which subsequently followed was a culmination of the effort in the same direction.

Change of Heart

If the French had not agreed to merge Quebec into a bigger Canada, Federation would have been indefinitely delayed and all attempts to impose it in face of the united opposition of the French would only have invited the interference of the U.S.A. The French, if they chose, could hold a veto on the constitutional progress of Canada as a whole, but they were won over by a policy of benevolence on the part of British Government as well as by a real change of heart from the British Canadians.

The majority community in India has no moral scruples to gain the goodwill of the Muslims; it relies on British Government to enforce union. The Muslims, on their side, are determined to accept no compromise which does not recognise their right to determine their own future.

The only solution to the political deadlock lies in grouping together those Provinces of India for the purpose of Federation which have an explicit desire for the same as expressed through their respective majority communities. If the Muslim majority Provinces do not see any advantage in linking their future with Hindu majority Pro-

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vinces, let them hold aloof. Even in Canada when the scheme of Federation was introduced in 1867, Prince Edward Island had refused to join, while Newfoundland has still not agreed to accept Union with Canada. If the Federal Scheme can work with success in Hindu majority Provinces, and the Muslim minorities can be duly protected through safeguards in the constitution, it may induce the Muslim majority Provinces later on to reconsider and modify their policy in regard to it. But the Hindus have no moral justification to put forward their numerical preponderance in India as a whole as an excuse for withholding the right of Muslim majority Provinces to determine their own future government. The history of Canada clearly proves that Federation was attained on the express desire of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada and of Nova Scotia and new Brunswick to unite and that Prince Edward Island refused to join it at first, while the Provinces in the North-West and British Columbia agreed to accept it later on.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS

(Continued)

constantly occupies the mind of all people is the question of emancipation from the yoke of the foreign government. Secondly, in India there is not one people but several, not one society but many, and therefore the problem of Indian freedom becomes very complex.

Under the circumstances it is impossible for any intelligent person, whether he is a student or a man engaged in any business or profession, to keep a detached outlook on the quickly moving scenes in the political stage of the country. The students cannot remain indifferent to the vital issues upon which the fate of their whole people including themselves hangs. The students should not merely have the fullest freedom to study and discuss all political philosophies, systems and movements, both past and present, but they should have the right to express themselves freely on all current questions effecting their national life. To the extant to which the requirements of their academic studies and the preparations for future leadership permit they should have full opportunity to do all they can so advance their national cause, by following a constructive programme.

That is what our Qaid-e-Azam, Mr. Jinnah, also said in the course of a speech at Aligarh. He wanted students to devote their time and energy during their holidays to preach among the Muslim masses the national creed and policy of the Musalmans, and also to make efforts in their own measure for the educational, social and economic betterment of the Muslim people.

Of course, no one knows there might come a time when the call from the Qaid-e-Azam goes forth and then every Muslim, student or no student, will have to respond to it, suspending all other business.

Gen. Cunningham Relieved

General Cunningham has been relieved of command of the British Army in the Middle East, it is officially announced. It is learned that General Cunningham is now on sick leave suffering from overstrain.

Major-General Ritchie has been appointed in General Cunningham's place.

SUPPORT FOR Qa'id-e- Azam & Pakistan

Public Meeting at Chittagong

A mass meeting of the Muslims of Chittagong was held, under the auspices of the District Muslim League, on Friday afternoon, November 28 last. Khan Bahadur Moulvi Abdus Sattar presiding. There was a huge gathering and the Muslim Hall was packed to capacity. Moulana Mohd. Sayeed, President Jamiat-e-Ulama, Chittagong, Moulvi Farid Ahmad Chowdhury and Moulvi Sultan Ahmad (President and Assistant Secretary respectively of the District Muslim League) delivered instructive and interesting lectures about Muslim solidarity, under the Muslim League, and the Pakistan Scheme of India. Then the Meeting adjourned for the Maghrib Prayer. After the Maghrib prayer the meeting continued till about 8-30 P.M. under the presidency of Mr. A.B.M. Shayesta Khan, Zamindar, Chittagong. Moulvi Sultan Ahmad and Moulvi Abul Qasem of the Chittagong College delivered speeches about the Pakistan Scheme of India.

The following resolutions were passed unanimously in the said meeting:—

This public meeting of the Muslims of Chittagong request the newly constituted District Muslim League of Chittagong to take necessary steps to (1) properly organise and form the Union MuslimLeagues of theDistrict of Chittagong, (2) organise meetings at every *thana* for the propaganda work of the Muslim League, (3) make all adult Muslims of Chittagong, Members of the Muslim League, as far as possible, (4) make necessary arrangements for organising Muslim National Volunteers and (5) raise necessary funds for holding a District Muslim League Conference at Chittagong as early as possible, under the presidency of Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah.

This meeting of the Muslims of Chittagong requests the newly constituted District Muslim League of Chittagong to do the needful for the propaganda work of the Pakistan Scheme of India, which is absolutely necessary for safeguarding the Muslim interests as well as for the peace of India.

This public meeting of the Muslims of Chittagong requests the Hon'ble the Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, to exert his utmost influence to dissuade his supporters from moving a vote of no-confidence against the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suharawardy or any other Muslim League Minister of Bengal, in the interest of Muslim solidarity.

This public meeting of the Muslims of Chittagong reiterates full and unstinted confidence in the leadership of Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah and is determined to support him in all the steps that he takes to achieve Muslim solidarity and to make the Pakistan Scheme of India successful.

Aligarh Muslim University

Emergency Commission for 19 Students

Nineteen students of the Aligarh Muslim University have been recently selected by the Area Commander, Delhi Area, for appointment to the Emergency Commissions. Eighteen were interviewed by the Central Board at Lahore and were all accepted. Sixteen who were classified in 'A' category have already reported at the various training centres. Two of them were classified in 'B' category and will report at Lahore for two month's initial training before joining the O. T. S. One of the candidates who could not report at Lahore owing to illness will go with the next batch. The names of the selected candidates are given below:—

A. List. U. T. C.

Sergeant Khalil Ahmad Khan, Cpl. Abdul Hameed Khan, L/Cpt. M. Afzal Khan, Cadet Mirza Nasir Beg, Cadet A. M. K. Tareen, Cadet Hozoor Ahmad Shah, Cadet Mohd. Mahmood, Sahebzada Mohd. Yunus Khan, Kh Hasan Askari, Shz. Aziz Mohd. Khan, M. H. Khan, Hasan Zia, N. Alam Choudhry, Jaghir Singh Thakur, Kailash Chandra Man Chandra and N. K. Vishwa Nath.

B. List.

Anis Ahmad Khan and Ghulam Umer.

The University arranged a special Coaching Class in general knowledge and physical instruction to prepare candidates for Emergency Commissions. Members of the Staff took keen interest to train the batch.

The next batch of about 50 students has started its special training and will be put up before the Area Commander on his next visit to Aligarh.

It is reliably understood that no amendment of the Muslim University Act is necessary to introduce the Faculties' system in the University. The change can be effected through the framing of statutes by the Executive Council. Legal opinion, it is understood, favours this view. The University authorities are contemplating the introduction of the faculties' system in the University at an early date.

Punitive Tax on Lahore Muslims

Withdrawal Urged By City League.

At a general meeting of Lahore City Muslim League, held on November 10 last, Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan, Barrister-at-Law, was

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unanimously re-elected President of Lahore City Muslim League for 1941-42.

The first act of the President and the members of the Working Committee was to take up the question of the Punitive Tax levied on the Muslims of Lahore City following the Khaksar agitation of 1940, and to press the Punjab Government for its withdrawal. The Tax is proving of much hardship to the Muslims of the City. Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan is now in touch with the Premier of the Punjab and has requested him to receive a deputation of Lahore City Muslims in this connection.

The Lahore City Muslim League Working Committee, at their meeting on November 23 last, have drawn up a programme for the next two months to enrol members of the League, and Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan will go to the Mohallas and Wards of the City in a deputation twice a week to enrol members and to inculcate League ideals among Muslims and bring home to them the economic, social and political programme, laid down for Muslims by the All-India Muslim League.

War Develops In Far East

FIERCE FIGHTING IN NORTH MALAYA

The conflict in the Far East continues to develop, particularly in Malaya and Philippines. In Northern Malaya, fierce fighting is reported between the Japanese and British forces. The vital aerodrome at Kota Bahru is now in Japanese hands.

The Japanese made fresh landings by parachutes in Northern Luzon in Philippines Islands. On the west coast of Luzon, however, the landing parties were repulsed. In the operations on the north coast of Luzon the Japanese lost a submarine chaser and the 29,000-ton battleship "Haruna".

The Cavite Naval base, Manila and the Luzon Island were subjected to intensive air attacks.

An offensive and defensive alliance has been signed between Thailand and Japan.

The landing of Japanese forces at Guam and their capture of the capital Agana are announced by the Army Department of the Imperial Japanese Headquarters in a *communique* quoted by the Domei Agency. The *communique* adds that 350 Americans among them the Commander and the Governor General as well as numerous other officers were taken prisoner.

A *communique* issued on Thursday night at Singapore states: In Northern Malaya there has been little to report during the past 24 hours. In Kedar our troops are in contact with the enemy near the frontier (Thailand), where local patrol encounters took place. In the Kuantan area our troops still hold the original frontier. Penang was heavily bombed this morning.

The *communique* also records that H.M.S. *Repulse* sank at 12-30, local time on December 10 and H.M.S. *Prince of Wales* about an hour later. Survivors were picked up by destroyers and landed at Singapore during the night.

Admiral Missing

It is officially announced that Admiral SirTom Phillips, the new Commander-in-Chief of the Eastern fleet who was aboard the *Prince of Wales* when she put to sea recently to engage the Japanese, is reported missing. Just before the battleship sailed three war correspondents were invited to go with her. Their fate will not be known until a general list of survivors is issued.

Trans-Pacific Cable Cut

The Japanese are reported to have cut the vital Trans-Pacific cable, connecting the United States with Hong Kong.

Japanese Ambition

Japanese ambition was defined by a Government spokesman in Tokyo. He said, according to Reuter, that the Japanese Navy was determined and prepared to secure for itself the Pacific and Indian Oceans. He warned the people of Japan that they must be prepared to carry on the war against Britain and America for 10 years.

Congress W. C. To Meet

The Congress Working Committee will meet at Bardoli on December 23 and subsequent days. The A. I. C. C. office is being temporarily shifted to Bardoli.

Mr. Huq Forms New Cabinet

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, leader of the newly formed Progressive Coalition Party, has formed a new Cabinet in Bengal.

Mr. Huq's new Cabinet will, according to present indications, consist of about 15 members representing the various groups in the House, excepting the Europeans and the newly formed Muslim League Party and the group of scheduled caste members who are led by ex-Minister M. B. Mullick. Of the three Ministers whose names have already been officially announced, Mr. Huq is leader of the Progressive Coalition Party. The Nawab Bahadur of Dacca is an ex-President of the Provincial League and was a Minister in the outgoing Cabinet, and Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee is the leader of the Nationalist group, which consists of Hindu M.L.A.s. besides being the Working President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

The strength of the Progressive Coalition Party (meaning the Ministerial Party), which consists of the Progressive Assembly Party, the Congress Parliamentary Party (of Mr. Bose), the Nationalist Party, the Krishak Proja Party, the Independent Scheduled Caste Party and several unattached members, including three Anglo Indians will, according to a statement issued recently on behalf of the party, be about 134.

Main Opposition

The main Opposition in the Assembly, which meets tomorrow, will now be the Muslim League Party, with Sir Nazimuddin, ex-Home Minister, as its leader, and several other ex-Ministers as members. The strength of the Muslim League Party is stated to be between 55 and 60. Mr. Mullick's group of scheduled caste members who have declared their intention to work in co-operation with the Muslim League Party are about 10 in number. Besides these, the Opposition counts upon the co-operation of a few more members who are not attached to any group or party.

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The European group in the Assembly consists of 25 members, with Mr. T. D. Hendry as its leader.

Sinking of Battleships

Survivors Landed At Singapore

It is officially stated that the *Prince of Wales* and the *Repulse* were sunk by repeated attacks by bombers and torpedo planes.

It is officially stated that approximately 130 officers and 2,200 ratings were saved from the two warships and at least seven aircraft were destroyed during the attack.

About 700 survivors of the bettleships *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* have been landed at Singapore.

H.M.S. *Prince of Wales'* complement was about 1,500. The cost was about seven million pounds. H.M.S. *Repulse* was a famous British battle cruiser and sister ship of H.M.S. *Renown*. The *Repulse* had a displacement of 32,000 tons and a complement of about 1,200. She could develop great speed—over 30 knots. Her main armaments were 6 fifteen-inch guns. She also had a big armament of 4-inch and AA guns.

Captain William Tennant, Commander of Repulse, is reported to have been rescued and has safely landed.

U.S. Rear-Admiral Killed

It is now stated that 122 persons were killed in the attack on Pearl Harbour.

The U.S. Navy announces that Rear-Admiral Isaac Campbell Kidd was killed in action during the attack on Pearl Harbour on Sunday.

Sarat Bose Arrested

The Government of India, says a 'communique', are satisfied that there have been contacts of such a nature between Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and the Japanese as to render his immediate apprehension necessary. They have, therefore, issued orders for his detention under the Defence of India Rules and he was arrested in Calcutta on Thursday afternoon.

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Fighting in North Malaya

NEW DEFENCE LINE TAKEN UP

The British retreat south of the river Krian in Malaya has increased the danger to Penang, it was stated in authoritative quarters in London on Thursday. Troops, south of Kedah, were successfully disengaged during the night and are now reorganizing south of the Krian river, which runs along the southern border of the Kedah province.

Information reaching London shows that there was continuation of Japanese shelling and bombing of Hong Kong. British artillery dispersed Japanese troop concentrations and transport on the mainland and silenced two sections of artillery.

A *communique* issued in Singapore on Thursday morning states:

"During the night our troops in South Kedah and the province of Wellesley successfully disengaged and are now reorganizing south of Singei Krian. Yesterday there was some fighting in the vicinity of Grik, but no enemy activity in that area was reported this morning. In Klantan, an attack on our position has been driven off with heavy casualties to the enemy. No enemy air activity was reported during the night."

Raid on Penang

"During the period up to the early morning of December 16 in Malaya the enemy's main effort was still directed at North Malaya although there are possibilities of fresh landings on the coast being attempted," states Chunking Radio. During air-raids directed at Penang four enemy planes were shot down. Reports have been received that some Japanese troops are wearing civilian clothes in their attempts to infiltrate through the imperial defences.

Sungei Krian—the river Krian—mentioned in the Singapore *communique* flows about 30 miles south of the River Muda and forms the border between Kedah and Perak. Grik lies in northern Perak and is the terminus of the main road northwords towards the Thailand frontier.

Border Incidents

The Army Headquarters in Burma issued a *communique* at 6-30 p.m. on Tuesday stating "One of our patrols on the Tenasserim border exchanged shots with the frontier post. There is nothing further to report."

Allies Occupy Island In South Seas

It is learned in London that Dutch and Australian forces have entered Portuguese Timor.

It is added that the Allied forces which have entered Portuguese Timor will naturally be withdrawn as soon as conditions allow or the emergency ends.

Hong Kong Holds On

Conditions of a full seige exit in Hong Kong. The colony is reported to be in good heart despite further bombardment by the Japanese. The Governor has been telegraphically instructed to hold on which he is doing.

India's Part in the War

Mr. JINNAH REITERATES LEAGUE STAND

Reiterating the All-India Muslim League's stand in regard to the prosecution of the war, Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a press interview at Bombay on Wednesday said that it was clear that neither the Viceroy nor His Majesty's Government desired India's wholehearted co-operation but merely demanded "obedience and slavish assistance without any real voice or share in the authority of the Government and the country's defence."

Mr. Jinnah referred to the grave international situation, particularly in relation to India, and said that the Muslim League by a resolution which it adopted in June, 1940, had tendered its advice to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government but unfortunately neither of them paid any serious heed to it but instead made an offer for the expansion of the Executive Council in August, 1940, which did not give any real share in the authority, power and control of the Government either at the Centre or in the provinces.

This offer, Mr. Jinnah recalled, beyond indicating the inclusion of two Muslim League members in the Council, gave no information regarding the total strength of the expanded Council the number of additional members, and the other parties which were going to be associated with it. No information was available as to what would happen to the Muslim League representation in the event of any other party deciding at a later stage to come in. Furthermore, no information regarding the portfolios was furnished nor was the Muslim League told what was to happen in the provinces which were administered by Governors under Section 93 of the Government of India Act.

"A Grave Mistake"

Mr. Jinnah added: "Therefore, we had no alternative but to express our inability to accept such an offer. Since then the Viceroy, ignoring the Muslim League, decided upon the expansion of his Executive Council and the setting up of the so-called National Defence Council, and has nominated individual members. This decision was a grave mistake and is to be regretted. From this it is clear that neither the Viceroy nor His Majesty's Government desire our wholehearted co-operation but they merely demand obedience and slavish assistance without any real voice or share in the authority of the Government of India or in the defence of India. In the circumstances we are entirely helpless."

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah recalled the resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in June, 1940. This resolution endorsed the Press statement issued by Mr. Jinnah on May 27, 1940, looked with alarm at the growing menace of Nazi aggression, stated that the proposals indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief were wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation, and authorized the President of the League to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to exploring the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilize the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India.

Special Article

Consent Essential To Unity-III

SOUTH AFRICA & INDIA—A CONTRAST

By M. R. T.

AFTER Canada, the example of the union of South Africa can be cited as that of a British dominion which, despite its racial conflicts, was not finally denied the right to grow into a self-governing State within the orbit of the British Commonwealth of Nations. A careful study of the past events, however, will reveal that the Union of South Africa was actually demanded by the British and Dutch settlers in their own interests. Cape Colony was originally a Dutch possession and finally passed into British hands after the Napoleonic War in 1814. British immigration proved a constant source of friction with the Dutch farmers, and this finally led to the *en masse* evacuation of the Dutch population which, in due course, founded the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic far away in the interior. The British in the meantime had settled in Cape Colony and Natal, both of which had attained the status of responsible governments. In 1902, the two Dutch Colonies were also annexed by Great Britain and were subsequently granted responsible government. Besides these four independent Crown Colonies, British influence was also responsible for the development and exploitation of vast territories farther north. Rhodesia which was greater in area than the four colonies taken together was under a chartered company while Nyassaland and Bechuanaland were British Protectorates.

Union Desired

The Boer War had left much bitterness behind between the British and the Dutch, and it was now in the interest of Great Britain to follow a policy of appeasement towards the Dutch. On the basis of population the Dutch formed a majority of the white population in all the four Colonies combined and could have an effective voice in the centre if the four Colonies were united. Actually, they were in a majority in Transvaal and Orange Free State and held fairly their own in Cape Colony, while in Natal they commanded considerable influence. The Dutch began to feel that their entire number was under British protection, and that separately they could not improve their lot in the Colonies. Hence to protect their interests more effectively and to resist the growing interference in the internal affairs of each Colony, they desired union which could afford them far more effective protection than their separate existence under four independent colonies. They began to develop a common sentiment that they were all Africanders. The British Government on its part sought to encourage the movement for Union. It was guided in this object by some verv weighty consideration. Firstly, the white population, being a minority of 10 % in the midst of native population, could not hold in check the danger of native risings or rebellions in future if it remained divided into four separate Colonies. A common front was needed to confine within proper limits the activities of natives in regard to agriculture, trade and acquisition of more lands and property. Scondly, the Dutch by being in a majority in the Union would be finally won over and reconciled and would agree to live as loyal subjects of the British Crown in a self-governing Dominion. It was also considered possible that in course of time after the Dutch and British inhabitants had fraternised as citizens of a common State, the steady flow of British immigrants would reduce the Dutch element to a minority and thus would finally secure the Dominion as a permanent home of the British people.

Advantages

The Dutch were alive to the economic advantages of a Union as well. They hoped to play their part in the exploitation of British possessions in Rhodesia and Nyassaland. The lurement of a greater Union which would enclose within its limits the whole of South Africa was too much for them to resist. Hence in their own interests they became eager advocates for Union. Transvaal and Orange Free State had already been granted responsible self-government in 1906 with a bicameral legislature. In 1908, the Colonies expressed a desire for union, as distinct from federation. They agreed to accept the status of mere provinces, with a unitary constitution at the centre. The provinces were to have legislative councils, but their right to legislation was limited by the centre. The British Government embodied this desire in the Union Act of 1909.

It will thus appear that consent was considered as an essential fre-requisite to the grant of full self-government to South Africa. The Union would have never materialised and would have been indefinitely delayed if the Dutch had not felt it in their own interest to clamour for it. Their active consent and readiness to co-operate paved the way for the Act of Union.

India's Case

India's case stands in a different footing from that of South Africa. Here the Muslims, unlike the Dutch, have no interest in a scheme of Union even under a federal constitution. In South Africa, the natives despite their numerical majority did not count, while the Dutch who formed the majority of white population were urged by a common sentiment to make their voice felt through the Union Government. The British settlers were equally desirous of union as they enjoyed the protection of Imperial Government. The Indian Muslims will neither have an effective voice in the Centre nor they can depend upon British Government for the protection of their interests. Hence separation of Muslim zones is the only possible solution to settle the communal question.

No Federation

In one important respect the example of South Africa furnishes no parallel for India. The Union Government has no true federal character. The provinces of the Union exist at the mercy of the Parliament of the Union which frequently intereferes in the Provincial field. The Provinces in reality do not enjoy responsible government of the ordinary type but are administered by administrators appointed by the Union Government, and Committees elected on the principle of proportional representation by the elective Provincial Councils. Their legislation requires the assent of the Governor-General, and their acts may at any time be overridden by Union Acts. The Provinces have no control overthe administration of Justice.

Dutch Desire

It was the desire of the Dutch which finally prevailed, that the Union Government should be stronger than its Provinces, combined. They had a long-sighted policy in view. Their ultimate goal was complete independence within or without the British Empire. A strong Union Government, in their opinion, would successfully defend their interests against encroachments from British immigrants, native tribes or Imperial Government. Hence they preferred a unitary constitution to a federal one. Individual Provinces were made entirely subordinate to the Centre and this was deliberately planned to avoid all chances of friction between the Centre and the Provinces. This step has served its purpose. The British Government can no longer interfere in the interest of a Province against the Union Government, as the Union Parliament is supreme and can override provincial legislation.

Muslim Fears

Incidentally it may be mentioned here that the Hindu majority in India, while it professes federalism, in reality desires a constitution of the Union Model. Its sole aim seems to be to make the Central Government supreme over the Provinces, to leave its sphere of activities undefined and to introduce a cabinet system of government which, on the basis of its numerical strength, may leave ultimately all power in its hands. In its desire for a unitary constitution, it has outstripped the Union Government in one important respect. In South Africa, the Upper House is represented in equal proportion by the four

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Special Article

Religion and Education

By S. M. YUSUF

As we have already pointed out, the proposition advanced by Prof. Jha is but an attempt to supplant religion by his own political views or rather to turn his political beliefs into religion and then to make education a mere instrument for foisting it one all and sundry. There is nothing strange in it; it is only another result of a tendency to run away from realities and to pursue the mirage of wild and impracticable ideals. This lack of honest realism is exhibited in numerous ways but the most conspicuous example of it, perhaps, is the futile effort to create a new artificial *lingua franca* for India which has only resulted in giving rise to disunity where unity already existed.

It will be realised, and Prof. Jha makes no secret of it, that his entire outlook is dominated by a desire to achieve a common nationalism for all the different peoples of this vast sub-continent. Common nationalism, however, demands certain prerequisites which must, of necessity, precede it in a natural way and not follow it in an artificial manner. In order to be real, it must of itself grow out of a number of historical, political, cultural and, of course, religious factors; it cannot be imposed just because a few intellectuals take fancy to it. The very fact that attempts are being made to create those prerequisites is an admission that they do not yet exist and the utter failure, rather, the adverse effect, of these attempts is a proof positive that the very nature and the climate of a sub-continent do not suit a plant which can only thrive in a little island or small countries. Has not Britain failed to absorb Ireland into a common nationalism?

Wrong Approach

The lot of the Indian nationalist is miserable indeed. At every step he encounters stark realities which militate against the ideal that he has so fondly and slavishly borrowed in *toto* from the west. In his zeal he tries to hide the differences under attractive superstructures which, however, collapse even before they are complete, just because they rest on sands. This is an entirely and radically wrong approach.

The desire to remove the present ill-will between the different peoples of India is, no doubt, laudable, but the crux of the problem is how to do it? Would it not be more logical to have a fair estimate of the realities, to acknowledge boldly what is irrenconcilable and then to proceed to evolve an indigenous solution ensuring perfect freedom for all? Does it not offer a better prospect to allow the various elements to live happy and contented under many mansions, at the same time maintaining good neighbourly relations with each other?

Thus, we see that the political objective behind the so-called religious education, advocated by Prof. Jha, is exactly the same as envisaged by the champions of secular education. Both the schemes originated from a desire to circumvent the religious differences and a vain hope to pave the way for winning over the allegiance of the youth in favour of nationalism. As in the political so in the educational sphere, it is a sheer folly to seek to mould facts according to one's preconceived ideas rather than evolving one's ideal according to the realities of the situation. To approach the educational problem from the standpoint of a political ideal, which is itself a subject of controversy, is not only unjust but fraught with dangerous consequences.

Islamic Ideal

Prof. Jha has, by implication, admitted that if a Muslim and a Hindu were taught the religion of Islam and Hinduism as they are, and not only the truths or moral precepts which may be common to them, then denominational institutions become a necessity rather than an anachronism. We have now only to see what the Islamic ideal of education is.

Islam has only laid down one broad basic principle which must be fully ensured in any system of education. Once that fundamental principle is ensured there is perfect freedom to formulate the details according to the necessities of time and clime. Islam is not concerned at all whether the educational system should have an academic or a vocational bias; all that it insists on is that it should have a definitely and essentially Islamic bias. It is here that we see that purely secular education which is asserted to be harmless constitutes the greatest harm to the Islamic ideal. To eschew religion from the educational system is only to destroy and to efface it and then of course the ground is cleared for the implanting of any 'ism' which may be indirectly dumped on the empty and ignorant minds of the youth.

Motive Force

No doubt, Islam also needs spinners, scientists and technicians but only those who are true Muslims too. A scientist and a technician who is not fired with a desire to devote all his talents and skill to the service of Islam is no better an asset than a learned doctor of Muslim theology whose only mission is to discredit Islam and to bring it into disrepute. Knowledge and skill, of whatever kind they be, must only have a secondary place; the primary concern should be the inculcation of a love of Islam as the motive force of all activity.

If we only look at the development of Muslim arts and sciences we will find that the impetus to all academic, scientific and literary activity was provided only by a desire to vindicate Islam and to add to its glory. Thus the syllabus of Islamic institutions continued to expand and enlarge throughout the centuries so as to include the latest and the most up-to-date subjects, no matter whether they originated in Greece, Persia or any other country, but the nucleus of the whole system always remained the same, *i.e.*, the Quran and the Islamic teachings. Philosophy, Astronomy, Alchemy, etc., were all received and cultivated with an open mind but were all ultimately trimmed and harnessed to the service of Islam. This was not the result of prejudice or fanaticism, rather, it was the strength of conviction and intelligent appreciation of Islam that helped the Muslims to hold their own in the face of all impact of foreign ideas.

It will be seen that the principle enunciated above necessitates that no system of education can ever be acceptable to Muslims unless it includes a basic general course of Islamic studies. It must also be realised that the advocates of the fundamental truth of all religions labour under a serious misapprehension as to the implications of the word religion itself. At least, as far as Islam is concerned, religion does not signify merely a few commandments or a number of Do's and Don't's. Islam is a perfect code of life; hence it does not admit of any extraction or synthesis with any other religion. The *Quran* can never be replaced by Prof. Bhagwan Das's *Essential Unity of all Religions* for any Muslim youth. Further, as Islam covers all aspects of life, its education cannot be relegated to home corners as contemplated in the Wardha scheme. If a Muslim youth is to be brought up in the true Islamic spirit, a separate denominational institution is a necessity.

No New Problem

Lest it be said that the above observations are only characteristic of the present-day separatist tendency of the Indian Muslims, we need only add that the problem is not a new one. It was so far back as 1903 that Mr. (now Sir Akbar) Hydari's advocacy of common institutions and his opposition to the establishment of the Muslim University made Maulana Mohammad Ali, Nawab Muhsinul Mulk and other leading Muslims spring on their feet till, in the words of Maulana Mohammad Ali himself, Sir Akbar had to change his ideas and to accept the trusteeship of the M. A. O. College and the membership of the Muslim University Court. Maulana Mohammad Ali's vehement denunciation of the idea of common institutions at the

(Continued on page 10)

Special Article.

Who Is Responsible For Deadlock

Muslim Position Explained

By "OBSERVER"

HIS Excellency the Viceroy has appealed to the Indian Political Parties to compose their differences and work together for the prosecution of the war. It is rather surprising that the Viceroy should have directed his appeal towards all the Indian Political Parties collectively, while there is none amongst them except the Congress which is not anxious to bridge the gulf and willing to work wholeheartedly for the defence of India.

Already the Princes have been fully co-operating because there stands no difficulty in their way. The scheduled classes, disorganised, as they are, are always prepared to side any one who is just and fair to them. There are 100 Million Musalmans, fully organised under the banner of the Muslim League, capable of not only expressing their national will but carrying it through. They had responded to the very first appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy.

Muslim Offer

Mr. Jinnah, the accredited leader of Muslim India, had told the Viceroy just after the declaration of war that in case the Muslim leadership and the All-India Muslim League was taken into full confidence Muslim India would co-operate whole-heartedly with the Government in the war efforts. The League in its statement of September 18, 1939 had declared:

"If full, effective and honourable co-operation of the Musalmans is desired by the British Government in the grave crisis which is facing the world to-day and if it is desired to bring it to a successful termination it must create a sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Musalmans and take into its confidence the Muslim League which is the only organisation that can speak on behalf of Muslim India."

The League pointed out all the ways and means in the said statement whereby the required sense of security and satisfaction should be created among the Musalmans. This was followed by the Viceroy's declaration of October 18, 1939 in which His Majesty's Government emphatically repudiated the unfounded claim of the Congress that the latter alone represented the whole of India. His Majesty's Government also recognised the fact that the All-India Muslim League alone truly represented Muslim India and could speak on its behalf. The rights and interests of the minorities and other interests concerned were also recognised. But the Viceroy's statement fell short of the League's demand as embodied in its statement of September 18, 1939.

The Demand

The working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, therefore, passed the following resolution on October 22, 1939, clarifying its previous demand:

"The opposition of the Muslim League is not merely to the details of the plans embodied in the Act of 1935 and the reconsideration thereof but their demand is that the entire problem of India's future constitution should be wholly examined and revised *de novo*. The Committee reiterate emphatically that no future plan of Indian Constitution will be acceptable to the Muslim League unless it meets their full approval".

But at the same time the Committee, fully appreciating the urgency of the matter, authorised the President to take such steps as he may consider proper to have the doubts removed and secure complete clarification of His Fxcellency's statements, and if the President was fully satisfied the Committee empowered him to give assurance of co-operation and support on behalf of the Muslims of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war.

Importance

His Majesty's Government fully realised the importance of the League leaders' suggestion that unless the Central Government was constituted in such a manner as to command the confidence of the people, that effective support would not be forthcoming which the seriousness of the occasion and the situation demanded. They also recognised the existence of acute differences between the Congress and the League in the provincial matters which were being administered to the detriment of the Musalmans. The Viceroy interviewed leaders of various shades of opinion and lastly met Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Gandhi and B. Rajendra Prasad, the then President of the Congress, in a joint conference. The Viceroy made certain concrete proposals to the three leaders at the Conference, which were contained in his letter of November 2, 1939. The viceroy stated:

"The proposition which I invited you and the gentlemen present to consider, as leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, was that, given the great importance of ensuring harmonious working at the centre, you should enter upon discussions between yourselves with a view to discovering whether you could reach a basis of agreement between yourselves in the provincial field, consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organisations immediately participating in the Central Government as members of my Executive Council".

Mr. Gandhi's Evasion

Mr. Jinnah accepted the proposal of the Viceroy. But both Mr. Gandhi and B. Rajendra Prasad would not look at it and were not prepared even to discuss with the leader of the Muslim League the proposals for composing the differences that existed in an acute form between the Hindus and the Musalmans. In their letter of November 3, they wrote to the Viceroy as follows:—

"This crisis is entirely political and is not related to the communal issue in India ......It has pained us to find the communal question being dragged in this connection ......It has clouded the main issue".

"They went on insisting for the declaration of war aims in pursuance of the resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee with a view to avoid the adjustment of Hindu Muslim relations in the Provincial sphere which was required for working together of the League and Congress representatives in the Centre.

This very much disappointed Mr. Jinnah who wrote to his Excellency the Viceroy:---

"I was informed by them (Mr. Gandhi and B. Rajendra Prasad finally that they had come to the conclusion that they could not discuss any questions with regard to matters referred to in your letter of the 2nd instant relating to the provincial field or at the Centre until the British Government had complied with their demand as embodied in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, hence these two questions were not further discussed."

Mr. Jinnah's Efforts

In the meantime Mr. Jinnah, who had a clear grasp of the internationnl situation and wanted the Muslims to take full share in the defence of India continued his efforts to settle matters with the Viceroy. Accordingly the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League passed the following resolution on

June 17, 1940 offering their full co-operating to the Government for the intensification of war efforts:---

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, while being of the opinion that further clarification contained in the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 19th of April 1940, with regard to the assurances asked for by the All-India Muslim League, is not satisfactory, endorses the following from the statement issued by the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, to the Press on the 27th of May 1940:---

Statement

'Up to the present moment, we have not created any difficulty nor have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war.

'The Provinces where the Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government, pending their consideration with regard to the assurances we have asked for, and in particular that the British Government should make no declaration regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connection without our approval and consent.

'Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues latter on, we were even willing as far back as November last, to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field, which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and existing law.

Muslim Position Explained

(Continued)

'But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress.

'A similar attempt was again made by His Excellency earely in February, which met the same fate. Since then it seems that the Viceroy has been waiting for the Congress to pass its word.

'With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy, may I say that it is up to the British Government to show trust in Muslim Leadership — there are many ways of doing so and as confident friends seek our wholehearted co-operation? And we shall not fail'.

The Menace

"The Working Committee looks with alarm the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regards the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government against the Allies, as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds.

"The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country and the Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee is constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India, indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some provincial Governors, are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The Committee, therefore, authorises its President to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to explore the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilize the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India.

Satisfactory Basis

"The Committee is of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close cooperation is agreed upon on an all-India basis, and not province-wise, between the government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger; the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved.

"The Working Committee is of the opinion that in view of the immediate grave danger that is facing the country real purpose will not be served by the Musalmans and others merely joining the proposed provincial and district war committees with their present scope and functions".

Inadequate

The Viceroy made a declaration on August 8, 1940 on behalf of His Majesty's Government which is now known as the August Declaration. The League welcomed that part of the August Declaration which referred to the future constitution of India, and also endorsed the other part of the Declaration concerning the transitory period, as it was based on the principle which the Muslim League had urged upon the British Government. But the specific offer which the Viceroy had made to the League, viz, offering two seats in his Executive Council, was grossly inadequate to meet the very objects which had prompted the League to offer full co-operation. In the circumstances the League was constrained to reject the offer on the grounds given in their resolution of September 28, 1940 which is as follows:---

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in its meeting at Bombay on the 2nd of September 1940, after considering the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 14th of August 1940, addressed to the President, containing the specific offer regarding the proposed expansion of the Governor General's Executive Council and the establishment of a War Advisory Council, had requested H. E. the Viceroy to reconsider the matter and authorised the President to seek further information and clarification, praticularly on the points set out in the resolutions before the Committee could deal with the offer. As a result of the communication of these resolutions to H. E. the Viceroy, he invited the President to meet him on the 24th of September and after full and free discussion of the points arising out of those resolutions, H. E. was pleased to send a formal reply dated the 25th of September 1940. After giving there most earnest and careful consideration to the whole matter, the Committee, notwithstanding their desire from the very beginning to help in the prosecution of the war and the defence of India, regret that they are unable to accept the present offer for the following reasons:---

Reasons

(1) 'That the inclusion of only two representatives of the Muslim League in the proposed expansion of the Governor General's Executive Council, of which neither the total strength nor the number of additional members has so far been

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DELHI

Sunday, December 21, 1941

PIOUS REGRETS

"I was anxious to secure for the expansion of my Government, and for associating opinion in India more closely with the conduct of the war, the support of great political parties", said His Excellency the Viceroy, addressing the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on Monday last. But was he, really? We have known his anxiety, and his inclinations too. Did not the Muslim League, one of "the great political parties", offer co-operation and on terms perfectly intelligible and businesslike? Why was that hand of friendship rejected? Was it because in the absence of the Congress the rest of "the great political parties" did not count with the Viceroy? Or was it because he was not prepared to go forward unless all "the great political parties" came in? If the latter was the case, where was the need to expand his Council at all or to set up a Defence Council, which he is anxious to pass on as "National"? To turn down an offer of help on the ground—but without saying so—that the same did not come from the expected quarter is not the way of those who are really anxious for help. That only shows that the Rulers of India are out to appease one particular party—the Hindus, as represented by the Congress—even if that appeasement be at the cost of another party—the Muslims, as represented by the Muslim League. To prefer to go without any support at all, rather than have the support of other than your favourite party is anything but business or statesmanship. War effort or no war effort, what the Viceroy really seems anxious about is not to displease his favourite party, the Congress. Could appeasement be carried farther even by a Chamberlain? And he (the Viceroy) cannot conceal his "bitter disappointment" over Congressmen throwing down "so lightheartedly" the burden of government which they had "asked for and accepted". He is also well aware of "many regrets" which that decision of the Congress has since provoked. He hopes to see the day when governments "ready to use the immense powers and opportunities at their disposal" will be functioning in the "provinces which are still without a Ministerial Government". He may hope as he will, as everybody is at liberty to build castles even in the air, if he so chooses; but one thing at least, besides Death, is certain in this uncertain world. And that is, if he is not already "well aware" of the same, that Muslim India will resist, violently if necessary, any and all moves calculated to perpetuate their persecution or domination by the "bania," be he of the East or of the West.

NOTES

Constituent Assembly

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have said that there was a lot of misunderstanding in regard to the Constituent Assembly and that he could not conceive of any valid opposition to that suggestion. So far as the Hindus are concerned it would serve their purpose all right. But it is too much to expect other peoples to endorse the proposal which is calculated to harm their vital interests.

The so-called Constituent Assembly would be composed of the entire heterogeneous elements of India's political life - Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, scheduled classes, etc—all represented on the population basis. As all matters would be decided by majority of votes the Hindus alone, on account of their numerical superiority, would have the final say. It is, therefore, no use misleading Muslims and other peoples that the will of the majority would not prevail in certain matters.

The idea presupposes a free country. History does not afford an instance where a slave country has evolved its constitution through a Constituent Assembly. There is no guarantee that Great Britain would implement its decisions. Nor it is conceivable that if the Constituent Assembly decided for severance from the British Crown all Britishers would be withdrawn forthwith, leaving India to the several claimants—all Indians, of course. There is no use refusing to face realities and living in dreamland.

The idea is borrowed from the Constituent Assembly of the French Revolution. But the conditions prevailing in France were different from those prevailing then or now in India. France had one nation, while India has several—the Hindus, the Muslims, and the Dravidians, for example. There were no Hindus in France who coveted what belonged, in all fairness, to others; there were no Muslims whose forefathers had ruled the country for no less than nine hundred years and who now wanted to be masters of their homelands in the continent; there was no alien Government who, according to Pandit Nehru, had created "so many knots and tangles in India". The experiment did not prove a success in France. It accelerated the pace of revolution and brought untold misery upon the people. Is there any guarantee that the unfortunate history of France would not be repeated in India if the so-called Constituent Assembly went astray?

In the circumstances, would it not be advisable if the Indians sit together with clean conscience and settle matters among themselves instead of asking the British Government to convene for them a Constituent Assembly? But if that procedure must be adopted, why should there be only one and not several such assemblies? India is a Continent and, as such, every constituent country must have its own separate Constituent Assembly.

An Overdue Expulsion

The expulsion of Mr. Fazlul Huq from the Muslim League was long overdue. But his acceptance of the leadership of the newly

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(Continued)

formed Progressive Party—a conglomeration of Mahasabhites, Congressites, a few misguided Muslims and others—precipitated matters. As usual, he tried to gain time to consolidate his position by reiterating his loyalty for the th time to the Muslim League and demanding an inquiry. But Mr. Jinnah, who had seen through the game, took prompt action; but not without giving him an opportunity to send in his explanation which he had none. By his gross misconduct Mr. Huq has harmed Muslim interests, especially in Bengal. He has created the Bengali and non-Bengali question. He has sold the Muslim majority of the province, in lieu of his nominal Premiership, to the Hindu minority there. It is for the Musalmans of India generally, and those of Bengal in particular, whom he had always used and now betrayed by robbing them of the full fruits of their majority, to make his public life an impossibility.

A COMIC RESOLUTION

Criticising the resolution passed by the Congress members of the U. P Legislature under the presidentship of Mr. Govind Ballab Pant, the ex-Premier of U. P., at Lucknow on Sunday, December 7 last, and published in the Press on Tuesday following, Mr. M. Iqtidaruddin Hasan, M. L. A. (U.P.) says:

It is a typical instance of the most inconsistent, illogical and confused Congress mind. It came to me all the more as a surprise when I read in the Press that Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru had not only given his blessings to it but that he was its *de facts* author. Though completely under the thumb of the Congress Lord of Wardha, that so-called stout champion of socialism, Mr. Nehru was at least capable of clear thinking—so I had always thought. But the way in which the resolution has been drafted has completely disillusioned me in that regard.

A careful perusal of the resolution will show that it is composed of three parts. The first part is the customary Congress rebuke to the British for being an 'alien autocracy' and an 'external authority'. Mr. Nehru has, however, not told us what he expected the British authority in India to be. Though I can pretty well discern therein the under lying and real object of the Congress—namely, the passionate desire for establishing Hindu Raj in India in order to keep under their heels other nationalties, specially the Musalmans—I am not at the moment interested in that aspect of the resolution.

The second part is a lip sympathy with the sufferers in the present war, particularly with the peoples of Russia and China. This demonstration of sympathy is, of course, very liberal in its scope, in as much as the sympathy embraces both the aggressor and the aggrieved. The resolution on this point says: "This meeting sends its earnest sympathy to all who have suffered and are suffereing in this overwhelming catastrophe". On hearing of this sympathy Herr Hitler might well feel justified in directing his propaganda department to utter a few words in praise of the Indian Congress, as one might have sometimes heard Berlin Doing on the radio.

The third part of the resolution is an interesting admixture of hope and despair. It incorporates a process of curious reasoning. The opening paragraph of this part of the resolution entertains a pious hope that 'out of the destructive fire of war will emerge a better and juster order, founded on a world federation of free nations, in which complete freedom and equality of opportunity for all nations will be assured, domination of one country by another removed and all armed warfare for settling international disputes abolished.' In this connection one would like to know from the learned author of the resolution as to which party in the war—Hitler's party or his opponents—he wants to win, in order that such a state of things may be suddenly brought into existence. Perhaps he would never give a direct answer to this question. In any case he seems to be sure that out of the evil of armaments and its use some good is bound to come. Assuming, however, that the desired ideal state of things shall result from the 'armed warfare,' what other methods—which he has never told us—will the learned author of the resolution devise 'for settling international disputes'. Why wish for abolition of 'armed warfare' when it is such an unmixed blessing as to produce 'a better and juster order founded on a world federation of free nations'. One entirely fails to see how the two conflicting statements can possibly be reconciled. It will be remembered that his Chief of the High Command, Mr. Gandhi, had once advised Britain to lay down arms before Hitler; but British statesmen, who were yet repenting their policy of disarmament and did not consider themselves lunatic enough to follow such advice, declined it with thanks.

The concluding portion however, of this part of the resolution is nearer home as it refers to India. It reads: "The freedom of four hundred millions people of India is an essential ingredient of such an order and unless this is achieved, the old causes of war and conflict will remain and the people of India will continue to challenge every attempted solution. The policy of the British Government in regard to India has made it clear that it has no intention to give up its imperialist domination of India." It is here that the resolution betrays utter despair and promptly wipes out all hopes of a 'better and juster order founded on a world federation of free nations' emerging from the 'destructive fire of war.' Does the learned author of the resolution mean to say that his 'better and juster order' will emerge from the defeat of Britian and her allies? If he really does mean it, then his sympathy with Russia and China—the allies of Britain—will become meaningless. This amazing statement is just as much inconsistent and irreconcilable as any other in the resolution. This concluding portion of the resolution prescribes a condition precedent for that 'better and juster order' and that condition is the freedom of India before Mr. Nehru and his Congress colleagues would allow the better and juster order to prevail. Not only this, but he thinks that if

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A COMIC RESOLUTION

(Continued)

freedom is not given to India he can manage to perpetuate the present world struggle, for he says: 'the old causes of war and conflict will remain and the people of India will continue to challenge every attempted solution'. As if, the failure to give freedom to India has been the cause of the present war. If that is his meaning, I can only say: Well done and well said, Mr. Nehru. This contention might perhaps be excellent material for some story book on dreamland, but it is by no means an appropriate thing for a political resolution. Again, a remarkably vague phrase used in this portion of the resolution is the statement that 'the people of India will continue to challenge every attempted solution'. I have honestly not been able to understand it at all. 'Solution' of what? Is it the solution of India's political problem or solution of some international problem? I can only guess that perhaps it means an opposition to the scheme of Pakistan, since the British Government have refused to disregard the interests of Muslim India and have promised to examine *de novo* the whole constitutional position after the war.

If such muddle-headedness and utterly chaotic thinking, as reflected in the aforesaid resolution, is the true index of the Congress brains, I am constrained to say that Congressmen have now come to their wits' end. Comparisons are odious, but any resolution of the Muslim League will be found far more sensible, practical, intelligible, logical and con-

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sistent than the Congress resolution under discussion.

I must now end my observations on this comic resolution by saying that I never had the misfortune of perusing more errent nonsense than what is contained in the resolution.

LETTERS

Call To Womanhood

Sir—"The Call to Womanhood", as published in "The Dawn" of November 30 last is a timely call. It is time the Muslim women looked ahead and played their role in fulfilling the League ideals. The Muslim League has chalked out an inspiring ideal—the ideal of Muslim Solidarity and Pakistan. The Muslim women should not lag behind. They can certainly do a lot. Of course, their field is limited. The League ideals, to be fully implemented, will need the services and sacrifices of all, constituting the vast Muslim Nation in India. Our participation in the League activities are sure to inspire our male counter parts the more.

By her thoughtless action, one of our enlightened few, Begum Shah Nawaz, has put us to shame. May good sense dawn on her even now. I endorse your remarks in connection with something else, viz. that "admission of the mistakes committed is a healthy habit; readiness to rectify those mistakes is healthier". Will Begum Shah Nawaz make the desired amends? We shall feel happy if she does. It is never too late to mend.

Yours etc.

Lahore. K. Akhtar.

Delhi-Shahdara N. A. C.

Sir—It is felt with deep regret that in spite of several represantations, both in person and in writing, to fill in the second Muslim seat of a member lying vacant in the Delhi-Shahdara Notified Area Committee, since July, 1940, the matter has not had any response from the authorities and no action seems to have been taken. The public is viewing it with great concern and it has been felt that Muslim rights have intentionally been overlooked. There have been many more irregularities which will be brought to the public notice one by one.

Yours etc.,

Delhi.

Muslims of Shahdara.

Muslim Immigrants

Sir—I read with concern the news about the 3,000 destitutes appearing in the Dawn of December 7 last. They are generally described as robbers, which mistake has crept in, I believe, due to the fact that they are coming down from Kazzakistan (literally meaning, the country of robbers). It is worthwhile to make it clear that all in the Kazzakistan are not Kazzaks (robbers) just as all in Hindustan are not Hindus.

The traditions of hospitality which India has generally shown to all foreigners should be upheld. It is, therefore, suggested that uncultivated areas of land be allotted to them and they may be allowed to settle down peacefully. For that purpose, I hope, the Government of Bhopal, in consultation with the government of India, would allow them to settle down in the State forests.

Yours etc.,

Bombay.

M. S. Hasan Gilani.

Appearance of "The Dawn"

Sir—The Muslims of India had all these years need a press of their own through which to make their voice heard to the outside world. It is, therefore, a matter of gratitude that *The Dawn* has been started under the supervision of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan as the spokesman of the Muslim nation in India. Mr. Jinnah has accomplished so much in spite of little encouragement from the Muslims. Now it is for every member of the nation not only to keep this paper alive but to give it so much solid support and backing that it may be possible, at no distant date, to make it a standard daily. Thus a part of our national wealth which we spend in purchasing the papers controlled by the Hindus or the Europeans will remain with us. Let every Musalman who can understand the English language and who can afford to spare one pice daily or a paltry sum of two annas a week become a regular subscriber of *The Dawn*. This can easily be done through the support and help of the present readers of the paper. Every reader should take it upon himself to make two other subscribers in a week's time. The office-bearers of the Muslim League Committees should try to persuade local newspaper agents to take the agency of *The Dawn*, failing which one of the members of the League at every place must take the agency till further arrangement, so that the growth of the paper may be effected without impediment. I hope the readers of *The Dawn* will take this appeal to heart.

Yours etc.,

Aligarh.

Aftab Husain.

PRESS

Mr. Huq's Defection

Commenting on the defection of Mr. Fazlul Huq the *Asra Jadid* of Calcutta says :—

In short Mr. Huq has done what a Muslim ought not to have done in any circumstance whatsoever—trying to break Muslim solidarity only to please the Hindus. We are well aware that the Hindus are very loud in their praise of Mr. Huq because he has handed over to them the governance of Bengal. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, who had taken a great part in opposing the Pakistan scheme and who has often said: "India belongs to Hindus", is now an ally of Mr. Huq. Although Mr. Huq has not been able to tell us the broad principles upon which he wants to unite the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal, but it is quite evident that the alleged principle is to remain a puppet in the hands of the Hindus in lieu of some prize posts.—*Asra Jadid*, Calcutta.

The Last Hope

Commenting on the statement of Mr. M. N. Roy in which he had advised Hindu leaders to think over the Pakistan scheme coolly, the *Sarosh* of Bombay says:

The Muslim League has not put forward the Pakistan scheme with intent to create chaos or scheme confusion in the continent of India. On the contrary the scheme is intended to bring harmony and peace and is no doubt the best solution of the Indian problem. The main object is that both the Hindus and the Muslims may be able to live an honourable and independent life in their own spheres and that they may thrive according to their own lights, unmolested by the other.

Pakistan will set at rest the communal wrangle in the continent. Those Hindu leaders who have been dreaming of Hindu Raj are doing positive disservice to India by opposing the Pakistan scheme, thereby destroying the last hope of a settlement.—*Sarosh*, Bombay.

No Room for Traitors

Commenting on the expulsion of Mr. Huq the *Haque* of Lucknow says:

By expelling Mr. Huq from the League for an indefinite period Mr. Jinnah has proved that there is no room in the organisation for traitors who are amenable to sacrifice national interests for their personal benefits. Indeed, Mr. Jinnah deserves congratulation for that step which has once again established that the Muslim League is a powerful organisation and that it does not exist upon some individuals. We appeal to the Bengal Muslims to prove, by organising the League in every village of the province, that the treachery of Mr. Fazlul Huq or, for that matter, of any other Muslim traitor, would not adversely affect the power and prestige of the League. The Bengal Muslims have to afford yet another instance of their awakening by throwing Mr. Huq off the Government—*Haque*, Lucknow.

Jinnah: A Study in Greatness

By **Habib F. Merchant**

Contemporary life in India is studded with a wealth of great and brilliant lives, Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah being one of the most outstanding and certainly the greatest in Muslim India. By sheer dint of ability and character he has made himself the undisputed leader of the Muslims and is affectionately called QA'ID-E-AZAM.

The personality of Mr. Jinnah has dominated the public life of India for the last 35 years and his career is full of many brilliant achievements But the grandest of them all was when in the recent momentous crisis which faced the League, threatening it with disruption, he uncompromisingly stood up for the League as the only representative and authoritative body of the Musalmans, and by his remarkable statesmanship achieved triumph both for himself and the League. The courage displayed won the greatest admiration, and even his opponents were constrained to remark that Mr. Jinnah is nothing if not courageous. Courage, fearlessness instense faith in himself, sincerity, tremendous self-respect and dignity are some of the dominant traits of his character.

Character

Character transcends circumstanes, forsooth character is destiny, and if ever this saying was proved it is in the case of Jinnah. His greatness is neither an accident nor a fortuitous event, but is the result of a great character, for greatest is merely a concomitant of a great character. Muslim youths, who dream of achieving greatness, should take a lesson from the life of this great man. Just as Napolean did not have the word "Impossible" in his dictionary so also Jinnah has no such word as "Fear" in his.

My searching mind was charmed by his defiant dignity and "I am the Monarch of all I survey" attitude. He abhors oily pose of pseudo-modesty and mock humility.

Whatever may be the political differences, his adversaries have acknowledged his extreme sincerity of purpose and selfless work. There is not a single instance in his long and singularly brilliant career when he has over compromised his ideals or sacrificed his independence for the sake of personal gain and self advancement. He has shunned successfully and courageously and, of course, with disdain, the two demoralising and corrupting influences—titles and appointments. We see the unedifying spectacle of men hankering after titles and appointments, no matter at what price. But away from this nauseating scene we see a compelling sight—Jinnah standing aloof, irrepoachable.

Realist

Mr. Jinnah is a realist first and foremost. The great good he has done is in saving politics from being clouded over confused and confounded by metaphysics and moonshine. He is no doctrinnaire, he is no visionary, and he has striven most to keep politics on a practical plane. When the Congress under Mr. Gandhi's influence adopted the abstruse creed of *Ahimsa* and the cult of *Charkha*, Mr. Jinnah left that party where he was one of the most respected leaders, and joined the Muslim League whose destiny he has now guided for the last 25 years with such consummate skill and untiring zeal. Such is this remarkable man, who wherever he is he cannot help finding himself.

The same passion for freedom and liberty which was the guiding star of Mr. Jinnah's political ability in the beginning of his public life moves him today when he has put forward his present solution of Indian political problem based on division of the country, with the solid and unanimous support of the Muslims of India. Mr. Jinnah's realism, keen sense of understanding and remarkable insight, with varied and long experience of public life, have made him realise that the Hindus and the Muslim are really two separate people and despite the fact that the fates have thrown them together in one sub-continent and notwithstanding the centuries

(Continued on page 10)

Muslim Position Explained

(Continued)

definitely determined, does not give any real and substantial share in the authority of the Government at the Centre.

(2) 'That no indication has been given as to what would be the position of the Muslim League representation in the event of any other party deciding at a later stage to assist in the prosecution of the War, and the Government agreeing to associate it with the Executive Council, which may involve a substantial modification and reshuffling of the Executive,

(3) 'That so far, the Government do not propose to appoint non-official advisors in those provinces which are being administered by the Governors, under Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935. The Committee feel that without the association of the Muslim League representatives in the administration of those provinces it will not be possible to secure real and effective co-operation of the Musalmans.

(4) 'That the proposed War Advisory Council is yet in embryo and no information is available as to its constitution, composition and functions, except that it will probably consist of about 20 members and that the question of setting it up will be considered after expansion of the Executive Council is complete.

(-) 'That out of the various points raised in the resolution of the Committee, of the 2nd of September, only one relating to panel has been satisfactorily met."

Not Wanted

It is, therefore, quite evident that the British Government do not want the real co-operation and support of the Musalmans of India as equal partners in a common danger.

The attitude of the Congress has been consistently opposed to the Muslim interests. They refused to negotiate with the League as regards the Hindu-Muslim question; they tried to throw into the back ground the Muslim demands by their insistence on the declaration of war aims without the consent and approval of the Musalmans; they created a consitutional crisis in the country by withdrawing the Congress ministeries; they wanted to establish a so-called national Government at the Centre exactly with the same object in view, and lastly they started the Civil disobedience after the August declaration to coerce the British Government to concede the Congress demand which is opposed to the vital interests of the Musalmans, under the pretext of freedom of speech.

League Willingness

As against this attitude of the Congress the League has always been prepared to negotiate with it. In his speech in the Central Assembly Mr. Jinnah, addressing the Congress Party, had said: "why not you and I meet and put our heads together. If you make a practical proposition we present a united demand to Mr. Amery or, for the matter of that, to the British parliament, or the British nation, if you like". But there was no response from the Congress. Mr. Jinnah was prepared to negotiate with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and later on with Mr. Gandhi at the instance of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, but both the Hindu leaders avoided it.

Now what does His Excellency the Viceroy want the Muslim League to do? They have never refused to co-operate with the Government in the defence of India nor to negotiate with the Congress for the settlement of Hindu-Muslim question.

The appeal should have been more appropriately addressed to the Congress which does not recognise the existence of various nationalities in the Sub-Continent of India and desires the rule of only one community—the Hindus—over the whole of the Indian continent. It should have been addressed also to the British Government which have been constantly rejecting the Muslim offer of co-operation for fear of the Congress or for some other reason known to them alone. Muslims are ready willing to give their all for the defence of the country and for successful prosecution of the war as equal partners in the common cause. But as a self-respecting nation they cannot accept the position of camp-followers.

British Cruiser Sunk

An admiralty *communique* states that "H.M.S. *Dunedin* (Captain R. S. Lovatt, O.B.E., R.N.), has been torpedoed in the Atlantic by a U-boat and has sunk.

A Study In Greatness

(Continued from page 9)

that have since rolled by, they have remained separate and unmingled, like two streams running parallel. Let the two be separated, so as to run their life unhampered and unimpeded.

A united India necessarily postulates a Central Government and the Central Government, of whatever type, must be dominated by the Hindus. The Pakistan scheme is based on the truth of more than one nation inhabitting this continent. It gives an opportunity to both the Hindus and the Muslims to realise their ideal of nationhood. In it both the people can grow into full height of nationhood, each according to its own genius, culture, tradition and religion.

Consent Essential To Unity

(Continued from page 2)

provinces which make up the Union, irrespective of their population, whereas in India, the principle or representation on population basis is still conceived to be as the only way of returning the Upper House. The Indian Muslims are naturally nervous that the proposed scheme of federal government will neither afford their protection in the two houses of the Central Legislature where they will be in a minority nor in their majority Provinces which will be reduced to mere administrative areas of the Centre in due course. They justly fear that with a dominant voice in the federal government, the supreme control of the vital organs of a national state, such as Finance Communications and Defence, will become a permanent Hindu monopoly and, with the overwhelming power and influence thus obtained, the Centre will dominate over the Provinces and the scheme of provincial autonomy will become a mere farce.

Soviet Far East Manoeuvres

Large-scale Russian millitary manoeuvres with troops and full equipment are taking place in the Far East, states the Chungking Radio quoting a broadcast from a Soviet Radio station received via the Manila Radio station.

Religion and Education

(Continued from page 3)

session of the Bombay Provincial Educational Conference, held at Ahmadabad in 1904 (*vide* also 'Mazamine Mohammad Ali, Vol. 1. P. 422) is enough to prove that the Muslims had pronounced a clear, considered and final verdict on the question at that distant date. Since then the efforts of ths Muslim educationists were all directed towards the establishment and fostering of separate institutions.

The foundation of the Jamia Millia Islamia at a time when, under the stress of common political struggle, mutual goodwill between the various peoples was as its zenith, and at the hands of those who can never be accused of a separatist or disruptionist tendency, conclusively proves that the Muslims were clearly determined not to yield in this respect. It must not be forgotten that, as envisaged by its founders, the Jamia, whose Principal received many a bonquet at the Srinagar Conference, was to be a long way ahead of the Muslim University towards the Islamic ideal. In the Muslim University religious education was and it still is, only an appendage of western education, while in the Jamia it was to be the nucleus of all other education and, as the very name indicates, devotion to *millat* the first and the foremost ideal.

Guarantee of Peace

In conclusion, we wish to assure the champions of communal harmony, with all the emphasis at our command, that so far as the Muslims are concerned, it can only be achieved through true Islamic education. Islam in itself is a guarantee of peace and harmony because it inculcates respect for the susceptibilities of others. If the Muslims have only the freedom to live according to their own ideals, goodwill is bound to follow immediately as a necessary corollary.

(Concluded)

C. P. League Council Meets

30,000 Members Enrolled

The Central Provinces Muslim League Council held their annual meeting at Hinganghat on December 14 last, with Khan Saheb Syed Yasin, M. L. A. in the chair. Mr. S. A. Rauf Shah, Mr. Mohammad Asghar, Khan Saheb Abdur Rahman Khan and Mr. Abdul Sattar Khan were unanimously elected President, General Secretary, Publicity Secretary and Office Secretary respectively. Representatives for the All-India Council and delegates for the annual session were also elected.

Resolutions supporting Mr. Fazlul Huq's expulsion, demanding Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan's release and condemning Amraoti riots and sympathising with the sufferers, were adopted.

The decision of the All-India Muslim League regarding the Viceroy's expanded Council, the so-called National Defence Council and the Islamic countries and the recommendations of the Provincial League Presidents and Secretaries Conference were endorsed.

By other resolutions communal spirit in the Government services of the province was deplored, Allama Mashriqi's release was demanded, Mr. Aney's speech at Akola regarding Berar was condemned, a strong protest was lodged against the Sunday News of America publishing insulting remarks about the Holy Prophet and an earnest appeal was made for making the session of the A. I. Muslim Students Federation a complete success.

Satisfaction was expressed over the Muslim League

(Continued on next column)

(Contd. from previous col.)

propaganda in the province and it was announced that 30,000 members had already been enrolled and that 150 branches organised in 21 districts.

MUSLIM LEAGUE WEEK

December 19-26

Qa'id-e-Azam's Birthday To Be Celebrated

In pursuance of the resolutions of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League and of the Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League the latter Presidency Muslim League has decided to celebrate the Muslim League Week throughout that Presidency from Friday, December 19 to Thursday, December 26 next. The Madras Presidency League has, therefore, directed the District and Primary Leagues in the Presidency to observe the week in a fitting manner and to hold meetings in during the period in various places and mohallas, villages and towns, explaining to the people the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League, and to take necessary steps to push forward the constructive programmes of the League for the purpose of the uplift of the Musalmans.

The Madras Presidency Muslim League have also directed the District and Primary Leagues in their jurisdiction to celebrate the birthday of Qa'id-e-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah on Thursday, December 25, by holding public meetings on that day and passing resolutions felicitating the Qa'id-e-Azam on the happy occasion.

Release Allama Mashriqi

Bihar Muslim League Demand

The Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League met on Sunday, December 14 last, and adopted the following resolutions :

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League draws the attention of the Government of India once again to the prolonged and indefinite detention without trial of Allama Mashriqi, particularly at a time when not only India but the whole world is passing through a very critical stage and specially when a large number of Congress detenus and prisoners are being released; this meeting impresses upon the Government of India that Allama Mashriqi's detention is causing great concern not only to the members of the Khaksar organisation but to the Musalmans generally. In view of the changed situation this meeting urges upon the Government of India to release Allama Mashriqi without delay.

The Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League directs all its branches to immediately get a similar resolution passed and intimate the same to the Government of India.

A Muslim League Party, consisting of all the members of the Muslim League, be formed in the Legislature and information of the same and the names of the members forming the said group be immediately given to the Secretary, through the President Bihar Provincial Muslim League. Further, the Secretary be directed to send a copy of the resolution to all the members of the Muslim League in the Legislature for compliance.

CONGRESS CONDEMNED

Creating Dissensions among Moslems

A resolution condemning the policy of the Congress in creating dissensions and disunity among Moslem ranks in the Moslem majority provinces, was adopted by the Karachi District Muslim League Conference on Tuesday night. The Raja of Mahmudabad presided. The resolution gave instances of Bengal, Assam and Sind provinces and warned the Congress to desist from such efforts.

Another resolution condemned the "treacherous conduct" of the Bengal Premier against the Muslim League and Indian Moslems and appealed to Moslems not to be influenced by any personality, howsoever great, in its national and political struggles. The conference assured Bengal Moslems that the whole of Moslem India would support them in their fight against "reaction and treachery."

A third resolution adopted by the conference prayed for the long life of Mr. Jinnah so that he might guide the Moslems of India who were ever ready to make any sacrifices for the attainment of Pakistan. The conference requested Mr. Jinnah not to consider any offer of compromise based on the theory of a united India but to carry on ceaseless efforts till Pakistan was achieved.

Indians Evacuated

Ninety Indian nationals evacuated from Shanghai have arrived in Manila on the *Anhui* and are being looked after there, according to reports received in New Delhi.

PARTING MESSAGE OF Nawab S. A. Khan

C. P. MUSLIMS PROTEST AGAINST ARREST

In his parting message to the Muslims of the Central Provinces, Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, M.L.A. (Central) at the time of his arrest on December 11 last, said:

"I had been released from Amraoti Jail last year on December 13 and again I am going to jail this year on December 11. This time I have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules in connection with a speech I delivered about Iran. I am not at all sorry for this arrest, for I have the satisfaction of following the lead given by the All-India Muslim League. I am, no doubt, sorry that at a time when our beloved Qa'id-e-Azam is coming to Nagpur, I will not be there to receive him.

"I appeal to the Muslims of the province to make the session of the All-India Muslim Students Federation a success and to celebrate enthusiastically the birthday of the Qa'id-e-Azam on December 25 next.

"I charge the Muslims to remain united in my absence and to maintain the dignity of the Muslim League.—*Khuda Hafiz*."

A mass meeting of about 10,000 Musalmans was held under the auspices of the City Muslim League, at Mominpura Maidan, Nagpur, on December 11 last, Mr. Ibrahim Khan, Vice-President, presiding. Mr. Raza Ismail appealed for funds for the session of the All-India Muslim Students Federation. Mr. Ahfazur Rahim and Mr. Riyazuddin Ahmad spoke protesting against the arrest of Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan.

Mass Meeting

The meeting passed a resolution, congratulating Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan for having followed the lead given by the All-India Muslim League and assured him that in his absence the work of the Muslim League would be continued with the fullest dignity and honour and that the session of the All-India Muslim Students Federation would be made successful.

By another resolution the meeting recorded its protest on the arrest of Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan who, according to them, was being sent to jail for his actions which he was continuously doing in the interests of the Musalmans and which were not appreciated by some officials."

Jinnah Day On Dec. 25

All the Districts and Primary Muslim Leagues in the Bombay Province have been directed by the Bombay Provincial Muslim League, to celebrate December 25, the birthday of Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah as the "Jinnah Day" by holding public meetings, explaining the policy (including the Pakistan Scheme) aims and objects of the Muslim League to the Muslim public and also explaining and carrying out the following constructive programme:

1. Cottage industries should be promoted and encouraged and stores should be established at Central places on co-operative basis.

2. The Muslims should use *Garha* made by Musalmans on all occasions of festivity and mourning, so that due impetus may be given to the *Garha* manufacture.

3. Night Schools should be opened in order to spread adult education.

4. Un-Islamic ceremonies should be given up and discouraged.

5. No loans on interest be taken for marriage and funeral ceremonies.

6. The use of intoxicants and gambling should be checked.

7. The true spirit of brotherhood, based on the Islamic conception of equality and fraternity, should be infused among those Muslims who have adopted the Un-Islamic view of caste, based on profession, and occupation.

(Continued on next column.)

Air Raid Test: "A Failure"

In order to test the "air-raid-mindedness" of the citizens of Calcutta, an air-raid warning was sounded at about 5 in the afternoon on Thursday. According to the Commissioner of Police, the test was a "complete failure on the part of the public." The street were thronged with pedestrians, who made no attempt to take cover or carry out any of the instructions issued earlier for observance by the public.

"In an actual raid," the Commissioner adds, "the results of this are likely to be disastrous and casualties would be heavy even as a result of our gunfire."

Art Treasures Removed

The art treasures in the Victoria Memorial, numbering about 4,000, moved to a place of safety, according to a plane previously sanctioned by the Central Government.

U.S. Steamer Strikes Mine

Five hundred persons lost their lives when the Philippine Inter-Island steamer "Corregidor" blew up on a mine near Manila Bay on Wednesday.

M. U. U. Vice-President

Mr. Shakir Husain Khan, B. A., (Alig.), till lately Secretary of the Muslim University Union and Joint Secretary of the University Muslim League, has been elected unopposed as Vice-President of the Union. The backing which the Muslim League enjoys in the University circles is so overwhelming that no other candidate offered himself for election.

(Continued from previous col.)

8. Panchayats should be established in order to settle ordinary disputes so that people may not suffer unnecessary monetary loss by going to law-courts.

9. Muslims should be persuaded to take to Commerce and Industry.

10. Full interest should be taken in all the schemes of rural uplift and progress.

Axis Forces In Full Retreat

British Advance In Libya

It was officially announced on Thursday that Axis forces in Eastern Cyrenaica were in full retreat and that after five days of intensive fighting the enemy's front had everywhere been broken.

General Rommel is attempting to withdraw from Gazala but the Allied forces are pressing him hard and pursuing his troops, according to authoritative circles in London.

Soviet Advance Continues

The Russian advance continues very successfully, it was authoritatively stated in London on Thursday. There is no indication as to where the Germans might plan to stabil'ze their line--it might not be left to the Germans to decide. It is difficult to see how the Nazis can support their claim that they are retreating in order to shorten their line.

TURKEY CALM

Reaction to Bulgar Situation

The Turks are *still* calm about the Bulgar situation. It is admitted that the German withdrawal in Russia may free many divisions for the elsewhere, but the Turks are not worrying till they have received concrete proof of the arrival of German mechanized armoured divisions in Bulgaria, of which at present there is no sign. This does not mean that the Turks are not taking precautions; the extended term with the colours will shortly be three years, while generally the defence preparations continue apace. The civilian calm at Ankara and Istanbul is striking.

The mobilization of a large number of men has naturally created economic difficulties, the latest of which is the rise in the price of bread to 16 kurus per kilo pound from 12.5, while other foodstuffs are also dearer.

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MR. JINNAH WARNS BRITISH GOVERNMENT

Declaration Against Pakistan To Be Resisted

India: "A Constellation of Nations"

Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a statement to the *News-Chronicle*, London, says:

"I want the British public and statesmen to understand that the stand of the Muslim League is vitally different from that of the Congress and other Hindu organizations.

"It is somewhat difficult to understand the Congress as even in the recent pronouncements of front-line leaders such as Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Nehru and others they will have nothing to do with the prosecution of the war unless an immediate declaration of India's independence is made by the British Government, and as free Indians they will determine their war policy.

"When they talk of the freedom of India and the independence of India, they entirely ignore the hundred million Muslims in this country. That is the first and foremost mistake, and it is most misleading to say that the Congress represents the Indian nation.

"There is no such thing as an Indian nation in existence. India is a constellation of nations, and the two major nations are the Hindus and the Muslims.

"I see that another blitz of agitation is again being set on foot by Hindu leaders because of the growing stress of the expansion of the war to coerce the British Government to make a fresh move and go back on the declaration of August 8, which clearly laid down that not only the method and machinery to be set up to consider the future constitution of India should be by agreement of the major elements, but that the constitution itself, if it has to be worked successfully, must be framed by agreement of the major parties concerned as no future constitution can be forced against the will of one hundred million Muslims, for it will not survive the withdrawal of the British authority.

The "Danger"

"I see a great danger in the British Government being stampeded under pressure of recent developments of the war to make a new declaration according to the designs of the Hindu leaders. They, first of all, want that the time-limit should be fixed after the war at the end of which the British Government must give a solemn undertaking and promise to give India a constitution as a single unit on the basis of a united and democratic India of the Westminster variety.

"This will be cancelling the August declaration and going back on it. Secondly, it clearly means that the constitution will be framed by the British Government instead of by the major political parties as laid down in the August declaration. What will be the sanction behind it as it must be assumed that British power must be substantially or wholly withdrawn when a hundred million Muslims are opposed to it? and, lastly, the clear meaning of this demand by various schools of thought among Hindus, although the Congress is opposed to it, would mean, in other words, clearly denouncing and condemning the Muslim demand for the partition of India.

"This will not only be most unfair to Muslims but prejudging the consideration of the issue of the future constitution of India. And it will further clearly reduce the whole of Muslim India as an all-India minority under the heel of a Hindu Raj.

Sacred Creed

"Such a position Muslim India will never accept, and I want the British Government not to force Muslim India to fill Indian jails to convince them or to demonstrate that Pakistan is now our sacred creed, an article of faith, and any declaration by the British Government or Prime Minister which in any way will militate against it Muslim India will resist with all the power it can command.

"The next point which I wish to make clear again is that the difference between the Muslim League and the Congress is very vital as regards their respective attitude towards this war.

"From the very beginning the Muslim League has offered its hand of fullest cooperation to the British Government, provided a real share and voice in the authority and responsibility of the government at the Centre and in the provinces was given within the frame-work of the present constitution, without prejudice to the major issues involved with regard to the future constitution of India, whereas the Congress have definitely and repeatedly declined to look any proposal within the framework of the present constitution and prevailing law.

"They insist upon the major issues being settled immediately, ignoring the Muslims, and that too in a manner detrimental to the vital interests of the Muslims.

Govt. Unwilling

I have come to the conclusion that the British Government do not care or value sufficiently the co-operation and assistance of Muslims except as camp followers and they are waiting until they can persuade the Congress to come in or else they have no desire to part with any power in favour of those who fully realize the common peril of this war both to Great Britain and India and are thus willing provisionally to accept the position described by me above as a war contract.

"We clearly indicated this to the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government as far back as June, 1940, and offered our co-operation on that basis and advised them to go ahead with the Muslim League and such other parties as were willing to undertake the responsibility of the defence of our country and to intensify the war efforts in face of the imminent and common danger. But I am afraid no serious heed has been paid to it so far. It is for the British Government to decide how long they propose to wait until the Congress makes up its mind."—A.P.I.

Special Article

THAT HYMN OF HATE

By AL-MANSOOR

Bande Mataram is a most controversial political slogan. The Hindus and the Muslims swear by it— the former out of passionate love, and the latter out of passionate hatred for it. The paradox is worth discussion.

The slogan, divested from its context, means: "Thee do we worship, Mother." In reference to the context, the slogan comprises the opening words of the hymn of invocation to the goddess, Durga, of the Hindu pantheon, who is later described as *"Tang-he Durga dasha-praharan-dharini"*, etc.— thou art Durga, with ten arms, etc.

According to those who want to make *Bande Mataram* the national slogan of India, the "mother" is Mother India, and by worship is meant reverence for the land of birth. The Muslims object to it as being idolatrous in conception, and as being intrinsically anti-Muslim in the back-ground, on which light will be thrown by the facts that follow.

The Author

The Author of *Bande Mataram* is the late Mr. Bunkim Chandra Chatterjee. The hymn occurs in his Bengali novel, named *Ananda-Math.* He was one of the two first graduates of the Calcutta University established in 1856, and educated at the Hooghly Mohsen College, originally founded and maintained out of the Mohsen Wakf Fund, the biggest and earliest Educational Trust in Bengal, perhaps in India, having been created in the year 1806. All alumni of Hooghly College, originally, used to receive concessions in fee rates from the Mohsen Wakf Fund, irrespective of communities.

The author of *Ananda-Math* was thus a beneficiary of the Mohsen Trust Fund. He was a gifted scholar, but, unfortunately, he repaid his debt to the Fund with compound interest by vilifying the Muslims and Islam in most of his so-called historical novels, which are characterised by deliberate distortions of facts particularly to depict the Muslim characters, mostly historical personages—princes and princesses—in darkest colours, on the convenient plea that "novels are novels, and not historical treatises," to quote his own words. The Muslim princesses, in particular, have been sought to be stigmatised by him with most unchivalrous and untrue insinuations. Even Emperors have not been spared.

To quote one example, the picture of Emperor Aurangzeb is shown as trampled under feet by a Hindu princess in his novel, named *Rajsinha.* And the fun is that the scene is a most irrelevant one, having nothing to do with the theme of the novel. It is a most gratuitous insult to the greatest Moghal Emperor, apparently to wound the Muslim feelings. The present communal bickerings in Bengal are largely due to the venomous writings of this pioneer Bengali novelist—a gifted but extremely proud and communally-minded, narrow-visioned Brahmin.

To the Hindus, he is a sort of demi-god or a great seer *(Riski.)* The appreciation is not merely for his literary gifts. The real reason will appear from what follows. To the Muslims, his name is anathema. His anti-Muslim writings, particularly his conception and characterisation of the Muslims in *Ananda-Math*, have made his name an accursed one with the Muslims. *Ananda-Math*, again, has made him a great sage with the Hindus, having furnished the neo-philosophy of the Hindu political movement, which is the back-ground of Hindu Swadeshism and its aftermath, the cult of *Terrorism* in Bengal. The gift of *Bande Mataram* is considered his crowning glory.

The Theme

Ananda-Math is admittedly based on the so-called Sannyasi Rebellion in Bengal during the seventies of the eighteenth century, about 25 years after the Battle of Plassey, when, in the words of the author, "Bengal had not been under British administration. The English were then Dewans of Bengal, responsible merely for revenue collections. They did not take over the task of safe-guarding the life and property of theBengalees. The task was entrusted to Mir Jaafar, the Villain, the Beast in human form, the Disgrace to Humanity—the Fellow incapable of defending himself, much less Bengal—the dozing Opium-Eater."

Mark the billingsgate against a Muslim potentate, now in the Life Beyond, though no tear need be shed for the misguided traitor who betrayed his Master in violation of the pledge taken on the Holy Quran. The mentality of the "great sage" will appear in more lurid light from his characterisation of the Sannyasi mauraders, despoiling innocent population, including women and children, and committing arson and loot, not for a kingly throne, for which Mir Jaafar proved the traitor, but for mere mercenary gain. In the eye of the "seer", these dacoits are national heroes, while Mir Jaafar is a disgrace to humanity!

The Santans

Ananda-Math is a temple inside a dense forest. It is the fort of the Sannyasis. The "goddess, Durga," the "Deity of Prowess", is installed there. She is worshipped with the hymn of *Bande Mataram.* The Sannyasis go out in batches to the neighbouring villages to kill the Muslims, who are described by the author as *nereys, mlecchas, pigs* and so forth; to burn their houses called, "pigstys" *(shuarer khoanr)*; to convert mosques into "temples of Radha Madhav" and to despoil Muslim womanhood and children. The Muslims oppose but they are easily vanquished by the *Santans* with the battle-cry of *Bande Mataram* in their lips. What a magic cry indeed! The Muslims are depicted as no match for the Santans.

There are, of course, other scenes and discourses on *Sanatan Dharma.* There are love-scenes as well, round Shanti, wife of Jibananda. She is also an inmate of the "Temple of Pleasure." One of the Santans started teaching Shanti. Infatuated by the "budding beauty" of the disciple, Sannyasi Thakore one day "caught hold of Shanti's hands". Shanti got annoyed, and dealt a resounding slap which "made the Sannyasi Maharaj reel round unconscious. Shanti then left the Sannyasi camp."

"Coaching"

Bhowananda was a leading Santan. He renounced the world for *Santan Dharma.* The wife of one wealthy villager, named Mahendra, sought to commit suicide, to give Mahendra a chance to become a Santan, as commanded in dream. Bhowananda saved her and kept her in a neighbouring village where she used to be visited by Bhowananda off and on, for "coaching." But the "matchless beauty" of the pupil over-powered the Scond-in-Command of *Ananda-Math* who cried out in anguish: "Santan Dharma is my life, but thou art more than life. I am sold at thy feet since the day of thy rescue. I would not have accepted Santan Dharma if I had come across such beauty as yours. I have waited four years but no more...... Santan Dharma be damned, but marry me, Love."

The Second-in-Command also argued that she could lawfully marry him even during the life-time of Mahendra as "she had a second lease of life after the poisoning." But the G. O. C., Satyananda, demurred. So Bhowananda committed suicide with "with *Bande Mataram*" on his lips. A great tragedy indeed, for it was Bhowananda who routed even the British forces under Captain Thomas, not to speak of the "cowardly nereys." And these are the national heroes of *Ananda Math.* Well might India cry: Save me from my Santans!

Different Tale.

History, of course, tells a different tale. The Sannyasi maranders never gave open fight. They used to swoop down from their jungly resorts in the Himalayas, commit depredations on unarmed people and then

(Continued on next page)

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As anticipated, the Secondary Education Bill in Bengal stands scraped. This is the natural consequence of the things that have been brought about. It is a pity that labours for years, and the clamours for ages for placing secondary education in Bengal on sounder footing should thus be guillotined. Those responsible will have to render account for it sooner or later. The Bill was the most important measure on the legislative anvil. It is gone for the present. The future alone can say when and how this burning problem will be solved. Muslim Bengal demanded reforms of secondary education insistently. The vested interests, of course cried discordantly. The cry was natural. Vested interests die hard. But the reforms are long overdue and will have to come to-day or to-morrow.

* * *

Special Article.

ECHOES FROM BENGAL

By ORPHEUS

So the Muslim League has gone into Opposition in Bengal. That is not unwelcome. The opposition role gives you the better chance for preaching the League ideals, unfettered by the trammels of power. Power, of course, hath its advantage. But it has also its disadvantage. The same is with the opposition role too. This is no attempt at consolation. It is the expression of deepest convictions. Politics must have its ups and downs, its turns and twists, its trials and treacheries. A big organzation like the League cannot have smooth sailing right through. Rough seas give you greater chance for skill and courage. Calm waters tend to create self-complacence and inertia. Politics is excitement, and excitement brings in added zeal and earnestness necessary to inspire the rank and file.

* * *

One need not be oblivious of the dangers and difficulties that may come in the way from loss of power. Well, let these come. Trials and tribulations are not without their use. It is trials and struggles which provide the seasoning necessary to make a body politic really strong and effective. This is not mere idle assertion. Look at the Congress. It is struggles which have made it what it is.

The Muslim League stands for justice and fair-play to all The basic principles of the League are of truer stuff and not of superficial Congress brand. The "chord of Allah" or Muslim solidarity is a divine ideal embodied in the holy Quran—the Voice of Allah, Temporary setback cannot snap the divine chord. It will last and be stronger for the twists. No worry, no despair. Go on with God overhead and heart within. Remember the Leader's clarion call—*Faith, Unity, Discipline*. The clouds will disappear. "Despair not of the mercy of Allah," says the Quran. "Victory is nigh." March on, undaunted and undismayed. Never mind defections. It is only the cowards and the weak-minded who leave the fold and get allured by temptations. The caravan will, and must proceed. The deserters will get their deserts in due course. They will wander about in deserts for some time but cannot reach the goal. The goal of perfidy is perdition, not paradise.

THAT HYMN OF HATE

(Continued)

sought safety in flight at the approach of the police and the military. It took some time to suppress them, as the "native population" out of their inherent reverance for the nude or semi-nude religious mendicants from the Himalayas, would not disclose their whereabouts readily. But the country was rid of the pest.

The heart of the "most humble servant" of the British masters—the author of *Ananda Math* was a deputy magistrate who retired with the title of Rai Bahadur—must have sunk within him after having penned the scene of the Santans' victory over the British forces sent by that "morning-sun of the famous Britishers in India", the Governor-General Warren Hastings. So in the end, the author introduced a mysterious Physician—a *Maha-Purus*—apparently the author himself, to sing the means of paeans to the Britishers by way of expiration. The finis is very interesting and instructive indeed.

The Finis

Addressing Satyananda, the *Mahapurus* says: "Your task is done. The Muslim rule is finished. You have nothing else to do. No more of bloodshed for nothing."

"But what about revival of Hindu kingdom?" questions Satyananda.

"The Hindu rule will not be established now," replies the *Mahapurus*. Proceeding, he adds: "The British rule will now be established. You need not grieve...... It will be all to the good. There will be no occasion for revival of Sanatan Dharma so long as the British are masters of the land...... The English are wise and past-masters of human character. So the English should be made the rulers. Through English our countrymen will learn the inner philosophy of thing external. There will, then, be no let or hindrance to the propagation of Sanatan Dharama."

So there you are. This is *Ananda-Math* and the inner philosophy of *Bande Mataram*. The Swadeshi Santans took the cue from *Ananda-Math* and started political dacoities and murders, as the Santans of *Ananda-Math* did. The former failed but the latter succeeded, of course, in imagination of the author. The modern Santans, the so-called nationalists, are pursuing the plan for revival of Sanatan Dharma and Hindu Raj in India. There is no question of Sanatan Dharma being revived. It is there and has always been there. The Santan Movement was conceived only for revival of Hindu Raj. The "seer's" dream still holds the field. The plan is being pursued. The stunt of "non-violent satyagraha" or the subterfuge of Constituent Assembly is but the means to the same end. The insistence on *Bande-Mataram* being installed as the national anthem of India is in pursuit of the same plan and a tribute to the "Great Seer" who conceived it.

"Allaho Akbar"

But the bitter bill of *Bande Mataram* cannot, and will not, be swallowed by the ten crores of Muslims in India, both for its idolatrous conception and its background and implications. A common national anthem must be such as can inspire all without demur. *Bande Mataram* can only evoke bitterest feelings of resentment in Muslim mind. It is idle to think that one can feel inspired by a slogan of self-destruction. It is contrary to human psychology. Nor can the Muslims give up *Tauheed*—monotheism—the very foundation of Islam—merely for the sake of a slogan. This hymn of hate can never appeal to them. It must go, root and branch, so far at least as the Muslims are concerned.

The hope of *Bande Mataram* also perhaps lies in *Pakistan*. In that case, it may be the slogan of Hindu India, if they please. The Muslims have their slogan, santified by centuries and embodied in the Book of Allah. It is *Allaho Akbar*—God is Great. Nobody can deny that God is Great. Even non-Muslims can accept it, unless they consider God of the Muslims as untouchable *(nauzu billah.)* But if they won't, let them please themselves. The Muslims must hold to their own slogan--*ALLAHO AKBAR*.

Special Article

Consent Essential To Freedom—III

ANALOGY OF AUSTRALIA

By M. R. T.

THE Commonwealth of Australia was constituted under an Act passed by the British Parliament in 1900. The Act proclaimed that the people of New South Wales, Victoria South Australia, Queensland and Tasmania had agreed to be united in a Federal Commonwealth and made provision for the inclusion of Western Australia in the Commonwealth if its people so desired. A close study of the events culminating in the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia will clearly signify that the federal constitution was demanded by the people of all the independent colonies in their own common interests. The British Parliament simply recognised the desire to unite on the part of the colonial peoples, and gave it a material form through the Act of 1900. If there had been no agreement among the colonies desirous of union, the Commonwealth would not have been formed and might have been delayed indefinitely. The very fact that Western Australia refused to form the Commonwealth as it considered its union with other colonies detrimental to its economic interests shows that every State was free to choose its own future. What, however moved the colonial States to sacrifice their individual independence which they had enjoyed so long and to accept the role of junior partners in the Commonwealth will be explained hereafter.

Colonies

New South Wales was the earliest colony to have its own independent government. The name at first was given to the entire eastern part of Australia on its discovery by Captain Cook in 1788. In 1851 its southern part was separated from it and formed into a separate colony under the name Victoria. In 1859, the northern part of the colony was also separated to from the new colony of Queensland. All these three colonies were granted responsible government after 1855.

Southern Australia was at first a convict settlement, but was proclaimed into a province in 1836 and was granted responsible government in 1856. Western Australia rose from a convict settlement to an independent colony and was the last to be granted responsible government which it secured in 1890.

It is thus evident that all the States which now form the Commonwealth of Australia grew up as independent colonies, which had direct relations with the Imperial Government. There was no central organisation then to associate the colonies in affairs common to all. At the request of the Legislatures of the colonies, the British Parliament passed the Australia Constitutional Act in 1885 which provided for joint legislative action in some minor matters. The Act created a Council of two members from each colony which adopted the Act. The Council had power to legislate with regard to relations of the colonies with the Islands of the Pacific, prevention of the influx of criminals, fisheries in Australian waters beyond territorial limits, service and enforcement respectively of civil and criminal process out of the jurisdiction of the Issuing Court, the enforcement of judgments beyond the limits of the colony, where they had been passed, the extradition of offenders, and the custody of offenders on ships belonging to Colonial Governments beyond territorial limits and generally on any matters referred to it by Order of His Majesty in Council on the request of the Colonial Legislatures. This Council was to meet once in every two years. It had further power to deal with any specific legislation desired by two or more colonies in regard to their mutual relations or other matters of general interest, but such legislation was to extend only to the colonies by whose legislatures the matters had been so referred and such colonies as might afterwards adopt the same.

Desire For Union

It was the smooth working of the machinery set up under the Constitutional Act of 1885 that finally paved the way for the growth of federal movement among the people. The 15 years before the constitution of the Commonwealth were marked by an increasing desire for Union in the Legislatures of the Colonies. Early in 1889 negotiations had been opened between the various Australian Colonies for the establishment of an effective Federation. A conference of the seven principal Colonies met in Melbourne in 1890. At this conference it was unanimously agreed that the best interests of Australian colonies would be protected by their "early union under the Crown" and that the Legislatures of the various Australasian colonies should be invited to appoint to a National Australian Convention delegates empowered to report upon the scheme for a Federal constitution In accordance with these resolutions, delegates were appointed and the convention commenced its deleberations in Sydney in 1891. After an animated discussion lasting for five weeks a "Bill to constitute a Commonwealth of Australia" was drawn up and adopted. The convention recommended that this Bill should be submitted by the Parliaments of the colonies for the approval of the people of the several colonies.

Premiers Meet

The draft bill of the Convention, though it crystallized the idea of Federation, failed to command the serious attention of the Legislatures and was thrown into oblivion for the time. In the meantime the Federlists began a popular agitation to place the movement on a new footing. A meeting of the Premiers of all the Australasian colonies was held in 1895 and agreed to a scheme for framing a Federal Constitution to be submitted for the approval of their respective Parliaments. The meeting also provided for the election by each colony of 10 delegates to prepare a scheme of Federation which was adopted by the Parliaments of N. S. Wales, Victoria, S. Australia and Tasmania and in a modified form by Western Australia. Delegates were accordingly duly elected and assembled in a Convention at Adelaide in March 1897 for the purpose of drafting a constitution. Having prepared a Bill to consitute a Commonwealth of Australia, the convention was adjourned to reassemble in Sydney afterwards. The draft bill was in the meantime submitted to the colonial legislatures and various amendments were suggested by these bodies. The bill, together with these amendments, was further considered by the Delegates at the Sydney Session of the Convention, and a long discussion took place for settling questions of difference between the two Houses of the New Federal Legislature. Considerable progress was made with the rest of the measure, but the work of revision was not completed and the Convention adjourned until 1898, partly in the hope of seeing delegates from Queensland join in the final discussion. This hope was not realised, as the Queensland Legislature for the second time rejected the bill proposing a Federal constitution.

Referendum

The Convention met again at Melbourne in January 1898 and remained in session till March and a Bill was adopted which in accordance with the Federation Enabling Acts of the different Colonies was submitted to the popular vote for acceptance or rejection. In Victoria the polling was—for acceptance, 100,520; against 22,099. The bill was also accepted by vote of the people in South Australia and Tasmania. But in New South Wales the statutory minimum number of 80,000 affirmative votes required by the Enabling Act of that Colony was not obtained and the matter fell through for the time.

A further Conference of Premiers was held at Melbourne in January 1899 to consider the objections of New South Wales: and this time Queensland was represented. The Premiers met in a spirit of compromise and an agreement was arrived at which all the Premiers agreed to submit to their Parliaments for reference to the electors, it being understood that New South

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Consent Essential To Freedom—III

(Continued.)

Wales should lead the way. South Australia took a referendum vote upon the Bill on the occasion of the General Election without waiting for New South Wales. 65,990 votes were given for Federation and 17,053 against.

New South Wales again presented difficulties. The bill providing for reference to the people to the amended draft constitution was passed in the Lower House but in the Upper House amendments were made. One of these required that one third of the electors on the register should vote for the Bill in order to secure its acceptance. The Bill, as amended, was passed by the Upper House, but the Lower House rejected the amendments of the Upper House. The latter body refused to give way. A conference of the two House was held without result. Mr. Reid the Premier of New South Wales prorogued Parliament for some days and on his advice the Governor added 12 new members to the Upper House. The Bill was reintroduced in the Lower House and was passed. It was accepted by the Upper House with an unimportant amendment. It was then announced that the question would be submitted to the electors who accepted it by a majority of 25,000 votes.

Refusal to join

In July 1899, the amended Commonwealth Bill was accepted by overwhelming majorities in Victoria and Tasmania and in September by a majority of about 7,500 votes in Queensland. Western Australia was now the only colony which refused to join the Federation. The Premier of New South Wales entered into a long correspondence with the Premier of Western Australia on behalf of the five federating Colonies and refused to consider any amendment with a view to win over Western Australia. The draft constitution was brought before the Legislature by the Premier of Western Australia. It was referred to a Select Committee who reported that it should not be accepted without considerable amendment. The Legislative Council finally refused to allow a referendum to be taken.

In the autumn of 1899, the Queen received addresses from the five colonies which had accepted the constitution, praying for the enactment of the Commonwealth Bill. Mr. Chamberlain on behalf of the Imperial Government telegraphed to the Governor of New South Wales expressing the hope that delegates would be coming to advise and assist during the passage of the bill through Parliament. Delegates reached England in March. Western Australia also sent a delegate to represent her views though she had not yet agreed to join the Federarion. After some discussion between Her Majesty's Government and the delegates on the clauses of the Bill relating to the Appeals to the Privy Council the Bill was finally passed by the British Parliament. Provision was made for the inclusion of Western Australia as an original State, provided the Queen was satisfied that the people of the colony had agreed thereto prior to the issue of the Proclamation of the Act. The Commonwealth was established on 1st January 1901, but prior to this date Western Australia was included as an original State in accordance with the result of a referendum taken in the colony and with addresses passed by both houses of Legislature.

Lessons

The history of the events leading up to the establishment of the Commonwealth furnish us many lessons. The six states that made up the Commonwealth were first established as British settlements which in course of time grew up into independent. Colonies with full responsible Government. Each Colony had its own Legislature consisting of two houses with a Council of Ministers. The desire towards Federation was encouraged as a result of free discussion among the delegates of the different colonies. The Imperial Government had no hand whatsoever in promoting the movement for Federation. The entire initiative had been with the people and their representatives.

The Legislature and the general body of electors of every colony were free to decide whether they would accept Federal Constitution or not. The Act for the establishment of Commonwealth became only possible after each colony had given its free consent through the majority vote of its Legislature and the referendum vote of the people. Queensland, New South Wales, Western Australia, each in turn delayed to accept the federal constitution as they wanted amendments in their own interest. Mere consent of the freely elected delegates, Premiers of the different Colonies, the members of the Upper and Lower Houses was not considered a sufficient ground to accept federal constitution unless the same had been obtained by the process of referendum. Western Australia up to the last refused to enlist as a member of the Commonwealth and only agreed after the Act had been passed by the British Parliament at the joint request of the other five Colonies.

No Colony made an appeal to the British Government at any stage to interfere and to coerce an unwilling colony into accepting the Federal Constitution. Each colony exercised its own free will, as expressed through its Premier, its delegates, Legislature and electors in general, to decide the quession of federation. The draft bill of the Federal Constitution was thoroughly discussed, revised and reconsidered before being finally agreed upon and there was such a unanimity on it on the part of the federating colonies when it was sent on to the British Parliament for enactment that it needed no amendment except in regard to the right of appeal to the Privy Council.

Truly it can be said that the federal constitution was framed by the people of Australia with their own free consent and the Commonwealth Act of 1900 was the consession to popular will proving thereby that Consent is an essential pre-requisite to the grant of freedom to a country. If the different colonies of Australia had not united on the issue of Federation and had chosen to pursue their own ways the Commonwealth would have never been established.

India's Case

This essential point is often conveniently forgotten in India by the Hindus who wrongly and selfishly urge that India's integrity and indivisibility should be preserved per force by the British Government and the Muslim majority Provinces should be denied their rights to pronounce freely on the question of federation. If in case of a homogeneous people, allied by race, religion, language and tradition, Federation could not be enforced without the free consent of the federating colonies, how can 100 millions of Muslims in India, who have fundamental political difference with the Hindus, be compelled to accept a federal constitution without being consulated as to whether it really suits their interests?

The colonies of Australia had accepted the federal constitution as they had been urged by special circumstances. Firstly, the various colonies by themselves could not grow into strong States, as their population was very small. Even now Australia as a whole does not have more than 7 millions of people. Hence, to allow six states to function where one could represent all was sheer absurdity. The new danger in the Pacific Ocean through the rising power of Japan which was seeking expansion southwards was early seen by the people of Australia, and to counteract it effectively, the only alternative for people of the six colonies of Australia was to unite under a Federation. There were vast areas in parts of Australia which were undeveloped and possessed untapped resources of wealth while some colonies were more fortunate than others in having more mineral wealth, forest areas or cultivable lands. Hence, to equalise opportunities of all and to share in the exploitation of the immense resources of Australia, the people of the

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The Dawn

DELHI

Sunday, December 28, 1941

THE NEXT MOVE

Commenting on a recent statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. H. G. Wells in an outspoken letter to the "News Chronicle", London, says: "There are indeed more people, languages and extremes of social culture in India than in all Europe and if the string of the bundle, the old British raj, is cut, the bundle will immediately fall to pieces..... India, that administrative phantom which is already fading out of existence....., has no intrinsic unity and no natural cultural frontier......The only unity I have ever discovered in India is the ever-growing and spreading impatience with the suffocation of the British raj". We wish his compatriots had realised as much, if not more – particularly those busybodies of the "Union of Democratic Control" who published the other day, with the support of the misguided British press, a statement suggesting that the Viceroy should discuss the "Indian problem" with Pandit Nehru and M. Abulkalam Azad. As if these two worthies, belonging as they do to that "small minority of political amateurs," the Congress, alone could deliver the goods on behalf of the various peoples of the Indian sub-continent. Those busybodies seem not to realise that "there are more people and extremes of social culture in India than in all Europe" and that above all and among others there exist in this sub-continent that virile people, numbering no less than 100 million, who are the immediate predecessors of the present rulers of the "administrative phantom," called India. And that it is their representative organisation, the All-India Muslim League, and their accredited leader, Qa'id-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who can deliver the goods on behalf of Muslim India, and not the Congress which represents nobody if not the Hindus. And that the Indian sub-continent—"that administrative phantom"—is not the property of the Hindus. It contains homelands of the Musalmans and the Dravidians among others, the Hindus included.

'The Times' alone, of all the British newspapers, seems now to appreciate the situation when it observes that "the next move rests with the Congress and the League". But prior to that "next move" one important move still rests with the British Government. And that is that it should boldly declare the truth—that it recognises the existence in India of more than one people who shall have an opportunity of self-determination in the event of Britain parting with power in India and that in any interim arrangement the two great peoples, the Muslims and the Hindus, will have equal share in the governance of India Without that unequivocal declaration by the British Government, the Congress, which has been encouraged by them to believe that it shall be the sole inheritor of British power in India, is naturally not going to come to terms with the Muslim League. "The next move", therefore, is not likely to materialise unless that declaration is forthcoming from Britain.

NOTES

A Day-Dream

The Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri in a speech at the Lankshmiparam Youngmen's Association has blamed the British Government for not having expressed their disapproval of Pakistan. He said that the only way of dealing with the situation was for the Hindus to concede to Muslims the maximum that was consistent with their (Hindus) national interests.

Pakistan has become a nightmare to the Hindus. They have created a lot of misunderstanding in the country and every Hindu leader is pledged to oppose it, although there is absolutely nothing offensive in the scheme. It contemplates no encroachment upon the liberty of others. It wants only one-third of the whole continent of India as a national home for Muslims, leaving the rest to Hindus and other nationalities—thus providing free scope and equal opportunities for all the peoples to develop according to their own lights. But the Hindus on account of their numerical superiority consider only themselves exclusively entitled to rule over the whole of India and talk of the Muslims and other peoples' rights in a patronizing way, as if it is by sheer grace that the latter can enjoy any rights at all. This short-sighted policy and unrealistic view of things is the root of all trouble and the main obstacle in the progress of India's freedom.

Hindus and Muslims are scattered in varying proportion all over India. In some parts the Muslims are in a minority, while in others the Hindus are in that position. There is therefore, no sense in taking collectively the entire population of India and branding the Muslims as the minority.

Mr. Sastri has not indicated what exactly are the national interests of the Hindus and what is the Muslim maximum therein. If it is the same old idea of a Central Government for the whole of India, where the Muslims are doomed to sit in the legislature as a permanent minority, the entire power in the Government being wielded by the Hindus, thus bringing even the Muslim majority provinces under the domination and control of the Hindus, then it is a day-dream which would never be realized. Mr. Sastri is mistaken if he considers that the Indian problem would be solved by a mere declaration by the British Government, assuring equal status for India with other Dominions at the end of the war. As a matter of fact no such declaration can solve this great proposition unless it also fully satisfies the Muslim demands.

The Indian Situation

An unusual interest has been stirred up in the British people with regard to the seriousness of the Indian question, as India

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is now directly threatened from the East due to Japanese successes in the Pacific against the Allies. There is a general disapproval of the present Government policy, coupled with the demand for some radical change so that all Indian political parties may jointly co-operate with the Government in their war efforts. Recently an Indian Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party has been set up to sound public opinion in Great Britain, and a number of Conservative members of Parliament are also considering to approach the Premier to ask him to make a personal statement on the Indian situation. So far as the Muslims are concerned they do not, and they did not, shirk responsibility. On the contrary they made repeated offers of co-operation which were rejected by the Government because, while the latter were seemingly anxious for all possible help they did not want to part with power. As summed up by Mr. Jinnah in a recent statement the correct position is that "neither the Viceroy nor His Majesty's Government desire our whole-hearted co-operation but they merely demand obedience and slavish assistance without any real voice or share in the authority of the Government of India or in the defence of India". In the circumstances the only alternative for the Muslims was to have abstained from the expansion scheme and other measures pursued by the Government.

To Our Readers

We expect to give to the readers of the Dawn the satisfaction of reading a fuller report of the proceedings of the momentous meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League and of the All-India Muslim Students Conference, recently held at Nagpur, in our next issue.

Next Step with Congress

The *Yorkshire Post* in a leader, headed "India's Need of Unity," says:

"In the circumstances like these we might expect to find all responsible political leaders in India setting constitutional problems aside for the time being and devoting the whole of their energies to the creation of a united front against the aggressor. Is the Congress Party capable of this essential act of statesmanship? There has been welcome signs in recent weeks that influential Congressmen are in favour of resuming office in the provinces, but the danger exists that the Working Committee will still seek to insist upon the formation of an All-Indian Executive at the Centre responsible to the elected members of the Central Legislature.

"Such a step would, in effect, make the Executive responsible to the Congress, and the Muslim League would plainly have none of it. Nor does it seem possible at the present stage to adopt the alternative suggestion that the Viceroy's Executive should be composed of party leaders; for the parties are unable to agree upon the distribution of seats on the Executive."

"Is it entirely unthinkable that the next initiative should come from the Congress?"

The Dawn wishes its readers
a happy and prosperous
I'd
A Merry Christmas
and a Happy New Year

Viceroy Should See Leaders

"This is an important week in India," says the *Manchester Guardian* in an editorial on Wednesday. "Not only is there an opportunity for a fresh attempt by all sides, Indian and British, to unite India, but there is an obligation on them all to make it.

"Why should not the Viceroy—for if there is to be peace, the Viceroy must act—see the chief Indian leaders, especially Mr. Jinnah, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, appeal to them to set history and party cries aside and to come forward as men determined to find India's road to liberty, at the same time telling them that their agreement on this road will mean that India's liberty is already fully won?"

"Administrative Phantom" That Is India

NO INTRINSIC UNITY, SAYS MR. WELLS

More People And Languages Than In Europe

The noted author, Mr. H. G. Wells, pleads for a reconsideration of the attitude of Indian Congress leaders, while condemning the British official policy in India in an out-spoken letter which the Liberal organ, the *News-Chronicle*, publishes today in a double-column display on the editorial page. Under the caption, "H. G. Wells writes to the editor of the *News-Chronicle* on what reasonable men want for India."

Mr. Wells says: "So far as I can see there is very little in his (Pandit Nehru's statement with which any intelligent liberal Englishman in touch with modern realities can disagree. Indians are fighting as well as any troops against the Axis; like the Russians and Chinese, they are winning the war in spite of our War Office, our India Office and our Foreign Office and the British Official who thinks that they are fighting out of abject admiration for Anglo-India *pukka* sahib and with no other end in view but to restore the world to a British oligarchy, is preparing for considerable disillusionment.

"And here is Pandit Nehru saying that as plainly as he can. He writes to liberal Englishmen and asks us, not as a subject to his master, but as one man to another to take this antiquated incubus off the backs of the Indian people.

Not One People

"We agree. It has to be done and has to be done with good grace. Only they are not one people. The only unity I have ever discovered in India is the evergrowing and spreading impatience with the suffocation of the British Raj. Pandit Nehru admits this but as yet only half-heartedly. 'We in India have great differences among us,' he says. I am glad of that admission.

"There are indeed more people, languages and extremes of social culture in India than in all Europe and if the string of the bundle, the old British Raj, is cut, the bundle will immediately fall to pieces. Pandit Nehru, I suspect, is realizing that.

"And also in his letter he breaks bounds in another way. The Indians, he admits, have cultural contacts with China, Burma, Iraq and Persia far closer than with Europe. I insist that he has to face up more definitely then he has done to the implications of that statement.

"India has no intrinsic unity and no natural cultural frontier.

"Rights of Man"

"Now a couple of years ago Pandit Nehru was confronted with a documents called the Sankey Declaration of the Rights of Man. That document insisted upon the complete equality of all human beings in the face of our common inheritance, the earth, and he was asked

(Continued on page 12)

LETTERS

Dacca Convocation Speech

Sir—Sir Radhakrishnan's recent convocation address at the Dacca University is painful reading when one considers how best to bring about better relations between the two great nations of India. Maulvi Fazlul Huq's recent utterances that India while producing scientists, poets and philosophers, have not produced men to solve communal differences, seem to be true. It is rather strange that a person like Sir Radhakrishnan should present before the young graduates a picture of Islam in India which is opposed to the evidence of History and fact and that His Excellency the Chancellor of the University should not refuse to be a party thereto.

It is not my purpose here to describe in detail how Sir Radha seeks to injure the cause of Islam in India which seems to be the dominant tone of his convocation address. He traverses the vast regions of History, religion culture and language and concludes that Hindus and Muslims have achieved a culture which is neither Hindu nor Muslim but Indian. To the student of History, however, it will appear that Islam is a distinct force in the land with a Universe of its own in culture, traditions, polity and outlook. The fundamental policy of no-merger by the Musalmans in the countries they conquered in the early days of Islam has not been materially departed from in their dealing and connections with Indians. The Musalmans, though as much Indians as others have hitherto maintainted the integrity of their race, culture and traditions and are quite satisfied with what they possess—that greatest gift of God to man viz. Islam, which has alone saved them from merger in India. For the information of our young graduate friends I may state how the Musalmans have been able to maintain their integrity. Firstly the Musalmans though Indians, have adhered to a religion of non-Indian origin. Secondly, they have not, though Indians, adopted vegetarianism in the matter of dietary principles, but they have stick to meat-eating. Thirdly, in their costume they have evolved their own national dress in the *Achkan*, the cap, etc. Fourthly, in the sphere of language, they have evolved a language written in Arabic script—the materials thereto being supplied by the local dialects, Sanskrit, Hindi etc.—and which language, the Urdu language, became the language of the Hindu and of the Musalman all over India. There may be lapses here and there, e. g. in Bengal, the weakest point of Islam in India, which is taken advantage of by Sir Radha in his address. But a little trouble if taken by Sir Radha, would bring him home that the language of Dacca Muslim was not Bengali, as asserted by him, but Urdu? Fifthly, the Musalmans have adopted Arabic names.

In the domain of Religion I may submit that there is evidence to show that Soofism originated not in India but in Arabia and that the world Sofism has been derived from the word *Ashab-i-suffa*, a body of companions of the holy prophet, though the philosophy of some of the Soofis may coincide in some respects with the philosoply of Hindu Sadhuism of India. The Sadhu believes in renunciation of the world which the Soofi abhors.

Sir Radha speaks of Territorial Nationalism as the present policy of Muslim territories and refers to Chinese Muslims fighting the Japanese Muslims. Sir Radha need have no apprehension in the matter, in as much as there shall be nothing to prevent Pakistan from fighting Afghanistan, if necessary. Hinduism and Budhism are claimed to be famous for their religious fellowship. The fate of Buddhism in its land of birth is a matter of history. The fundamental characteristic of Aryan culture is exclusivism and hate; that of semiticism being sagacity and assimilation. Sir Radha's theory of a United India is by this time exploded and deserves no credit. Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar; Scratch a—and you will find a Muslim hater and a communalist.

Yours etc.,
Calcutta. Muzheray Towheed.

Women's Corner

Sir—I hasten to express to you our grateful appreciation of the very encouraging remarks as foot-note to my letter, entitled "Call to Womanhood" published in "The Dawn" of December 14, stating that the "days of relegating them (women) to a mere corner are long past." Nobody will feel happier than myself when the Muslim womanhood can justly claim not a mere corner but a frontal position in the body politic of India, not as a mere matter of sentiments but by dint of solid achievements. But can they do it now? I am afraid, they cannot. The rights and privileges of Muslim women have been codified in that divine *magna carta* of Islam, the Holy Quran. The rights of womanhood are there. But have we availed ourselves of the same? The answer can only be an emphatic *No*. The acquisition of knowledge is the bounden duty of every Muslim male or female. There is no gainsaying the fact that we, women, are terribly backward in education and culture.

It is very often said that men are responsible for this deplorable position of women. There is some truth in it but this is not the whole truth. The women, themselves, must be held mostly responsible for remaining in the dark, as they are. It is no use trying to lay the blame at others' door. We women, must search our own hearts. The truth is that we have not demanded our rights nor have we tried to deserve the same. Mere desire without deserving cannot place you in your rightful position. Education is essentially necessary to make you fit for the hard struggles of life. The present system of education may be defective but let us have it and try to get better education in due course. It is no use crying for the moon.

Politics holds the field, and without effective voice in the political field nothing substantial can be achieved in this transitory period. Let us realize it and act accordingly. Our cause is just and we must have our dues. There is sympathy all round. The old order is changing, yielding place to new. The Muslim League stands for justice to every section of India's teeming millions. Let us join it and add strength to the elbows of those at the helm.

Yours etc.,
Calcutta. S. Begum.

Betrayal

Sir—Bengal has of late, been in the lime-light of news. A tragic drama of Muslim Bengal is being enacted here. With the introduction of the 'Communal Award' Muslims have had an apportunity to have their say in the administration of the country. The 'reactionary forces' of the Congress and other interested organizations had been active to rob the Muslims of their due since the inauguration of parliamentary activities in Bengal. Now that the captain betrayed the team, the scattered and unorganized forces outside it have been united overnight to present an 'assumed front' to override Muslim rights at any cost. So, a most reactionary ministry has emerged in Bengal.

We reiterate our unflinching faith in the ideals of Muslim League and express our firm confidence in the Leadetship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah. We do believe that however strong and organized the heinous attempt to establish Ram-Raj, in Bengal might be. Muslim Bengal will wage a relentless crusade to defeat the retrograde move of the traitors.

Yours etc.,
Dacca. A. Rashid.

PRESS

A Wise Step

Commenting on the speech of Mr. Amery the *Manshoor* says:— His Excelleney the Viceroy in the declaration of August 8, and the Secretary of State in his speech, have both stated that one of the objectives of the expanded Council was that even during the war the representatives of the various parties would be afforded the opportunity to discuss and come to an agreement with regard to the future constitution and the procedure etc. In this way the expanded Council was to affect the future of India in as much as the preliminaries of the future constitution were to be decided there. It was sheer injustice to have asked the Muslims to accept seats on the expanded Council on the basis of their representation in the present legislature which is established according to the old law of twenty years ago. It shows that the Government thus wanted to prejudge the principles of the constitution of the proposed Committee which was to be established after the war to frame the constitution. Indeed the Muslim League leader took a wise step in refusing to participate in the expanded Council.
Manshoor, Delhi.

Defence of India

Commenting on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech the *Sarosh* says:— Every Indian to whatever political party he may belong, considers it his duty to defend his country. But the Indian leaders would not accept the responsibilities of defence unless they are given full power and authority. The two departments of Defence and Finance should be in their hands and they should have power to employ all the resources of the country.—*Sarosh*, Bombay.

Call A Spade, A Spade

Commenting on the Congress attempts to weaken the hold of the Muslim League in the Muslim majority provinces the *Asre-Jadid* says:—In case the Congress is really serious for the freedom of India it should frankly admit that Hindus and Muslims are two separate nations. According to the League and the Muslims the Congress is admittedly a Hindu organization. Now as soon as the Congress admits that the League is the only organisation representative of Muslims and the Congress is prepared to speak on behalf of the Hindus alone the main obstacle in the way of Hindu-Muslim settlement will have been removed. After this declaration of policy the Congress Muslims would try to capture the League—*Asre-Jadid*, Calcutta.

Equal Partnership

We are often reminded of the war in the Far East, which has exposed India to the gravest peril—a grim truth of which there is none in this country who is not deeply sensible. If it is the intention of the Government to bring the people of India to support the war-effort by putting this fear complex into their minds, they are very much mistaken. They can only enlist their whole-hearted support and co-operation on a basis of equal partnership with the other Dominions as has often been said by Mr. Jinnah, with freedom for Indians at home on a basis of parity until after the war when a full settlement can be sought and wrought.—*Star of India*.

The Manchester Speech

Sir—The *Advance* of Calcutta, dated November 21 last, charactetises Mr. Amery's speech as violent and stupid. This shows taste: taste shows morality: and morality shows the man, as says Ruskin. The speech, I think, is a powerful analysis of the intricate problems of an Indian constitution. Those who have an idea of good administration will readily agree that India or no India, a transition from a paternal or a beaurocratic form of Govt. to a representative form of Govt. is always perilous. Hence the need for agreement which the British Government insists upon.

It is unfortunate, however, that Mr. Amery labours under a serious misapprehension when he warns us against what has of late become a fashion to suggest —vetoing of all constitutional advance. Pray let him revise his statement. The question of vetoing may arise only when it is proved that the party concerned wilfully and obstinately refused to support a particular scheme although there were good reasons to support it.

Mr. Amery's arguments disapproving of Congress claim for majority rule are invincible. The same cause remaining, the same result is a foregone conclusion, as proceeding from the principle of self-preservation which is admittedly the first law of nature. Mr. Amery says that some sort of unity must be invented if there had been no unity in India in the past. It is a thing worth seeing how historic animosities and cultural antagonisms could be overcome without merger. If I am not wrong the late Sir Syed Ahmad had said that if British control were to cease India would be torn into pieces. This is what the Muslim League says to day.

Mr. Amery is legitimately proud of England's gifts to India. But one may respectfully ask Mr. Amery whether he is equally proud of the present condition of the Indian Musalman, the immediate predecessor of England, after 150 years of British rule in India? Common sense suggests that Islam and Christianity are destined to play the greater part in a world reconstruction scheme and that it is to the interest of Britain that she had better revised her policy towards her Muslim subjects and rectify the blunders she has committed these 150 years, not to speak of the treatment accorded to Muslim India in the expanded council, etc.

Mr. Gandhi's mysterious utterances reported lately, finding no difference between German rule and British rule in India, followed by Mr. Subhas Bose's reported arrival in Berlin —are those not sufficient to enable the Government to distinguish which is which?

Yours etc.,
Calcutta. Muzheray Towheed.

Good Riddance

Sir—I felt at once grieved and relieved to learn of Mr. A. K. Fazl-ul-Huq's expulsion from the Muslim League—grieved that the League should have been betrayed by one of its reputed pillars; relieved, because, the League is rid of a man who has been very adroitly using it as a stalking horse. Mr. Huq's defection is regarded by some people as a great setback to the League. I do not share this view. The League can never grow strong and united as long as there are a number of self-seekers and adventurers under its wing. It is time the President of the All-India Muslim League took steps to purge the League of such elements. They have been given a long rope, but by the time they hang themselves they will have done untold mischief. Muslim India has full confidence in Mr. Jinnah. But he will do well to part company with such people. The Huq episode has some very poignant lessons which should not be lost on the league. People who take their cue from Simla and Whitehall, who do not mind intriguing with Wardah, who, in fact, profess a host of conflicting loyalties, should have no place in the League.

Yours etc.
Lahore. M. M. Q.

"Artificial Division" of East & West

Discussion on Cultural Contacts

Taking advantage of the presence in Aligarh of a large number of distinguished delegates to the Indian Philosophical Congress, the Muslim University Union arranged an interesting discussion recently on the subject "Cultural Contacts Between the East and the West" Prof. A.B.A. Haleem, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, presided over the meeting.

Mr. Nusrat Hasan, Vice-President of the Union, having welcomed the guests, Principal G. C. Chatterjee of the Lahore Training College opened the discussion with a bright and witty speech. According to him there were three stages of the cultural contact between the East and the West which he termed as 'take all', 'take nothing' and 'take something. During the first stage the people of the East were so overawed with the superiority of the west that they borrowed everything slavishly. Then there was a swing of the pendulum and they developed a sort of prejudice against eyerything coming from the west. The present stage was the stage of 'take something' when there was a realisation that we should not disdain to adopt what is good in western culture and should reject what is bad.

Prof. A. R. Wadia urged that there was a good deal to learn from the west. An attitude of self-sufficiency and false pride was highly detrimental to the cultural progress of a people. The Muslims degenerated only when they forgot the injunction of the Prophet to go as far as China in pursuit of knowledge.

Khalifa Abdul Hikim of Osmania University began with reminisceneces of his college days when he participated in the proceedings of the Union as a first year student. He totally denied the existence of the East and the West either geographically or culturally. 'Where would you place the great Islamic Culture, in the East and the West? 'he asked'. This artificial division into the East and the West was a mere propaganda stunt designed to impress the superiority of the white people. If we indulged in vilification of the West in a spirit of revenge the vicious circle would go on. Let us, therefore, forget this division altogether.

Among others who participated in the discussion were Mr. V. K. Joog, Mr. G. R. Malkani and Mr. S. S. Sastri. Dr. Hadi Hasan of the Aligarh University also delivered a bright speech in the course of which he referred to the fusion of cultures in Spain and its impact on Europe.

Dr. M. M. Ahmad thanked the distinguished guests on behalf of the Union. The President, Prof. Haleem added a few words of thanks and remarked that although Aligarh laid special stress on Islamic learning the ancient heritage of pre-Muslim India was given due importance in its curriculum and it stood not only for an All-India outlook but for a cosmopolitan outlook in keeping with the Islamic principle of human brotherhood.

Support for Sir C. Ibrahim

Bombay National Guards Resolutions

The following resolution was passed at a meeting of the Bombay Mûslim National Guards, held on December 15 last, under the presidentship of Lt. Ashrafi:

This extraordinary meeting of the Muslim National Guards of Bombay (A. B. C, D. E. Wards and Ismail College branch) reiterates its fullest confidence in Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Bart., Salar of Muslim National Guards of Bombay, and assures him of wholehearted support and co-operation through thick and thin, and further this meeting puts on record its highest sense of appreciation of his meritorious services, rendered for the common cause of Muslim League and Musalmans in general and Muslim National Guards Organisation in particular.

Further this meeting of the Muslim National Guards of Bombay expresses its deepest sense of grief at the shocking news of the resignation of our Salar-e-Suba from the chairmanship of the Organising Committee and from the office of, Salar of the Muslim National Guards of Bombay on account of asperisions cast on Salar-e-Suba by certain members of the Working Committee of Bombay Provincial Muslim League.

The Muslim National Guards of Bombay, in a body, as a mark of protest and indignation against the behaviour of those members of the Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial League hereby unanimously and with our own free individual will tender our resignation from the rank and file of Muslim National Guards, Bombay.

Further we assure our most beloved Quid-e-Azam, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Bart., Salar-e-Suba, with all the emphasis at our command that we, Muslim National Guards of Bombay, in spite of our resignation, are ever ready to shed our last drop of blood at their command.

Muslim Solidarity

Sir—In the present crisis I would humbly suggest to the Muslim Students of Bengal to draw up without delay a constructive programme in consonance with the Muslim League principles and ideals—to be put into practice by them when they go home during this Christmas holidays, with a view to persuade Mr. Fazlul Huq and his Muslim M.L.A. followers to rejoin the Muslim League for the larger interests of the Muslim nation in India. This shall rouse greater consciousness among the Musalmans of Bengal of their legitimate and real interests and would serve as a moral pressure upon Mr. Fazlul Huq and his followers. We want unity and solidarity among the Musalmans not only of Bengal but of the whole of India for our greater political interests which can be secured by united action and not by disruption.

Yours etc.,

Dacca. M. Azeez-Messor Khan, (Student of Dacca University).

Menace To Muslim Culture

Basic Education Scheme Rejected

Bombay League Urges Release of Allama

A meeting of the Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League was held on December 10 last, when the following resolutions were passed:—

(1) The Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League wish to draw the attention of the Government that the prolonged and indefinite incarceration and detention without trial of Allama Mashriqi and the detention of other Khaksars is causing grave concern not only to the members of the Khaksar Organisation but to the Musalmans generally. In view of the changed situation the Committee urges the Govt. of India to reconsider their policy and release Allama Mashriqi and other Khaksar detenues without delay.

Indians in Ceylon

(2) The Committee has considered the Joint report of the delegations from India and Ceylon and is definitely of opinion that the proposals contained therein are prejudicial to the rights and interests of Indians in Ceylon and require fundamental and substantial modifications before they can be acceptable to the people of India. The said proposals nullify the effect of the undertakings given by the Government of Ceylon on the strength of which, the Government of India permitted immigration of Indians to Ceylon accordingly and Indians immigrated to Ceylon.

The delegations have overlooked the important fact that nothing resembling the manifold advantages, which have accrued to the Island of Ceylon from the production first of coffee and later of the tea and rubber, could possibly have been gained if Indian labour would not have been available to help Ceylon.

This meeting condemns the action of the Government of Ceylon in dismissing Indian workers from its service in 1939 as a serious violation of the laws of natural justice and of established conventions.

This Committee is emphatically of opinion that all Indians permanently settled in Ceylon should be entitled to full rights of citizenship such as franchise, holding of property, carrying on of trade, etc.

This Committee is of opinion that the conditions suggested for the acquirement of domicile are extremely stringent and very difficult of fulfilment by the Indian population in Ceylon.

Basic Education

(3) The Committee has carefully considered the scheme of Basic Education, prepared by the Congress Government when it was in charge of the Province of Bombay, and disapproves of the scheme, the curriculum and the Text Books, which have been prepared and sanctioned, on the following among other grounds:—

(a) Ostensibly the scheme emphasies the question of bread as the main object underlying the scheme by providing manual labour during the major part of the day but the real object underlying the scheme is to detach and dissociate the Musalmans from their own culture.

(b) The scheme is calculated to destroy Muslim culture gradually but surely and to secure the domination of Hindu culture.

(c) It is a part of the general scheme for the establishment of Hindu hegemony all over India in utter disregard to the just and natural aspirations of the Muslim nation in India.

(d) It imposes the Congress ideology and aims at inculcating, among others, the doctrines of *Ahimsa.*

(e) Its objective is to infuse the political creed, policy and programme of one party, viz., the Congress, into the minds of the children.

(f) Islam is not merely a religion but is a code of life. The Musalmans cannot, therefore, ever reconcile themselves to any system of education, such as this, inconsistent with Islam or its principles.

(g) It has neglected the question of providing facilities for religious education.

(h) Under the guise of Hindustani, which language is non-existent, the scheme is meant to spread what is highly Sanskritised Hindi and to suppress Urdu which is really the *lingua franca* of India at present.

(i) The Text Books prescribed and sanctioned by the Govt. of Bombay are highly objectionable from the Muslim point of view, in that they are not only offensive to the feelings and sentiments of the Musalmans, but they are mainly devoted to the praises of Hindu religion philosophy and heroes and minimise the Islamic contribution to the world, and India in particular, ignore Muslim culture, history and heroes and speak of them with scant courtesy.

Under the circumstances, the Committee is definitely against the opening of any Urdu Centre of Basic Education at any place in the Province of Bombay, as it is against the very basis of the scheme of Basic Education and considers it fundamentally wrong and injurious to the interest of the Musalmans.

(4) The Committee considered the Syllabus received from Government in response to our application for the Primary, Secondary and High School and it is of the opinion that the same are objectionable from many points of view and that the same are calculated to destroy Muslim culture gradually but surely and to secure the domination of Hindu culture. The Committee is further of the opinion that after a complete and detailed report is prepared on all the three syllabus by the Educational and Social Uplift Sub-Committee, it is imperative that a suitable representation in person be made to Government authorities concerned in connection with the syllabus.

Property Tax

(5) The Bombay Provincial Muslim League has throughout condemned the imposition of the Property Tax on various grounds and specially on the ground that it imposes a greater burden on the Musalmans, who as a rule invest their monies in immovable properties and the Muslim charities who invest their monies exclusively in immovable properties on account of the Islamic injunction against usury. This tax hits the Musalmans disproportionately and it is unjust and inequitable in its effects on various communities and various classes of property holders.

The Property Tax at the time of its imposition was ear-marked for the so-called prohibition policy of the Congress Government when in power and that policy has been substantially given up by the present Government, without prejudice to the contentions of the Musalmans against the very imposition of this tax, this Committee is firmly of opinion that this tax should be abolished altogether as the immediate purpose for which it was ear-marked has been substantially given up.

In spite of the large surplus in the current year's budget, the Government maintains this tax at a slightly reduced rate to meet unforeseen contingencies which may arise as a result of the War. But as the tax itself is inequitable, this Committee strongly urges upon the Government of Bombay to abolish the same with effect from April 1, 1942 and if any amount is required to be raised to meet extra expenditure occuring by the War, the same should be spread more equitably over all sections of the population and should not unduly burden any particular section or community, as this tax does.

Singapore To Be Defended

Churchill-Roosevelt Conference

In the course of a Press conference in the White House, Mr. Churchill said that Singapore would be defended till such time as the Allied Powers were in a position to take the offensive. With regard to German losses in Russia, he was of opinion that they would not affect Nazi striking power at the moment.

President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill conferred till late at night on Tuesday. Unification of Allied strategy was the subject of their discussions.

State Of Emergency In Bengal

The Government have declared the province of Bengal to be in a state of emergency.

The Government notification states:

"During the past months the Government of Bengal have issued orders and instructions to come into effect on a state of emergency being declared in the province. It being desirable that these orders and instructions should now be carried out, a state of emergency in the province of Bengal is hereby declared".

RUSSIAN WAR TO END IN 1942

Ribbentrop On Axis Plan

The ending of the war in Russia would be one of the main tasks of the German army next year, said Ribbentrop in an interview granted to the Berlin correspondent of a Spanish news agency quoted by the German news agency. Ribbentrop said that Hitler would personally conduct the campaign and added that the Anglo-Saxon Powers were now faced with the combined Powers of the Tripartite Pact in all the war theatres acting in the closest political, military and economic collaboration.—Reuter.

Japanese Thrust Towards Manila

Hong Kong Situation Critical

The Japanese, further reinforced by fresh landings in the Philippines, are reported to be striking towards Manila from two directions. U. S. tank columns are advancing from the capital to meet the invading forces.

The Japanese have probably captured the Wake Island, according to the U.S. navy department. The Japanese lost two destroyers during the operations.

It is officially announced that Japanese warships off the coast of Sarawak are being attacked by sea and air. Three large troop transports and one tanker were sunk by the Allied forces.

The situation in Hong Kong is described as critical. There has been intensive bombardment of British troops and positions.

In Malaya, there has been no change in the situation.

"Administrative Phantom" That is India

(Continued)

whether he would line up with a world-wide effort to make that declaration the universal common law.

"He refused. Why? Because, said he, 'India,' that administrative phantom which is already fading out of existence, 'must first have complete independence.' He refused to be my equal until then.

What he demanded in effect was that the administration of all India should be handed over to a small minority of political amateurs representing, at the most extravagant, not one in four hundred Indians and then, then we should see what we should see.

"Elaborate Pretence"

"Complete independence means cutting the string and I am all for cutting that string but I cannot see why Pandit Nehru does not let his natural intelligence reign and, instead of going on with this elaborate pretence that there is this wonderful special Indian people, realize that if we are to take a broad view only of 'peoples' then the only sane thing is to combine with those who are attempting by their advocacy of a common world law, a world federal control of armaments and transport and world federal conservation of natural resources, to arrest the present rapid drift to chaos in human affairs.

"Will he (Pandit Nehru) remember that I am not a member of the British governing class, that my control of the British Government through the polls is insignificant and that now at last we have equal freedom of discussion? Why must it be 'people' of India and not 'people' of the world?" —Reuter.

Consent Essential to Freedom—III

(Continued)

different colonies were eager to unite and to work hand in hand in the development of new mines industries and plantations. Lastly, the people of Australia are all of British stock and have no racial, religious or linguistic conflicts to mar their relations. Hence, the idea of a common nationality strengthened their desire towards Federation. The homogeneity in race of the population encouraged the feeling that the maintenance of artificial frontiers with distinct customs was irrational.

True Federation

Australia is the only British Self-governing Dominion which has a true federal constitution. The Union of South Africa is a Federation in name. Its four Provinces which make up the Union are mere administrative areas which lie at the mercy of the Union Parliament. Canada too in one respect is not a true federation. Its provinces do not retain the original authority. The residuary powers are granted to the Centre, while the powers of the Provinces are limited and strictly defined. The laws of the provinces are subject to revision or total rejection by the Dominion.

In Australia, the powers of the States are undefined and their laws may be disallowed only by the Imperial Parliament and are in no wise under the Commonwealth control. The framers of the Commonwealth constitution were anxious, as fully as possible, to preserve State rights and were influenced by the American model in the allocation of power between the Centre and Provinces. As is truly said, "The Commonwealth constitution is based not on the desire as far as possible to unify, but rather on the granting to the States the retention of the maximum of authority compatible with the creation of a unity in any sense."

(Concluded)

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Pakistan the Promised Land

Qa'id-e-Azam Explains Political Situation

HINT FOR SOLUTION OF HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM

The view that if Mr. Gandhi added a fourteenth point to his thirteen points of constructive programme namely, Pakistan, then a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem would be easy was expressed by Qa'id-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah addressing the fifth session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation at Nagpur on December 26 last.

Referring to the Huq episode Mr. Jinnah said, "I make a Christmas present of Mr. Fazlul Huq to Lord Linlithgow. I make a new year's gift of the Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal. I am glad that the Muslim League is rid of them. I am confident that the League will emerge stronger without these men who are guilty of gross breach of faith and betrayal of the Muslims in India. No man is indispensable in our organisation."

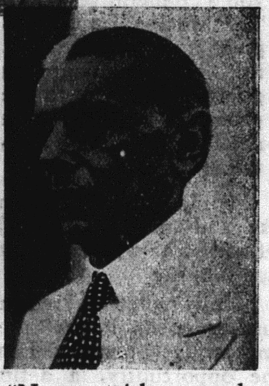
The following is the full text of the Qa'id-e-Azam's presidential address:

"Members of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation, ladies and gentlemen,

"Although I find a large gathering of my young friends there is also a fairly large gathering of non-students. As I hinted last night, my chief object is to address particularly my young friends. The All-India Muslim Students' Federation was started about four or five years ago and I would, my young friends, draw your attention in the first instance to your constitution. The aims and objects of your constitution which you must always keep in front of you and faithfully and loyally abide by, are to organise the Muslim students of India into a corporate body through provincial autonomous units and safeguard the interests of the Muslim student community. You know that the Muslim student community has at all times and particularly in these days got to safeguard their own interests. You may have many complaints. You may have many grievances. But it is by being in a corporate body that you can have your grievances redressed. I find that you have in that direction made many efforts and you had to face many troubles. That is one of your aims and objects.

Aim

"Secondly, your aim is also to rouse the political consciousness amongst the Muslim students and to prepare them to take their proper share in the struggle for the freedom of the country. It is because of this that I have accepted the honour of presiding over your session to-day. It is because of this that I want to tell you what are the issues in front of you. I want to tell you that in the language of your own constitution—namely, to prepare you to take your proper share in the struggle for the freedom of the country. And, as such, let me shortly tell you that your Federation has made a remarkable progress in the last two years. I hope that you will grow, and grow still more. You must remember that I have repeatedly said that you are not expected to take active part in the political developments that are taking place from day to day, from week to week and from month to month; your primary duty to yourself, to your parents and to your nation is that you should concentrate your attention on your studies while you are students. Remember that if you fritter away your precious and valuable time in other activities, while you are students, that time frittered away, that time wasted, will never come back. But, while that is your primary duty to yourself, to your parents and to your nation, at the same time you must keep yourself abreast of the political, social and economic developments in the country—not only in this country but the world at large. It is for this reason that I have always willingly accepted any invitation from the gatherings of Muslim students.



"Now, with regard to your domestic affairs, how you should devise ways and means of further consolidating your organisation and creating solidarity and unity among the Muslim students all over India, you will, I have no doubt, apply your mind now and after full deliberation pass such resolutions as you think proper.

League Growing

"Next, you must remember, side by side with this preparation of yours for the future responsibilities which are bound to fall on your shoulders, that there is the All-India Muslim League organisation which is growing, and it is growing by leaps and bounds all over India. The Muslim League, during the last three years, has made not only remarkable progress but a miraculous progress. (Cheers). You must, therefore, keep abreast of the movements and activities and developments of the All-India Muslim League and its policy and programme. My young friends, to-day you compare yourself with what was the position of the Muslims even three years ago. Five years

(Continued on next page)

Qa'id-e-Azam Explains Political Situation

(Continued.)

ago it was wretched. Ten years ago you were dead.

"And within three years, as I said, you have succeeded in awakening the political conciousness of Muslim India from one end to the other of this sub-continent. The Muslim League has given you a national flag. The Muslim League has given you a common platform. The Muslim League has given you a goal which in my judgment is going to lead you to the promised land where we shall establish our Pakistan. (Cheers).

People may say what they like and talk as they like. Of course he who laughs last, laughs best.

"Now what is required further is, as I have been impressing whenever I have the opportunity, a definite clearcut constructive programme, side by side with our political activities.

Be cheerful

"We feel that we have no friends. We feel that we are surrounded by opponents from all directions, and particularly about your province let me say a word. You are only four per cent in this province and you have gone through, as I said and as I anticipated in my speech as far back as 1937 at Lucknow, you have gone through the crucible of fire in this province. You have suffered. You are only four per cent in this province where is made an experiment of a new technique in the special laboratory of Wardha. No possible means were spared to terrorise you, to hurl you down. Of course, it is obvious that the policy that was pursued was not only unjust, not only unfair, but most cowardly, to terrorise four per cent of the population. (Cries of Shame, Shame.)

"There is no reason for you to be dejected. I tell you from this platform that I never felt more proud in my life than when I saw and heard and read about the magnificent stand that the Muslims of this province took. Suffer we have to. No nation was built and ever achieved its ambition without suffering and sacrifice. Therefore, it is obvious that this wretched constitution which was enacted in 1935, and even the provincial part of it, has been a dismal failure in this country. We shall have to revise our notions and our ideals. But I want the Muslims of this province to be cheerful and keep a stout heart, and I assure you that nothing will succeed which is unjust, unfair and dishonest.

"I was telling you that so far as the Muslim League is concerned we are going faster than many people imagine. In our unity, in our solidarity and in our progress in various directions, all that I urge upon you, my young friends and others present here, is that the key is in your hands. Do not depend upon anybody. You know, I will not preach aggressiveness. The Muslim League has always been on the defensive. I have always said it. It is no concession and it is no favour.

No Surrender

"I have always said that we have no designs on the Hindu community or any other of the sister communities. But we cannot and we shall not surrender or submit to their domination and their Raj in this sub-continent.

"Look at the position now. You find on the one hand the present political situation and how the different organisations, Hindu organisations, are active. You have got, in the first instance, the most powerful and the best organised Hindu body, the Congress.

"I cannot understand that even to-day the Congress leaders have not the honesty and the frankness to recognise that they do not represent the Muslims. What is the use of talking about the divine Rashtrapathi, taking him as a show-boy. Whom are you misleading except yourself? Whom are you deluding except yourself? You know, I know, the world knows, that to-day there is no doubt left in the mind of any man who has got a grain of common sense that the All-India Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims. Bardoli is still in darkness (Laughter) and I pray from Nagpur, in the vicinity of Wardha and Sewagram, that God may throw some light on Bardoli.

"Now, what does the Congress want? Sometimes it is difficult to know exactly what they want. It reminds me of Tennyson's words. He says: 'I sometimes think it a sin to put in words the thoughts I feel.'

Congress Position

"So far as words go and so far as any intelligent man can read those words, I will venture to say what I understand of the position of the Congress. The official resolution and the official stand of the Congress is that Congress wants the British Government to declare the independence of India immediately with the right of the people of this country to frame their own constitution by means of a constituent assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise. Then the Muslims will be favoured to be elected by their separate electorates. When the Muslim interests in this Assembly feel not satisfied with the decision of the Assembly—and arithmetically it is as certain as night follows day, and I know that the Muslims will not be satisfied because in that constituent assembly there will be 75 per cent of Hindus and I can give you hundreds of instances in the last three years, that on no important question has there been an agreement in any of the composite bodies that were set up where you had an overwhelming majority of the Hindus and a minority of the Muslims—the privilege that will be accorded to us is that we can resort to some sort of arbitration. Who will appoint the personnel of the tribunal of arbitration? If I have to appoint the arbitrators of my choice, will they accept it? If not, who is to choose them? If we do not agree upon the choice of the arbitrators then what is to happen? But apart from all that we are told that we shall only be confined to the question of the safeguards as a minority. With regard to the other issues, the majority will decide. That, as I understand, is the official stand of the Congress.

Stand by It

"The creed of the Congress is, as it has been recently interpreted by front-rank leaders like Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, complete independence.

"Mr. Jawaharlal, in a very recent speech said, in quoting Cromwell, in so many words that the British must get out of this country. Well now, if that is your stand, stand by it like a man. Do not whine. Why do you ask the British Government to make a declaration and why do you ask the British Government to give facilities for having a constituent assembly. Like a man, stand by it and say to the British 'get out' in the words of Cromwell.

"Then comes the Muslim divine, Rashtrapathi Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. What does he say?

"The spokesman and the President of the Indian National Congress says that unless the British Government change they cannot change. But if the British Government

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MOMENTOUS MUSLIM GATHERING AT NAGPUR

40,000 MUSLIMS ATTENDED

League Working Committee and Students' Federation

FLAG HOISTED BY RAJA OF MAHMUDABAD

Nagpur drew Muslim Leaders and Students from all over India during the last week of December when the All-India Muslim Students' Federation held its fifth annual session in that city on December 25, 26 and 27, and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League also met there to discuss the political situation in the country and its repercussions in Great Britain.

On the evening of December 24 a hearty welcome was accorded to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan who arrived in Nagpur from Delhi, and the next morning a rousing reception was given to Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah, President-elect of the fifth session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation.

The Nagpur Railway station platform was crowded to suffocation and as the Bombay Mail, in which the Qa'id-e-Azam was travelling, drew up, shouts of *Allaho Akbar* and Qa'id-e-Azam Zindabad rent the air. Mr. Jinnah alighting from the train was profusely garlanded. A huge gathering of Muslims awaited him outside and followed in a procession the flower-bedecked car in which the Qa'id-e-Azam was taken through the principal streets of the city of Nagpur lined by Musalmans who had come from various parts of the province. The whole of the route was with welcome arches and decorated with flowers and buntings. There was a pilot car which went ahead announcing the arrival of the Qa'id-e-Azam.

Accompanying Mr. Jinnah's car were the City Magistrate, City Superintendent of Police and other Magistrates and Police officers. The people who had lined up the route were quite orderly and presented a grand spectacle.

Flag Hoisted

The same afternoon at four o'clock the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad hoisted the Muslim League Flag and paid glowing tributes to the leadership of Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah. Thousands of persons assembled in front of the Pandal witnessed the flag hoisting ceremony. He explained to the audience the significance of the flag and what it stood for. He said that the Muslims of India were determined to establish Pakistan even if thousands of Savarkars chose to oppose it. He said that Mr. Jinnah's leadership had enabled the 100 million Muslims of India to rally round one flag, under one organisation, and that within four years they had been able to build up an efficient organisation which had roused the political consciousness of the Musalmans.

In the night, the huge and beautiful Pandal, in the park situated close to the Railway Station, was filled to capacity when the fifth annual session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation opened at 10 p.m., under the presidentship of Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah amidst deafening cheers. About 40,000 Muslman's attended the session.

Muslim leaders from various provinces including the members of the League Working Committee were seated on the dias. Among those present Begam Habibullah, Begam Aizaz Rasool, Miss Habibullah, Begam Wasim, Sir M. Yusuf, Begam Siddiq Ali Khan, Fatima Parvin Saheba, Sayed Aizaz Rasool, Dr. S. N. A. Jaffery, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, Mr. Syed Abul Hasan, Maulana Jamal Mian and Mr. M. Wasim.

Glories of Islam

Poems were recited by Mr. Sharfuddin, Advocate, Amraoti, and Mr. Abdul Ali and others, some of which were highly appreciated. Begum Siddiq Ali Khan's poem, which was recited by a member of the local League touched the hearts of the audience.

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung was then called upon by the Qa'id-e-Azam to make a speech. He spoke for more than an hour and moved the audience to the very depth of their souls. He brought home to the Muslim students the glories of Islam and pointed out what the duties of a Muslim student were. He explained at length what he meant by "a Muslim student" and reminded those present of a huge and stupendous task that awaited them.

The Qa'id-e-Azam then thanked the organizers of the annual session and Mr. Noman, Deputy President of the Federation, for the elaborate arrangements which they had made for holding the session.

The next marning the Qa'id-e-Azam delivered his illuminating presidential address, extempore, which has been reported in the columns of this paper elsewhere.

Voice of Millions

Immediately after the speech of the Qa'id-e-Azam, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman was requested to make a speech which he did. He spoke at length on the gesture of the British Government in having released the *satyagraha* prisoners and said that the Congress and Hindu leaders thought that they had achieved a great success in coming out of the jails practically as aimlessly as they had walked into them. All their efforts were now concentrated on one point only—to make somehow or other the declaration of August 8, 1940 quite ineffective and inapplicable. They had, perhaps, forgotten that there were one hundred million Musalmans in India. It was impossible to suppress the voice of one hundred millions. If the Hindus were conscious of the strength behind them, the Musalmans also were proud of their strength and of their past and they knew how to meet a challenge, resistence being bred in their bones.

Qazi Mohammad Isa next spoke. He said that the Musalmans tried in the past all possible means to come to a settlement with the Hindus who proved unresponsive. He said that he was quite convinced that there was no other alternative except that of Pakistan which alone would enable the Musalmans to lead a richer and fuller life of a full-fledged nation. It was no use talking at this stage of any other solution.

Subject-Committee

On the morning of December 27, there was a delegates conference in the Pandal after which the Subjects-Committee of the A. I. M. S. Federation met and discussed several resolutions, some of which dealt with amendment of the constitution, release of Allama Mashriqi grievances of the students of the various Universities and condemnation of Mr. Fazlul Huq.

There was a heated debate over the proposal of delegating powers to the President to nominate 21 members to the Council of the Federation.

It was, however, finally agreed as a compromise that the President should nominate 21 members on the recommendations of the provincial units from among the members of the Federation.

Resolutions urging students to carry on propaganda for adult education, asking the authorities of the Allahabad and the Lucknow Universities to recognise the rights of the students, and condemning Mr. Fazlul Haq and congratulating Sir Nazimuddin were adopted.

Bengal with League

At the closing session of the Federation. Mr. Ispahani made a moving speech on Muslim Bengal being on the side of the Muslim League and exposed Mr. Fazlul Huq's latest acts of treachery and disloyalty to the cause of Muslim Bengal.

The session ended with another speech of Mr. Jinnah who advised the students to concentrate on educational, economic and other aspects of national life and do constructive works during the holidays and further advised them not to take an active part in politics.

The concluding speech of Mr. Jinnah will be published in our next issue.

Before the session came to a close Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan delivered a forceful speech on the present political situation.

Nawabzada's Speech

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was given an enthusiastic ovation when he rose to address the Conference at the closing session on the night of December 27. He emphasised the importance of the principles underlying the Pakistan Scheme and how it aimed at justice to all explaining what was meant by 'Pakistan' he said that the stage had been reached when it was no longer necessary, to advance arguments in favour of Pakistan in order to convince Muslims, which was like inviting a Muslim to come into the fold of Islam. He said that Pakistan was an article of faith with every Muslim in India.

He made a fervent appeal for Muslim solidarity and referred to the difficult situation in the country and explained in detail the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League the other day. He pointed out that one of the major political parties in India had been trying its utmost to force the British Government to make a fresh declaration in utter disregard of the previous statements and solemn pledges given to the Muslims of India.

Referring to the misleading propaganda carried on by a section of the British Press and politicians, he said that nothing, no amount of false propaganda, would deviate Muslim India from the cherished goal of Pakistan. He made it clear to the British that any departure from the declaration of August 8, would be resisted by Muslim India with all the forces at their command.

War effort

He then dwelt upon the position and attitude of the Muslim League *vis-a-vis* the Congress. He said that the position of the League was quite different from that of the Congress in as much as the country's war efforts, which have so far been largely carried on with the help and support of the Muslims, were due to the policy and attitude hitherto adopted by the Muslim League in order not to embarrass the British Government at this critical juncture. He traced the events of the last two years and explained how the offer the Viceroy that the Congress and the League should come to a settlement was rejected by the Congress on the ground that their demand for Dominion status, which amounted to delivering the Muslim and other nationalities bound hand and foot to the mercy of the Hindus, was not met by the British Government, although the Muslim League was quite prepared to go ahead with the plan of the Viceroy. He expressed his astonishment at the recent appeal made by the Viceroy at Calcutta to all parties in India to reslove the deadlock. He wished the Viceroy had appealed only to the Congress who alone were responsible for the deadlock.

Referring Mr. Fazlul Huq the Nawabzada said that the Muslim nation had been relieved of a "confirmed traitor" and advised the Muslims of Bengal not to rest content until Mr. Huq was relegated to obscurity. Here Mr. Jinnah also joined the Nawabzada and said that the sooner the Muslims of Bengal did away with that figurehead the better.

Referring to Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan's arrest the Nawabzada hoped that the Government would soon take steps to release him, having regard to various circumstances and to prevent political unrest among the Muslims of the province. Lastly he appealed to the Musalmans of the Central Provinces and Berar to sin kall their personal differences and conserve all their energy for the good and prosperity of their Muslim brethren in their province. He said that unless they were all united and spoke with one voice, one heart and one soul they would not be in a position to render any valuable help to the Musalmans in the achievement of their goal—*Pakistan.*

No Declaration Against Pakistan

League Warning To British Government

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETS AT NAGPUR

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League which met at Nagpur (C. P.) on Friday and Saturday, December 26 and 27 last, under the presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, adopted the following resolutions:

Resolutiou No. 1.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League have read with satisfaction the statement made by His Excellency the Viceroy on the 15th of December 1941, at Calcutta, re-affirming the policy enunciated in the declaration of the 8th of August 1940, which laid down *inter alia* the following principle for the future constitution of India :—

"There are two main points which have emerged. On those two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.

"The first is as to the position of minorities, in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude the examination of any part, either of the Act of 1935, or of the policy and plan on which it is based.

"His Majesty's Government's concern, that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision, has also been brought out.

That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities, for the peace and welfare of India, to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life.

"Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government."

His Excellency further made it clear in the declaration of the 8th of August 1940, that it was for the representatives of India themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly on the form which the post-war representative body should take and secondly upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself.

This policy of the British Government was re-affirmed by the Secretary of State for India in his speech during the debate in the House of Commons on the 22nd of April 1941, in the following words :—

"What was the essence of that statement?

It was that the frame-work of India's future constitution should be devised by Indians themselves and not by this House. That was a far-reaching and, indeed, revolutionary announcement, the full importance of which has not, I think even yet been fully appreciated either in this country or in India."......

Even more important in this connection in the stipulation that the constitution itself, and also the body which is to frame it, must be the outcome of agreement between the principal elements in India's national life. That is an essential pre-requisite to the success of the future constitution."

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in their meeting held on the 22nd of September 1940 expressed their satisfaction at the declaration, as the principles enunciated therein covered the consideration

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Jinnah Day Celebrated All Over India

SPECIAL PRAYERS IN MOSQUES

Jinnah day—the Birthday of Qa'id-Azam Jinnah—was celebrated with great *eclat* all over India on Thursday, Dec. 25 last, when Muslim mass meetings were held to explain the policy and progamme of the All-India Muslim League and the achievements of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Qaid-e-Azam of the one hundred million Musalmans of India, and prayers were offered to the Almighty for giving the Qa'id-e-Azam many more years of life to guide the Muslim nation in India along the right path. Special prayers were held at Delhi on the occasion, as also at Lahore, Quetta, Peshawar, Lucknow, Karachi, Bombay, Madras, Nagpur, Patna, Calcutta, Shillong and innumerable other places.

At Calcutta.

A mass meeting of Muslims of Calcutta and suburbs was held at Mohammad Ali Park on Friday, December 26, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, M. L. A., presiding. Maulana Nazir Ahmad Chaudhuri, Maulana Abdul Jabbar Wahidi, Mulla Jan Mohammed and Mr. S. M. Usman, (Secretary, Calcutta District Muslim League,) addressed the meeting. Mohammed Mustafa of Narkuldanaga National Guard recited the 'Tarana-i Muslim League and Tarana-i-Pakistan" Mr. Mohammed Shafi (Secretary, Tittagarh Muslim League) recited a poem written for the occasion. There was great enthusian in the meeting and spirited speeches were punctuated with cries of'JinnahZindabad', "Muslim League Zindabad", "Ghaddar Muradabad".

The following resolutions were adopted unanimously.

This Meeting of the Musalmans of Calcutta and suburbs offers its congratulations on the occasion of 65th birthday of Qa'id-e-Azam. Mohammad Ali Jinnah and prays to God for his long and prosperous life so that he may serve the Great Muslim Nation for a long time.

This meeting further assures the Qa'id-e-Azam that the Musalmans of Bengal are ready to do every thing according to his dictates and they are ready to sacrifice every thing for attainment of the cherished goal ofthe Muslims of India, PAKISTAN.

This meeting condemns the actions of those traitors to Muslim nation, who are doing their worst to break the solidarity of the Muslims of Bengal and are standing in the way of the onward march of the Musalmans of India. It further appeals to the Musalmans of Bengal to devise ways and means to oust Mr. Fazalul Huq from Muslim Politics.

This meeting reiterates its unshakable faith in the creed of the All-India Muslim League Pakistan and declares that the Musalmans of India are a nation and that the idea of one composite nation in India is the result of Anglo-Hindu alliance. This meeting further declares that the Muslims of India will not accept a constitution which is based on one-nation theory, and they will fight to the last against any such constitution, temporary or final.

This meeting condemns the activities of Mr. Shayama Prashad Mukerjee in connection with the civil disobedience movement at Bhagalpore and is at a loss to understand how a minister of the crown can take part in civil disobedience movement and how Mr. Fazlul Huq can keep him in his cabinet.

According to the request of the Culcutta District Muslim League special prayers for long-life of Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah were held after Juma prayer in almost all the mosques of Calcutta and suburbs.

At Indore

A grand meeting of the Muslims of Indore, under the auspices of the State Muslim League, was held here on December 25 last in the evening at Bombay Bazaar to celebrate the 65th auspicius birthday of Qa'id-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League. Mr. Fakhruddin, Advocate, High Court, presided. Among those who were invited and present were people of all races, including members of the Congress and the Mahasabha. No less than 10,000 persons were present.

The lecture of Mr. M. A. Usmani, Secretary of the State League, on the "Life of Mr. M. A. Jinnah and his Ideal Pakistan Scheme" and the presidential address by Mr. Fakhruddin, the President of the State Muslim League, were most interesting and inspiring. A Children's dialogue between Misses Sher Bano and Mumtaz Bano was very much appreciated. "Tarana-i-Iqbal" was melodiously recited by Sangit Ratna Piyare Miyan of Jaora. Mr. A. Raoof's verses and Mr. Mumtaz Husain's speech were also appreciated.

The meeting dispersed late in the night, after passing resolutions praying for long-life of the Qa'id-e-Azam and reiterating full confidence in him; requesting the Maharaja Holkar of Indore to redress the grievances of the State Muslims, particularly of the Muslim Students of Holkar College regarding the *Bande Mataram* controversy, and to establish an Islamiya High School at Indore.

At Arkonam

On Thursday, December 25, a public meeting was held under the auspices of the Primary Muslim League, Arkonam, in the market maidan at 4-30 p.m., to celebrate Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah's 65th birthday. Mr. M. A. Allah Pitchai presided. The proceedings commenced after refreshments were served to children. Maulana S. K. Sharfuddin Saheb of Vellore spoke in Tamil about the services rendered by our Qa'id-e-Azam to the Muslim Nation. He laid great stress on the necessity of Hindu-Muslim unity which, he pointed out, could only be achieved by accepting our legitimate demand of Pakistan." Maulana Mahmood Quraishi (President, Muslim Youth League, Madras) then delivered a brilliant speech in Urdu and criticised the attitude adopted by the Hindu Mahasabha. Then Mr. C. N. Kuppusawmy of Conjeevaram spoke in Tamil. The meeting came to a close after adopting the following resolutions unanimously:

This public meeting of the Muslims of Arkonam heartily congratulates our Qa'id-e-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, on his 65th birthday, and prays to Allah, the Almighty, for his long-life and expresses its full confidence in his leadership to achieve our goal Pakistan.

This meeting condemns the action of the Bengal Premier, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq to disrupt the ranks of the Bengal Muslim League, and fully supports the disciplinary action taken by the Qa'id-e-Azam.

This Meeting places its opinion on record that Sir Mohammad Usman, recently elected member of the Defence of India Council, represents in no way the Muslims of this province. The All-India Muslim League is the only representative body of the Muslims, competent to nominate representatives of the Musalmans on any public body.

At Bantua

A public meeting of the Muslims of Bantua to celebrate the birthday of Qa'id-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and to pray for his long-life and prosperity was held on December 25 at 9 p.m. in Eqbal Chowk Maidan under the presidentship of Mr. B. S. Naujiani. Speeches were delivered eulogizing the Qa'id-e-Azam's leadership of Muslim India and exhorting the Muslims to follow his lead and obey his commands.

At Baroda

A mass meeting was held at Baroda on December 25 to celebrate Jinnah Day under the auspices of the Muslim Students Union. Mr. Gulam Mohammed Salehji Patel, Member, Legislative Assembly, Baroda, occupied the chair. Mr. Rasool Khan, Mr. Patel and many other students spoke on the life and achievements of Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah. After offering prayer for long and prosperous life of the Qa'id-e-Azam the meeting ended.

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DELHI

Sunday, January 4, 1942

A PARTIAL ECLIPSE

Mr. Gandh's exit from the Congress of which be'ieve it or not—he was not even a "four-anna member" and yet the Generalissimo, is really no exit in the accepted sense of the term. For, the Working Committee of the Congress hope that Congressmen will render him *full* assistance in the prosecution of his mission *including the offering of civil disobedience.* Nor can the idolatrous Hindu-ridden Congress be expected to do without demi-gods of its own making. It is just a case of the dog chasing its own tail—a live vicious circle. Locked together in a loving embrace the Congress and Mr. Gandhi are executing somersaults for the last couple of years to the amusement and bewilderment of the man in the street and the world at large. They are each of them on top by turns. But whether Gandhi is on top or the Congress-minus-Gandhi, does not matter, so long as the game goes on; for, are not each of them, after all, the other side of the same picture?

The resolution of the Congress Working Committee, relieving Mr. Gandhi of the Command of the Congress and yet hoping that Congressmen will render him *full* assistance in the prosecution of his mission *including the offering of civil disobedience*, is an eloquent testimony of Congress indecision. The passion to sail in two different boats at the same time, with one foot in each one of them, may or may not be irresistible, but carried into practice the adventure must necessarily end in disaster for the rider. The trouble with the hydra-headed Congress is that it has never known its own mind, partly owing to conflicting loyalties, at times of crises. Gandhi, Nehru, Rajagopalachari and that poor "show-boy" Azad had all had their say—a discordant and unintelligible chorus, if you like. To boil the whole thing down to coherence was the unenviable task of the Congress Working Committee which, after a whole week's labours, has only been able to produce something which is neither quite here nor there and which has drawn forth a warning from Mr. Gandhi himself against "indecision at this critical period" and against Congressmen "weakly following this party or that for the sake of gaining power in the Congress.' For a party, afflicted with indecision, which, therefore, does not know its own mind, to claim to rule over and run the Government, or even to represent the different peoples, of the entire sub-continent of India is audacious in the extreme.

In another resolution they say that "only a free and independent India will be in a position to undertake the defence of the country." We agree. But what do they expect the British Government to do? Do they expect them to confer independence like a decoration and pin it on to the breast of the Rashtrapati of the Congress, of all the parties? If not, what do they themselves propose to do? Why cannot they come to a settlement with other claimants—take what is their due and let others have what is theirs and have done with it? Stubborn-headed insistence on having all or none serves the double purpose of holding up the independence of other claimants as well and of shrewdly evading the eventuality of having to help Britain in the war which, according to the Congress, is not their war.

NOTES

Sindh's Political Orphan

A grave constitutional issue has arisen in Sindh owing to the differences between the Governor and the Ministry with regard to the exercise of Special Powers by the former. Full facts of the differences have not yet been disclosed. But the instance quoted by the Premier Alla Bux, namely the appointment of a junior English I. C. S. officer on the Lloyd Barrage instead of a senior Indian I. C. S. officer recommended by the Ministry, and his admission of the existence of humiliating conditions is sufficiently indicative of growing interference in the day-to-day administration of the province. As, under the constitution the ministries are responsible to the legislature, K. B. Alla Bux and his colleagues ought to have taken the House in full confidence and tendered their resignation instead of referring the matter to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. But sheer love of office has impelled them to submit to the proposal of the Governor. If it were either the Congress or the League ministry the Governor would have thought a hundred times before transgressing the constitutional limits. But knowing as he does the political orphanhood of Khan Bahadur Alla Bux he acted as he did. It is no use wailing and complaining that the undertakings arrived at between the Congress and His Excellency the Viceroy with regard to the exercise of Special Powers have been disregarded. Because however much he may try to seek the protection of the Congress High Command, he cannot be treated on a par with Congressmen.

The Hindu-Muslim Problem

Referring to the Hindu-Muslim problem Mr. Yoosuf Mehr Ali in his presidential address to the seventh session of the All-India Students Conference held at Patna has stated that it was essentially the result of three factors. The first was the Government Policy. The second was the fight for political power among the intelligentsia of the different communities and the third was the comparative failure of the non-communal political organisations to approach the masses in right earnest. Mr. Mehr Ali has omitted the fourth factor—namely the all-consuming passion of the Hindus to usurp other peoples' share in the sub-continent of India with a view to dominate the whole continent. As a matter of fact this is the main cause of the Hindu-Muslim tangle and any other cause is a mere subsidiary. Mr. Mehr Ali has also stressed the need of cultural fusion between the Hindus and

(Continued on next page)

Dual Subjection of Sindh Muslims

MUSLIM SALVATION LIES IN UNITY

Moulana Nazir Ahmed Chaudhry, Vice-President, Calcutta District Muslim League, has issued the following statement:—

"The startling statement of K. B. Allah Bux, the Prime Minister of Sindh complaining against the repeated interference of the Governor in the work and policy of the Ministry, contains more than one revelation. But the interesting part of the Sindh Premier's statement contains the confession of the fact that the Governor did also interfere in the work and policy of the Congress Ministeries but the Governors where foiled in their interference because the Congress Party in the legislatures of the Congress provinces was very powerful and well-organized, while the party behind the Sindh Premier was not powerful.

"Why the party behind Mr. Allah Bux in Sindh could not be made so well-knit, well-organized and powerful as to save him from the over-ruling power of the Governor is a pertinent question. The reasons are obvious. Mr. Allah Bux is directly responsible for this weakness of his party and the powerlessness of his ministory. It was the selfish policy and machinations of Mr. Allah Bux which has broken Muslim solidarity in Sindh Legislature and put the 75% Muslim majority of the province under the dual overlordship of the British Governor at Karachi and the Bania dictator at Wardha. Instead of organizing the Muslims in the Sindh Legislature and the Sindh province to stand on their feet under the Muslim League banner Mr. Allah Bux has allied himself heart and soul with the capitalist Banias and Mahajans whose class interest are dimetrically opposed to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people of Sindh, including the Muslim labourers, workers and peasants.

"Mr. Allah Bux is complaining of the interference of the British Governor but he conveniently ignores the fact that his ministry is equally overruled and dominated by orders and overtures from Patel and Gandhi By dividing Muslims and breaking their solidarity he has made his ministry entirely dependent upon the whims of the Congress Junta of Wardha. His frequent pilgrimage to Wardha and to Sardar Patel proves that for every single item of his policy and work he is to depend upon the support of the ten Congress members of the Sindh Assembly. On the other hand he knows well that the vast majority of Sindh Muslims are opposed to his ministry which has been foisted on Sindh only by the Congress for Congress purposes. For the sake of his own personal aggrandisement and premiership he has sold the integrity and interests of not only the 75 per cent Muslim majority of Sindh but brought his

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province as a whole under the dual subjection to the British and the Bania, nullifying the independence and autonomy of Sindh for which the whole of Muslim India fought so hard and which was so bitterly opposed by the Congressite Hindus to the last.

"The one lesson to be learnt by the Muslims of the Muslim majority Provinces—the Punjab, the Frontier, Sindh and Bengal—is that their salvation lies in their organization and solidarity under the banner of the All-India Muslim League. To depend upon the British *bania* or the Hindu *bania* is to court disaster and commit national suicide. The Muslims must gain their feet and stand erect in face of all to deserve real respect and command real power. They must create popular sanction and popular mass organization at the back of their party.

"The British Governor of Sind and the Banias of Wardha know it well that Allah Bux has no power in the country and that he has no real mass organization behind his back and if an appeal is made to the electorate, he is most likely to be thrown out of power. He may even lose his own seat.

"Such a man can be exploited by other powerful parties for their own ends but he himself cannot cammand real power and respect, for he has none."

NOTES

(Continued)

Muslims. The close contact of the Hindus and the Muslims for the last one thousand years has failed to effect a fusion of their respective cultures. How long more does he propose to wait, holding up the emancipation of the entire sub-continent all the time, till that happy or unhappy consummation is reached? Despite a few misguided Muslim faces putting on Gandhi cap, and a *kurta* there is little in common between Hindu and Muslim cultures.

Jinnah Day Celebrated All Over India

(Continued)

At Gujrat

A public meeting of the Musalmans of Gujrat City (Punjab) was held on December 25 to celebrate the birthday of the Qa'id-e-Azam. Tributes were paid to his character and leadership by the leading citizens. Resolutions expressing full confidence in his leadership and reiterating the demand of Pakistan were passed. Prayers were offered for long life of Qa'id-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the accredited leader of the Musalmans of India.

At Malerkotla

The State Muslim League, Malerkotla, celebrated Mr. Jinnah's birthday by holding public meetings on December 25 last. Ghazi Mahmud Dharampal delivered an excellent speech in exposition of the political creed of the Muslim League and about the personality and the message of the Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah, Mr. Akhtar and Mr. Kifayatullah also addressed the meetings. These meetings were very largely attended and drewforth appreciative response from the audiences with regard to the principles of the Muslim League and impressed upon the general public the greatness of our great leader, the Qa'id-e-Azam. A special feature of these celebrations was that non-Muslims also participated in them in large numbers.

Resolutions requesting the State authorities to concede the demands of the State Muslims regarding their proportion in State services and urging the Government of India to release Allama Mashriqi without delay were adopted at a general meeting of the State Muslim League.

At Melvisharam

The Muslims of Melvisharam, celeberated the birthday of Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah on December 25. The Musalmans responded by gathering in large numbers and felcitated the Qa'ide-Azam on the happy occasion. They also unanimously expressed their full faith in the leadership of the Qa'id-e-Azam and also appreciated the action taken by him against Mr. Fazlul Huq and others.

Qa'id-e-Azam Explains Political Situation

(Continued).

change what will happen to your creed of independence? Do you want to compromise? Do you want to compromise your soul? That is what the Muslim divine says by implication.

"What does Mr. Rajagopalachari say? He says that: well, I think, we ought to revive the Poona offer. The consequence of reviving the Poona offer will be no doubt that they will lose their beloved leader, Mr. Gandhi, a great specialist and a great expert in coercing and blackmailing the British authorities to part with power.

Mr. Gandhi.

"Mr. Gandhi has always been saying that: I am against all wars, I cannot help any war even if the defence of my own country is concerned; if Hitler comes, let him walk over our bodies and we will offer the satyagraha. But what did he do when the Poona offer was made, which was, of course, made on the basis that if the British Government conceded the Congress demand there was no doubt that the Congress would take the fullest part in the prosecution of the war and in defending India and England. Mr. Gandhi was so shocked that he could not remain any more as the General of the Congress, although he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. He said that as a specialist and General 'I can not carry on with it'.

"What did he do? You remember that the very next day he gave an interview to the British Press, strongly recommending to the British Government not to lose the opportunity but grasp this Poona offer, and if they did not, they will be making their greatest blunder.

"A man, who is against all wars, a man who believes in *ahimsa*, a man who says that the Congress has gone against his life-long conviction and ideal of *ahimsa* and, therefore, he cannot be with the Congress, very next morning gives an interview to the British Press, supporting the Poona offer.

"Therefore, it is difficult to understand what the Congress wants and what the Congress is driving at.

Pretensions

"Then we have Mr. Rajagopalachari. He seems to be in a very chastened mood. He thinks it futile to go to jail over and over again.

"They are all meeting now in Bardoli. In the Congress itself, you have Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jawaharlal and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and these three say three different things.

"I ask you, as an intelligent man, as people who must try and come to some conclusion, I ask what is the conclusion you come to? The obvious conclusion that one can come to is this, that the Congress is pretending and posing to be on the highest pedestal. These poses and pretensions are nothing but a bye-play.

"They have their other counterparts who are working and those counterparts are in the first instance, the Hindu Mahasabha. Of course, the Hindu Mahasabha, so far as the Muslims are concerned, does not mince words. Their leaders are quite clear. Mr. Savarkar in his recent speech, which was unfortunately not delivered at Bhagalpur, does not mince words.' He makes it quite clear that 'I stand for my nation and the Hindu domination. He says in clear language that in this subcontinent Hindu Raj must be established and if the Muslims do not behave, they will annex Afghanistan and carry the frontier to Hindukush. The sooner the Muslims realise this position the better for them. The Muslims cannot get one iota more concession than as a minority. That is quite clear. All I say is that Dr. Moonje, Mr. Savarkar and their colleagues are running amuck and they are doing the greatest possible harm to the Hindus and the least harm to the Muslims. I am glad that they make it clear, not like the Congress, finessing and concealing their real thoughts and playing in diplomatic language, none of that. And I am glad to say that neither the Congress nor anybody else now, thank God, can fool the Muslims.

Mahasabha Ambition

"What is the Hindu Mahasabha doing? Its ambition is to militarise and industrialise the Hindus, urge the Hindus to join the Army, the Navy and the Air Force and support the war. Militarise what? Industrialise what? The Hindu nation. I ask Mr. Savarkar and Field Marshal Moonje; Do you think that everybody in this country is a fool? Do you think that you can fool the British? Why this sort of talk and why this lip-loyalty of co-operation with an ulterior motive of filling the ranks of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force by Hindus? And then what will they do? The answer is clear. Then they say, 'Pakistan will evaporate into the air', and the British will go back to London town and settle down there. Don't you think that these gentlemen who talk like this should be locked up somewhere?

"My young friends, the Hindu Mahasabha is dreaming. Dreaming of what? They do not make any secret of it. Why is it that they are against Pakistan? Why? Our proposal of Pakistan is not inimical to them if they honestly and dispassionately examine it.

"The Muslim says: Give me those parts of India where we are in a majority and where I have got my homeland. Let me live there under my own rule and I undertake to protect the non-Muslim minority. You live in the Hindu India proper and you can protect the Muslim minority. You have three-fourths.

The Whole

"But they do not want three-fourth; they want the whole. How are they going to get the whole? What is Mr. Savarkar's scheme? His scheme is that when he gets 75 per cent of the Hindus in the Army, in the Navy and the Air Force and in the administration—and by that time I think Field Marshal Moonje will see to it that every Hindu eats meat—he will then see that Hindu Raj is established.

"What is to happen to those Muslims who are in the north-west and the north-east? What will happen to those frontiers? It is this. The frontiers will be occupied by the Hindu garrison just as the British garrison is occupying the north-west. Instead of the British it will by the Hindu garrison, entirely composed of Hindus, who will see and make it their business to see that the Muslims in those parts are not allowed to raise their heads. They will establish a Central Government and that Central Government will have the supreme control over the entire sub-continent. Of course, Afghanistan might be added later on. And thereby Muslim India will never get even to the point of obtaining any kind of responsible government, but certainly not to the point of developing themselves to a status or position of an independent State. In other words their rights are gone for ever, the right to the status of an independent country with their own army, air force and navy in those parts of the sub-continent.

"Gentlemen, when we come to think of it, not only it is a dream, but it is the greatest folly to persist in this position as the Hindu Mahasabha is doing.

Sinister Motive

"What is the demand of the Hindu Mahasabha? Now they have given up every demand except 'Bhagalpur'. That will be settled within a few days. They say to the British: We are willing to be your camp followers, we are willing to serve you in any capacity you want; you throw open the Army, the Navy and the Air Force to the Hindus; we will do what you want.

"But while they are saying

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of the demand of the Musalmans for the division of India, which was made long before the declaration, at Lahore on the 23rd of March 1940, and is popularly known as the Pakistan Scheme.

Since then, responsible Ministers of the Crown, Mr. Amery, the Secretary of the State for India, and Mr. Churchill, the Prime Minister, have, from time to time, amplified and confirmed the policy underlying the declaration, thereby assuring 100 million Musalmans of India, that the British Government was fully alive to the realities of the political situation in India and realised that any decision opposed to the natural aspirations of Musalmans as a separate entity would hasten a catastrophe and make peaceful administration impossible.

British Press

The Working Committee, however, are deeply concerned and alarmed that while the policy of the British Government still remains the same as laid down in the declaration of the 8th of August 1940, there is a growing tendency in a section of the British press and politicians, who under the stress of the war against the Axis powers and the entry of Japan in the arena, to a revision of the policy hitherto followed and to start the policy of appeasement of the Congress by making a fresh declaration, in utter disregard of the previous statements and promises to the Musalmans of India and in ignorance of the nature and extent of the political, religious and cultural differences existing between the major communities in India, viz. Hindus and Muslims.

The Working Committee, therefore, consider it necessary to warn the British public and Government that any departure from the policy and the solemn declaration of the 8th of August 1940, and the pledges given therein to the Musalmans, would constitute a gross breach of faith with Muslim India, and that any revision of policy or any fresh declaration, which adversely affects the demand of Pakistan or proceeds on the basis of a central Government

League Warning To British Government

(Continued)

with India as one single unit and Musalmans as an All-India minority, shall be strongly resented by the Muslims who will be compelled to resist it with all the forces at their command, which would at this critical juncture, among other things, necessarily result in the serious impediment of the country's war efforts, which have so far been largely carried on with the help and support of the Musalmans because of the policy and attitude hitherto adopted by the Muslim League in order not to embarrass or impede war efforts as far as possible.

Resolution No 2.

In view of the fact that the entry oi Japan in the war on the side of the Axis Powers has brought the danger much closer to India and has forced into greater prominence the question of the defence of India, the Working Committee consider it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League from the very beginning has expressed their willingness to share the responsibility of the defence of the country, as is evident from the stand taken by the President of the All-Iddia Muslim League as far back as November 1939 when he accepted the offer of the Viceroy that the Congress and the League should come to an adjustment in the Provincial field to ensure harmonious working of the provincial government, consequent on which the representatives of the Congress and the League will be willing to participate in the Central Government as members of the Executive Council. This proposal of the Viceroy was summarily rejected by the Congress on the ground that their demand embodied in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, dated the 10th of October 1939, for a declaration of India's independence and the right of Indians to frame their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise, was not met by the British Government.

Further the Muslim League on the 17th of June 1940 passed the following resolution, which clearly indicates that the League has all along adhered to the policy declared by its President in November 1939:

"The Working Committee view with alarm the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regard the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government against the Allies, as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds.

Defence of India.

"The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country, and the Working Committee call upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee are constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India, indicated in the statements of their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some of the provincial Governors are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The Committee, therefore, authorise its President to enter into communication with Mis Excellency the Viceroy with a view to explore the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilize the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India.

"The Committee are of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation is agreed upon on an All-India basis, and not province-wise, between the government and the Muslim League, such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of the imminent danger, the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved."

The Working Committee once more declare that they are ready and willing as before to shoulder the burden of the defence of the country, singly or in co-operation with other parties on the basis that real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the Government at the centre and the provinces within the framework of the present constitution, but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of the future constitution.

Resolution No. 3.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League has noted with great satisfaction the action taken by the President in expelling Mr. Fazlul Huq from the Muslim League for his treacherous betrayal of the Muslim League organisation and the Musalmans generally.

The Committee call upon every Muslim Leaguer in the Bengal Legislature to organise the Muslim League and Muslim opinion in the Province to the fullest extent and to join and support the Muslim League Parliamentary Party and not to rest content until the present ministry, which is composed of the various element antagonistic to the cause of Muslim Bengal and of which Mr. Fazlul Huq is a more titular head, is over thrown.

The Committee appeal to every Muslim, inside and outside the Legislature to help and support the Provincial Muslim League in organising the province of Bengal.

The members of participated in the deliberations were: Mr. M. A. Jinnah (President), Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, (Hony. Secretary).

The Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad (Hony. Treasurer), Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin (Bengal), Mr. Malik Berkat Ali (Punjab), Qazi Mohammad Isa (Baluchistan), Maulana Syed Abdul Raoof Shah, (C. P. & Berar), Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani (Bengal), Haji Abdul Sattar Seth (Madras), Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhry (Assam), Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman (U. P.) and Mr. Husain Imam (Bihar).

this with a sinister and insidious motive, which no fool can mistake for anything else, at the same time they are pressing for the establishment of Hindudom through another brother. He says: You must fix a time-limit and give Dominion status for India, of the Westminster variety.

"Who is to give it? The British Government? I ask, is it not, on the face of it, futile and absurd? In the first instance, the British Government cannot do it. But even if they do it, do you expect the British Government to put Savarkar on the *gaddi* and do the policing of his Raj? What is the sanction behind this constitution of Dominion status of the Westminster variety? How is that to be given? As Mr. Amery rightly says, it is not a decoration or medal that can be attached to your buttonhole with a safety pin. It is a question of running the Government of this sub-continent. Do you want that the British bayonet should keep you on the *gaddi?* Do you expect it?

Time-Limit

"That is their demand. I ask you, what is behind this demand? It cannot be very obtruse. Let us give some credit to the opponent's intelligence however stupid they may be. What are they driving at? You will see that the Mahasabha puts a time-limit, within a year or two after the war, and wants that the British Government must undertake and promise to give India Dominion status of the Westminster variety. What does it mean? If the British Government makes a declaration to-day that within a year or two, after the war, they solemnly undertake and declare that they shall establish in this country a Government similar to Canada, as a Dominion of the Westminster variety, it means that the constitution will no longer be framed with the consent of the major parties; in other words, the consent of the Muslims is not necessary. Then with whose approval will the British Government give the constitution? Of course, the

Qa'id-e-Azam Explains Political Situation

(Continued)

Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. If they are satisfied, and even if the Muslims are not satisfied that does not matter, the British Government will say: I have given my promise and I must enact the constitution. I want to know, if the constitution is enacted as promised, whether it means the withdrawal of the British military forces. Then what is the sanction behind it. Let me tell you that in the first instance the British are not such fools; even if they do commit such a folly, let me tell you that that constitution will not last for a fortnight. (Cheers).

The Brothers

"Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru says: Make a declaration of India's independence. Sir T. B. Sapru, who is most subtle and plausible—therefore all the more treacherous—also says the same thing. You can see the family likeness. What does he say? In his statement of December 25 he says: 'India must be made to feel that in doing the best they can for the war effort, they are not only discharging their obligations to the Commonwealth but are also fighting for the preservation of their free life". He recommends first that "a new declaration that India would no longer be treated as a Dependency be made forthwith." One brother says, declare India independent. The other brother says, declare that India will no longer be treated as a dependency. Can you see the distinction between the two? Why does Sir T. B. Sapru and the liberals talk like this?

"In a recent speech what does Mr. Sastri say? He says, the same thing in another language—The same family resemblance. He says that we must give all the safeguards to the Muslims, consistently with national interests. Whose national interests? Which nation? Hindu or Muslim? Therefore, the more you examine it, the same you will find—the same song of Hindudom.

"I want to impress upon you on what lines the Hindu leaders are going and how they are all aiming at the same thing, more or less, speaking in different languages. One is more plausible while the other is more blunt. But they all mean the same thing—namely, Central Government with all India as a single unit, a united India which means Hindu majority rule, not a political majority but the majority of one nation and one society over another nation and another society. They want that you must be reduced to the position of an all-India minority. You will only be given such necessary safeguards, as a minority as will not be inconsistent with the national interests, of the Hindus.

"Ladies and gentlemen, that means that not only where we are in a minority but also where we are in the majority, the entire Muslim community will come under the heel of the Hindu Raj and will be treated and kept down as a minority to look to their orders and work under their yoke. That is a position which the Muslims will never accept as long as the last Muslim is alive. (Applause). The sooner they give up this sort of camouflage the better.

Another Blitz.

"Why are these statements pouring in just at this Christmas time? The Hindu leaders, in their statesmanship, imagine that Britain is now in the grip of a more dreadful struggle after the Japanese entry into the war. This time England is under such stress and feels so embarrassed and so moved that she must seek help somewhere. Their resources and preparations may not be sufficient to meet the new Japanese menace. So they think that England is now shaky and that this is the time to start another blitz of agitation and under the stress of these developments coerce the British Government and stampede them to make some commitment in favour of Hindu India.

"Their hopes are raised to a certain extent because in the first instance the Government of India is supposed to have made a gesture in releasing certain class of prisoners. They are further encouraged because of the ignorance of the British Press. When you read those newspapers, one cannot help being amused at their utter ignorance of the conditions of India. They write according to their light. In those articles our Hindu leaders find that the British are nervous and that this is the proper time for them. That is why these plethora of statements are being issued.

"It is because of this that the Congress is still contemplating. They sat for nine hours on the first day at Bardoli. They had another nine hours on the following day. They will sit for many more days, You know, they are clever people. They may keep a loop-hole here and another loop-hole there to save their neck. Because, after all, what will happen? If Mr. Rajagopalachari succeeds, Mr. Gandhi retires. It does not make any difference. Mr. Gandhi is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. But he will always remain a member of the Congress as a non-member of the Congress.

"It is now announced to the world that the A. I. C. C. will meet on January 15 next. The world must wait with pulsating heart and await the decision of the A. I. C. C. at Wardha. But let me tell you that it is not going to move us by a hair's breadth.

13 Points.

"I will read the latest of Mr. Gandhi. He has formulated his 13 points as a constructive programme to attain Purna Swaraj. Mr. Gandhi is not long-winded and you can put any interpretation on whatever he says and he can put any interpretation on whatever he writes, whenever he likes. (Laughter). I think this is pretty clear. He says that the first item is communal unity. By com-

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munal unity they mean that they want the Muslims to surrender and submit to the Congress and sign their own death warrant. Then comes removal of untouchability, prohibition (on which point they will not find us differing), Khadi, village industries, village sanitation, basic education, adult education, uplift of women, education of health and hygiene, propaganda of 'Rashtrabhasha,' love of one's language and working for economic equality. Economic equality with whom? With the British and not with us.

"One important amendment I would make is to add that the Congress accepts Pakistan and thus make it 14 points. This will make settlement very easy. As to the question of the language, love of one's language and working for economic equality, we will not have to quarrel over it. We will speak what we think proper as our mother tongue in our zones where we want to rule as an independent country and you speak whatever you think proper.

Purna Swaraj

"Mr. Gandhi may say what he likes. He has picked up this issue of freedom of speech. He is only fighting for the freedom of speech, he says. Read this latest statement of the high priest of the Congress. There is no doubt left that there is only one method left which he has picked up for coercing and embarrassing the authorities, to make them bend and yield to this troublesome nuisance that he is creating by this individual *satyagraha*, not for freedom of speech but for, as he himself says, "the construction of Purna Swaraj or complete independence." Referring to civil disobedience he says that it can never be applied for general terms such as for independence. The issue must be definite and capable of being clearly understood and within the power of the opponent to yield. This method properly applied, he says, must lead to the final goal.

Qa'id-e-Azam Explains Political Situation

(Continued)

"What is the final goal, I ask? Not freedom of speech but Purna Swaraj. Do you believe that he is fighting for freedom of speech? Does any man with commonsense believe it? He is fighting for the final goal. This is only one method of compelling the opponent to yield on this point. Then will come another point, and then another. This is behind Mr. Gandhi's *satyagraha*.

Ignorance.

"I think I have taken all this trouble in order to make my young friends understand the true position in the country, because, I regret to say, I find a colossal amount of ignorance among the Muslim intelligentsia and students community.

"The Congress is against any war effort. They must preach and shout slogans for the prevention of war effort. But what have they done in Sindh? There the Congress Party is supporting Mr. Allah Bux although he is supporting the war effort. Not only is he supporting the war effort but he has actually accepted the nomination in that so-called National Defence Council. When the question was raised, Mr. Gandhi left it conveniently to the Parliamentary Committee. And this Parliamentary Committee decided that the peculiar circumstances of Sindh were such that the Congress Party should not withdraw the support from the premier, Mr. Allah Bux.

"What did the Congress Party do in Assam? They are willing to support Mr. Chowdhry who mysteriously left the Coalition Party of which he was a member and by virtue of which he was a member of the Ministry. He has formed another party. What is the position of the Congress? They were ready and willing to support the Ministry of Mr. Chowdhry. But the monkey came in to do justice between the two cats and Section 93, instead, has come in. Now both Sadullah and Chowdhry can go to rest

"And in Bengal what is the Congress Party doing? The Congress Party has supported this new coalition ministry formed by Mr. Huq and by virtue of it he was able to form a Government and continue to be the Premier. It was by virtue of Mr. Huq being the Premier, Lord Linlithgow announced, that the latter will now have the honour of the support of this great Premier who will now be, as Premier of Bengal, a member of this so-called National Defence Council. The Congress is supporting him.

"Now I make a Christmas gift of Mr. Huq to Lord Linlithgow. (Cheers). I make another New Year's gift of the Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal. I am very glad and I am happy that Muslim India is rid of these men who are guilty of the grossest treachery and betrayal of the Muslims.

"This shows that no man is indispensable to the organisation. If he is a traitor or a quisling he must be expelled. We shall now march more honourably and become stronger when we have weeded out this class of treacherous individuals. Now no power on earth can stop us from going forward and growing.

Our Position

"My young friends, with regard to the British Government and the League, I think I need not take up much of your time. Our position has been made repeatedly clear. Only the day before yesterday I issued a statement to the *News Chronicle* clarifying our position. Our position is just and I have no doubt it will continue to be so. I think no man, who has got the slightest sense of justice and fairness, can blame us. Our position has been that we recognise the common danger to Britain and India. We recognise the common peril. In the interest of our own people and to protect our own homes and hearths, we are willing to take our share in this peril. But we cannot do that successfully unless we are placed in a position of having real and genuine share in the responsibility and authority of the Government in the Centre and the provinces.

"The British Government are responsible for wasting these more than two years and I think that if they go on delaying like this, they will regret and rue the day for allowing this sincere, honest and straightforward offer of the Muslim League to lapse.

Solidarity

"In the end I say to you one thing more" Muslims, you must maintain complete unity and solidarity amongst yourselves. Nobody can help you if you quarrel among yourselves, and you will go under. Therefore, maintain unity and solidarity. I want you that however much you may be moved, however much you may feel wronged, whatever may be your grievances, you should not resort to any individual action which will prejudice or jeopardise our cause and precipitate matters.

"No individual action, I mean of resistance or defiance of law and order, should be adopted by any individual. Not even the district League, not even the Provincial League should do. Keep yourself absolutely united and solid and wait. When the order comes from the All-India Muslim League then I will be the first to match with you. At no time was it more necessary than at this very critical and dangerous time that you should implicitly pledge yourself and selflessly surrender yourself to our watchwards—*faith, unity* and *discipline*." (Continued applause.)

Separate Electorates and $\frac{1}{3}$ Quota in Services

Mysore State Muslim League Demands

The All-Mysore State Muslim League at its third annual meeting, held at Mandya on December 13 and 14 last, adopted the following among other resolutions:

1. The Muslims of Mysore assembled in this 3rd Session of the All-Mysore State Muslim League express their deep sorrow at the sad demise of His Highness Sir Krishnaraja Wadiyar Badadur IV, Maharaja of Mysore and offer their respectful condolences to the bereaved Royal Family. They express their deep sentiments of loyalty to the person and Throne of His Highness, Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, Maharaja of Mysore.

2. The All-Mysore State Muslim League places on record and appreciates the invaluable services rendered by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the All-India Muslim League, in the cause of Muslim solidarity and in safeguarding their interests and reaffirms its confidence in his leadership.

3. The State Muslim League appreciates the services rendered by Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur, President of the All-India States Muslim League, in the cause of Muslims residing in Indian States and expresses confidence in his leadership.

Protest

4. This Session of the All-Mysore State Muslim League places on record its strong protest against the order of the Government of Mysore "to shift" the ancient Kumbarpet Mosque, Kumbargari road, at Harihar to some other place, considers it as an unwarranted interference in the religious freedom of Muslims and demands from the Government the immediate withdrawal of all orders and notifications affecting the sanctity, status and location of the said Mosque and warns the Government that in case it fails to comply with this legitimate and earnest demand of the Muslim of Mysore, the religious susceptibilities of Muslims in Mysore and outside will gravely be intensified.

5. This Session of the All-Mysore State Muslim League expresses grave concern and auxiety of the Muslims, over the ill-health of Allama Mashriqi, the Khaksar leader, and wholeheartedly supports the resolution of the working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, requesting the Government of India to release the Allama immediately or give him a fair trial in a court of law.

Employment

6. Since the Muslims are gradually being displaced from their trade and profession, on account of opening of many new Industries, etc, this League urges the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, to give employment to Musalmans wherever it lies in its power to do, and to employ them in increasing number in Government and Government Aided factories and companies and in places where Government's influence is felt, so that the consequent suffering and unemployment of Muslims may be reduced to some extent.

7. This Session approves of the disciplinary action taken by Mr. M. A. Jinnah against Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq.

25 % Seats

8. The Government of Mysore be requested to provide adequate number of seats in the Legislative to Muslims since the representation now granted is insufficient to effectively voice the grievances of Muslims. Further this League brings to the notice of the Government that in Madras where the Muslim percentage to the total population is the same as in Mysore, they have been granted 14½ per cent of seats, where as Mysore has granted them only 10 per cent. This League urges the Government to grant at least 25 per cent of the seats in view of their historical importance in the state.

9. This Session of the All-Mysore State Muslim League learns with alarm that the Government of Mysore is contemplating to allot a low quota to Musalmans in the services and it urges the Government, that having regard to the historical importance of the Muslim Community, Muslim share in hse ervices must not be under any circumstances lower than those granted in the Madras Presidency where the proportion of Muslim population to the total strength is the same as in Mysore, but to allot at least three out of every twelve vacancies to Musalmans. This League further desires to bring to the notice of the Government that reduction of Muslim quota on ground of reservation of some seats for alleged efficiency etc. will not be tolerated.

Separate Entity

10. This Session requests the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore not to class Musalmans under the headings "Non-brahmins" but to treat the Muslims as a separate entity in view of their own separate religions, cultural and historical importance.

11. This Session requests the Mysore Government to grant separate electorate to Muslims in local bodies and further desires to bring to the notice of the Government that for adequate and effective representation of Muslims in the said local bodies, at least 30 per cent of the seats must be reserved for Muslims.

12. This Session requests the Government of Mysore to allot separate amount for the Urdu, Persian and Arabic sections in the University and Public libraries in the State.

Aligarh 'Varsity

13. Since the Aligarh Muslim University is a national University for Muslims and since the tendency of studying at Aligarh is daily growing among the Muslims, and the economic conditions of Muslims is in the way of sending their boys in that Muslim Educational centre, this Session of the State Muslim League requests the Government of Mysore to grant at least 25 scholarships every year to Mysore Muslims studying at Aligarh.

14. This Session requests the Government of Mysore to appoint Urdu knowing Muslim teachers in each education Inspector's office.

15. This Session is viewing with great anxiety the non-appointment of Muslims in managing boards of Industrial concerns (both Government and Government-aided) and hereby requests the Government to appoint an appreciable number of Muslims to these boards.

Waqf Act

16. This Session requests the Government of Mysore to introduce an Act, called Mysore Muslims Wakf Act, on lines similar to those in British India.

17. This Session of the All-Mysore State Muslim League requests the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore to appoint competent Muslim judges to decide disputes such as those that arise regarding divorce, marriage, etc., under Mohamedan Law.

By other resolutions the Mysore State Muslim League requested the Postal Authorities to appoint Urdu-knowing Staff, specially in that section which deals with the delivery of the mail, urges the Director of Public Instruction to introduce Urdu as an Additional subject in all High Schools of the State; urged the Government of Mysore not to appoint purely Hindu Judges and Magistrates to try cases of rioting between Musalmans and Hindus; decided to appoint a Conciliation Board to decide disputes among Musalmans and to help the authorities and other bodies to bring about and maintain good relations between Muslims and Non-Muslims; elected the following office-bearers to hold office till the next sessions of the All-Mysore State Muslim League:—*President*, Khan Saheb Mahmud Sheriff; *Vice-Presidents*, Mr. O. S. N. Sheriff, Mr. Mirza Azizulla Baig, and Mr. S. N. M. Razvi; *General Secretary*, Mr. Mohamad Valiulla; *Joint Secretries*, Mohamed Abdus Salam Saheb, Mohamed Abdul Jabbar Saheb and Syed Ibrahim Saheb Mumtaz; *Financial Secretary*, Hajee V. S. Abdur Rahman Saheb; and requested the Deputy Commissioner, Mandya District, to give sufficient land for the purpose of a burial ground for Musalmans at Nidgatta, Maddur Taluk.

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Move Against Pakistan Will Bring Disaster

British Government Warned By Mr. Jinnah

MUSLIM INDIA WILL NEVER ACCEPT HINDU RAJ

"If any new declaration is made on the part of the British Government, departing from the declaration of August 8th, 1940 as to the future constitution of India, or any proposal or move, which in any way would militate against the Muslim demand for Pakistan, or prejudge it, or denounce it in any way, as seems to be the main effort of the Hindu leaders, it will not only create an unprecedented catastrophe but result in grave disaster at this critical juncture of the war and war efforts, apart from the fact that it will constitute a gross breach of faith with Muslim India," Said Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah in an interview given to the Associated Press on January 2 last.

Continuing the Qa'id-e-Azam said: "Muslim India has made its position clear by the resolution of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee at Nagpur, on December 27, 1941.

"With regard to the immediate issue, *viz*, the prosecution of war and war efforts, the Muslim League has from the very beginning been ready and willing, without prejudice to the major political issues, to shoulder the burden of the defence of the country, singly or in cooperation with other parties on the basis that real share and responsibility is given to Muslim India in the authority of the Government at the Centre and the Provinces, within the framework of the present existing constitution. But so far no serious heed has been paid to this policy of the All-India Muslim League by the British Government.

Congress Tactics

"My attention has been drawn to the Congress resolution, passed recently at Bardoli, and it is very difficult for me to understand what those resolutions really mean, except, that as I understand, that they have not moved by a hair's breadth from the original demand for an immediate unconditional declaration of India's independence and freedom with the right of the people to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly, to be elected by means of adult franchise on the basis of a united and democratic India. This clearly means setting up of the Hindu Raj, which Muslim India will never accept.

Muslim India is fighting and struggling for survival and for its right to self-determination, whereas Congress and other Hindu organisations are speeding to establish supremacy and domination over the Muslims as an All-India minority by establishing one central govern- over the whole of India, and thus to dominate and control even those zones where the Muslims are in a solid majority and interfere even in their internal affairs by virtue of the vital powers which must remain vested in the Central Government, such as Defence Communications Customs and Finance and various other executive and administrative powers."

League Resolution

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, which met recently at Nagpur, passed another resolution, in addition to those already published in these columns, regarding the arrest and prosecution of Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan in the following words:

The Working Committee considered the case of Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, M.L.A., (Central), which is pending in the court against him and as the matter is *sub-judice* the Committee do not wish to express any view regarding the merits of the case. But as a matter of policy and on general grounds the Committee strongly urge upon the Government that, having regard to the recent action of the Government in releasing *Satyagraha* and other political prisoners and having regard to the internal political situation, the prosecution against Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan should be withdrawn and he be released.

BOMBAY NATIONAL GUARDS

Mr. Noor Mohammad Ahmad, Honorary Secretary, Bombay Provincial Muslim League, writes to say that "Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim has withdrawn his own resignation and so also have four officers of the Bombay Muslim National Guards, including Lt Ashrafi" and that the whole matter is expected to be settled "satisfactorily".

"Pakistan Our Irrevocable Destiny"

Malik Barkat Ali's Speech at M. S. Federation

"Freedom Will Not Drop Into Weak Hands"

Addressing the All-India Muslim Students Federation at Nagpur on December 26 last, Malik Barkat Ali, Advocate, M.L.A., (Punjab) and Member of the All-India Muslim League, said :—

"My first thought is to congratulate the members of the All-India Muslim Students Federation on the splendid manner in which they have organised themselves and the huge audiences that their meetings are attracting. The Qa'id-e-Azam observed this morning that we of the present generation cannot allow our students to throw themselves into the vortex of that political struggle that we are waging for the emancipation of our community and country from the suffocating thraldom of alien rule, including in that expression the rule both of the Englishman and of the Congress masquerading as Indian Nationalism."

"At the same time it has got to be remembered that the students of to-day are but the leaders of tomorrow, and no people, at all conscious of their responsibility towards posterity, can forget their supreme duty of so bringing up and training their raising generation that the latter become thoroughly indoctrinated with all the aspects and implications of their national programme. I am glad to notice that the Muslim students of India have thoroughly imbibed the creed of Pakistan and realise that we Muslims cannot reach the peak and summit of our national glory except on the sure and unfailing foundations of Pakistan."

Delusion

"Some of our friends cherish the fond delusion that Pakistan is but a passing phase in the national life of Islam, and they point with obvious glee to what they think are ominous portents on the horizon of Bengal, showing that the wonderful facade of Unity, laboriously built up during the last five years by the Qa'id-e-Azam, has begun to give way. The unmistakable reference is to the treachery of the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq. These friends little realise that before long this treachery will be avenged and that the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq will see himself soon burried under the debris of that ramshackle Ministry which he has gathered round himself, and that the League will emerge the stronger and the purer from this incident. In fact, we are really thankful to Heaven that we are at this early stage of our national struggle disencumbered of hollow friends and interested speculators, but if our friends continue to live under their fond delusion, and hug to themselves the belief that the Muslim League structure has begun to show cracks, they are free to do so and may shut their eyes to the realities as they unfold themselves on the shifting panorama of time and circumstances."

"So far as we are concerned, our determination shows no slackening, our resolve to consecrate our life and our talents, our speech and our song, our thoughts and our dreams to the achievement of that goal which the Qa'id-e-Azam has placed before the Muslims of India as their fixed and irrevocable destiny remains unshakeable; our *caravan* moves on and shall continue to move on until we step into the Holy Land of Pakistan.

Baptism of Fire

"Let us look at the matter a little deeper. You all know that five years ago we were all devoted to the ideal of a united India. If you look up the constitution of the All-India Muslim League before we adopted Pakistan at the Lahore Session of the All-India Muslim League you will find that in the forefront of our aims and objects figured the goal of establishing in India full independence in the formation of a Federation of Free Democratic States in which the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the constitution. Our leaders at the Round Table Conference also pledged themselves to federation, based on Provincial Autonomy of the federating units. But that baptism of fire through which the Muslims of the Congress-governed provinces passed during the two and a half years of Congress rule—the rule of Shuklas Misras and Pants—completely changed our dreams, and Muslim policy, accordingly, underwent a complete orientation. We are pledged to day to no centre. We ask for the partition of India into Hindu India and Muslim India."

The Recipe

"The Congress leaders at first took this change in the policy of the Muslim League most lightheartedly. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru thought he could kill the growing influence of the League over the Muslim masses by his recipe of the Muslim Mass Contact movement. That recipe failed totally and the Muslim Mass Contact movemnet met an abrupt and speedy death.

"The next movement started to capture the imagination of India was the demand for a declaration on the part of England of complete independence of India and of a constitution to be framed by a constituent assembly, elected on the basis of adult franchise with the further guarrantee that the Muslims shall be free to choose their representatives through separate electorates. This plea of a constituent assembly also failed of its purpose, and the Muslims very clearly saw through it and rejected it summarily. On the face of it, a constituent assembly, on the basis of adult franchise, would reflect in its composition the large Hindu majority. How could the Musalmans accept a constitution framed by a constituent assembly in which the Hindus dominated. Of course, if it had been said that the decisions of the constituent assembly, to be acceptable, shall be unanimous, there would have been some sense and logic behind the demand."

Elementary Truth

"It is an admitted fact of constitutional history and Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, has stated it clearly, and Mr. Amery has said many wise things, that a durable constitution is always the outcome of mutual consent and arrangement. But the Congress has not yet realised this elementary trut and is still harking back to England for a declaration of India's independence."

The latest stunt invoked is the unity of India, and the application to it of the democratic principles that already obtain in socially homogeneous groups. So far as the Unity of India is concerned, Mr. H. G. Wells has recently in his reply to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru described this Unity as an 'administrative phantom which is already fading out of existence.' He says that there are indeed more people, languages and extremes of social culture in India than in all Europé, and that what Mr. Nehru wants is that power should be handed over to a 'small minority of political amateurs representing at the most extravagant estimate not more than one in four hundred Indians.'

Popular Will

"As regards democracy, the difficulty about modern democracy is that the ballot paper and the majority vote in assemblies give quite unbridled powers to the majority for the time being and it is regarded not fashionable to recognise any limitations upon the will of the majority. The Congress or Hindu position is really strange and difficult to understand. If Muslims seek to place restrictions upon the power of the Hindu majority they are accused of opposing the popular will. But if they try the other solution of accepting the popular will and insist upon forming fairly homogeneous States in which that will shall be Muslim, they are accused of violating the unity of India."

"The Congress should face the situation and should cease to hark back to England for declarations of all kinds, ranging between Independence and Dominion Status. But if in order to shelve the Muslim demand of Pakistan they continue to look to England for declarations, incompatible with and ruling out Pakistan, then let me frankly warn them that they may continue to look and look at England, the luscious fruit and coveted prize of Freedom shall never drop into their weak and palsied hands."

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Special Article.

THE TRUTH

By **H. A.**

The views expressed in this article are not necessity those of THE DAWN.

All but the last three paragraphs of this article appeared in the Special Number of the Star of India *in April last.*

ALL seekers after Truth when they begin to imagine they have found it out seem to lose all power of expression and all interest in life itself. Perhaps it is so simple, abstract and self-evident that it defies description and yet embraces all knowledge and wisdom, past, present and future, which again is but an infinitesimal part of the whole, whatever that be.

The knowledge that man has no control over the course of events damps all enthusiasm in him for self-expression—arguments, propaganda, sacrifice, service, in fact all activity. Everything, including his own thoughts and actions, will take its own course in spite of him. This attitude of mind, a result of the dawning of the wisdom, tends to kill all initiative in him, bringing him to a standstill in the middle of the eternal fight for survival of the fittest. He just drops out of the picture to become a disinterested onlooker.

Fortunately for the world there are not many gifted (or burdened?) with that insight, which serves as a brake and handicap to human activity. The All-Wise has seen to that; or the fun of creation itself would have been frustrated. Is not ignorance bliss, after all, and a boon to humanity at large?

The farthest limit of all knowledge, as has been recognised, is the realisation that you can never know the whole Truth. Because the seeker himself, along with his whole environment, is only an insignificant part of that whole, and a part can never hope to overreach the whole.

And since it is a futile quest—this search for Truth—it is safer for people not to bother their heads much about how's, why's and wherefore's which lead one nowhere.

Limits

Too much independent thinking has been the bane of humanity of late, with disastrous results, some of which we are experiencing even to-day. In our limited world surely there must be, and there are, limits to everything—thoughts included. It is precisely for the same reason, among others, that the Quran enjoins upon the believers to base their society and government upon *ita'at-i-Amir* (explicit obedience and undivided allegiance to the Leader)—*atiullaha wa atiur Rasoole wa ulil-amre minkum* (obey God through your Prophet and, in his absence, through your Leader).

By the very nature of the programme set out in the Quran, which is a complete code of human conduct, there is no room for party system or the consequent temptation of vote-catching. Human ingenuity has not been able, so far, to produce a better and more practicable programme than what is contained in the Quran. All for One and One for all is the guiding spirit of Islam which effectively eschews personal or political jealousies. The entire people constitute the Assembly who have but once, not periodically, to elect an Amir in whom they have complete confidence that he will carry out their God-given programme as embodied in the Quran. The Amir chooses some of the universally recognised best brains from amongst them as his advisers (*Majlise Mashawerat*) whose advice he is not bound to seek or to act upon if sought. They are there to express their honest opinion when called upon to do so and to faithfully and ungrudgingly abide by the Amir's verdict even if it goes contrary to their unanimous advice. Thus the entire ultimate responsibility of guiding and protecting the Faithful, in matters temporal as well as spiritual, falls upon the shoulders of one man, making him ultra-cautious and ever-alert lest one little error on his part make him answerable not only to his own people here but also to the Creator in the hereafter.

Retribution

And retribution in Islam is swift and sure. Quranic justice is no respecter of personalities, howsoever high for the time being. Islam recognises no divine or birthright to kingship or leadership. The moment the people feel their leader is failing to interpret the spirit of the Quranic law they can throw him out by expressing no-confidence in him or by force, if that is necessary.

The leader on his part is enjoined to climb down soon as he finds the people no longer repose confidence in him and to join them in electing a new leader and to obey him faithfully, ungrudgingly and wholeheartedly. Leadership in Islam is nobody's monopoly for private aggrandisement, nor does it carry worldly temptations about it which are likely to make people stick to it like leeches. It entails immense service and sacrifice, with little or no corresponding worldly gain. His life, as those of his people's, is dedicated and surrendered unto Allah for Whom he commands and for Whom he obeys, as the case may be—all for One and One for all.

Thus freed from the obsession of political intrigues, unlike under modern democracy, the people have ample leisure to pursue their various vocations in life with that singleness of purpose and sense of security which helps to swell the common pool of human progress and prosperity.

Dynamic Democracy

Such is the democracy that the Quran brought for mankind. It was tried out in the early days of Islam—*Quroon-i-oola*—and it worked with conspicuous success as no other system has worked even half as smoothly so far. During that period Islam changed not only the territorial complexion of the wotld but also the intellectual attitude of man's mind by announcing the glad tidings for the first time that he was God's Representative on Earth—*Khalifatahullaha fil arz*—for whom the Earth, the Heavens and the whole Universe were holding in trust, hidden in their wombs, immense wealth of material and energy which were waiting to be tapped and harnessed to whatever purposes he would like to turn them. Light and learning and peace went in its wake, and even the enemies were welcome to kindle their own little lights from the blazing torch of learning that Islam held aloft. It also taught them for the first time equality and brotherhood of all mankind—transcending all barriers of race, colour and geography—and justice, fairplay and toleration in their dealings, notwithstanding differences of faith or ideology. The forces thus released by that dynamic democracy of Islam continued to benefit mankind from Spain and Dakar in the west to China and Singapore in the East for close on a thousand years—a record without parallel in all history.

Present day dictartoship and democracy both hopelessly fall short of Islamic democracy which was a happy combination of both. No other combination would work, nor any has worked so far, with any appreciable success. Since then the world particularly Europe, evolved and experimented with so many systems, but none would fit in with human nature and requirements.

Voice of Reason

While the world had been muddling through these experiments, Reason all these ages had been crying hoarse: Do by all means evolve a better system and society if you can, but for Heaven's sake and in your own interests stick to the only known and tried democracy of Islam till you have found out something better. But the Christianity-ridden Europe, with its inferiority complex, would

(Continued on next page)

THE TRUTH

(Continued from prev. page)

not listen. Perhaps because it dreaded the day when, having already accepted the part which is inseparable from the whole, the latter may eventually claim it completely. So it kept on stubbornly refusing to face facts and reality, even as the Congress and its allied organisations in India are doing to-day. One wonders whether they would still refuse to listen to the voice of Reason when the present war is over.

Islam offers a way out of the present muddle, and the world will have to recognise sooner than later that Islam alone is the specific for all ills of humanity. And the servants of Islam should not fight shy of proclaiming the Truth, for the day of mental reservations is done. Hypocrisy, otherwise called diplomacy, has been tried long enough in the affairs of men, making "cofusion worse confounded". No more mincing of words. Let all concerned approach the problem of humanity with open minds, free from all obsessions, for that way lies the salvation of mankind.

"Ita'at"

The principle of *ita'at-i-Amir* (undivided allegiance to Leader), in fact the whole Islamic law, presupposes independence. That is another reason why Indian Muslims should have homelands of their own in the sub-continent of India. Because they did not claim one so far is no reason why they should not claim it now. A people's claim for independence never goes by default so long as they are strong enough to wrest it.

Indian Muslims will soon have to find someone who is *ulil-amre minkum*. But *amarat* goes with independence. Without independence there is no *amarat* and without *amarat* Quranic law can hardly prevail and without Quranic law there is no true Islamic society or government.

The Muslims of India are fortunate in having a Leader in whom they have complete confidence. But he is shorn of the Quranic status of *ulil-amre minkum* through no fault of his own. It is up to the Musalmans to win for their leader that status and for themselves independence by establishing homelands of their own. They need no new ideology; they do not have to grope for a programme. The Allah is there, the Quran is there, the precepts of the Prophet are there, the Leader is there—and that Leader is Qa'id-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. What is needed is but the WILL, not a mere wish, of the nation to do and dare. Will it be forthcoming before it is too late?

* * * * *

Alhaqqo Murrun

(Truth, more often than not, is unpalatable)

"Spiritual Coercion" by Mr. Gandhi

PRINCIPAL CHATTERJEE ON NON-VIOLENCE

A.-I. Philosophical Congress

"If by violence is meant the infliction of pain or the exercise of coercion upon another, then such pain and coercion may be exercised both physically as well as spiritually. The Mahatma himself frequently exercises spiritual coercion on others by organising passive resistence or by undertaking fasts." Thus observed Principal G. C. Chatterjee in the course of his presidential address at the All-India Philosophical Congress, held at Aligarh on December 20 last.

The Seventeenth Session of the All-India Philosophical Congress opened in the Strachey Hall on the morning of December 20. Principal G. C. Chatterjee (Punjab) presided. Besides delegates from all parts of India there was a large gathering of students and members of the staff of the University.

Welcoming the delegates Prof. A. B. A. Haleem, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, said that the Aligarh University had also entered upon the task of reinterpreting the Eastern systems of Philosophy in the light of Modern thought—a task with which the Congress was deeply concerned. He emphasised that a thorough study of the individual systems of thought evolved by Hindu and Muslim thinkers was a necessary preliminary to a higher synthesis of all the various systems. In order to make such comparative study bear fruit it was highly essential to persue philosophy as love of wisdom and to universalise the spirit and emotions of man at the same pace as his knowledge.

Proceeding Prof. Haleem pointed out that the tendency of modern education in the direction of specialisation, though contributing materially to the advancement of learning, has affected adversely the development of harmonious and comprehensive personality of our young men. He hoped it would be in the fitness of things if the Congress gave a lead in remedying this defect.

Referring next to the educational problems 'peculiarly our own' Prof. Haleem urged that educational institutions which lay stress on the study of one or the other of the various religious, philosophical and cultural systems in India should not be decried in the name of a false and narrow nationalism. "In view of the existing condition of the world it is difficult to say whether nationalism is a passing phase in the history of mankind or has come to say. In any case a narrow nationalism which aims at divesting our life of the richness of diversity is not a thing to be encouraged. What we need is not patch-work and make-shift compromises but a higher synthesis; and this higher synthesis can be achieved only by careful study and systematic thought and not by the repetition of political catcho-words."

Foundation

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor then, inaugurated the Congress. Addressing the delegates, he said that philosophy was the foundation of every science. History, for example, long remained confined to simple narration of facts until Ibn-Khaldoom laid down the philosophical principle of historical research and Al-Beruni formulated the method by which exaggerated and incorrect accounts could be tested and brought to reasonable accuracy. The Arabs also developed a perfect system of testing personal equation of the narrators of the Hadith, although an attempt has yet to be made to extend those principles to the narration of historical events.

Proceeding Sir Zia Uddin said that similar was the case with Mathematics and Political Economy. The true concept of a straight line was only recently established by Hilbert after the mathematical philosopher had shown that the old definition was little more than poetic diction, because every line must have breadth and evenness does not lie in any line or surface.

As for Political Economy, the fundamental concepts of money, labour, etc., have yet to be critically examined. Since many countries went off the gold standard the need of finding a common medium by which we could compare the currencies of different countries has become more and more imperative. This can only be achieved through philosophical examination and critical thought.

Concluding he said that it was wrong to confuse Philosophy with the Metaphysics of the Middle Ages. The real function of philosophy is the critical examination of all fundamental concepts and no branch of learning can acquire the status of a science without it.

Presidential Address

Principal G. C. Chatterjee in the course of his presidential address, strongly refuted that the task of philosophy was to substitute 'articulate hesitation' in place of 'inarticulate certainty.' He asserted that genuine philosophy must face from time to time the practical problems of life, and seek to supply those in search of guidance, not only doubts which will paralyse life, but certainties on which they can regulate their conduct. The problem of to-day is to supply a meaning to life, to define the aim and purpose for which we live, and to indicate the manner in which the purpose is to be realised.'

Having dismissed the solutions offered by orthodox religion and the doctrine of Absolute Idealism as unhelpful in present-day conditions, Principal Chatterjee examined in detail the doctrine of non-violence and said: "If by violence is meant the infliction of pain or the exercise of coercion upon another, then such pain and coercion may be exercised both physically as well as spiritually. The Mahatma himself frequently exercises spiritual coercion on others by organising passive resistence or by undertaking fasts." Similarly it was a contradiction in terms to say that non-violence meant love, because love was the most violent of all human passions.

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"Be Ready to Make Sacrifices"

Qa'id-e-Azam's Command to Muslims

Students Warned Against Rash Step

The goal of Muslim India was simple and clear. It was Pakistan. The Muslims, therefore, must be up and doing and they should always be ready to make any sacrifice that was demanded of them.—Thus observed Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah in his concluding speech at the closing session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation at Nagpur on the night of December 28 last.

The moment the Qa'id-e-Azam rose to address the gathering in Urdu, there was a wave of enthusiasm among the audience who shouted "Qa'id-e-Azam Zindabad." Then there was a pindrop silence and every word that the Qa'id-e-Azam uttered went straight to the hearts of the people.

Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah said that soon after the Pakistan Resolution was passed at Lahore, thousands of Muslims came to see him in the Railway train which was carrying him to Bombay and greeted him with shouts of "Pakistan Zindabad" with unprecedented enthusiasm. When the train reached Bombay, Muslims assembled at the platform greeted him and expressed their joy at the idea of establishing Pakistan in India. The most interesting episode was that of two bright Muslim children who came to him, shouting "Pakistan Zindabad." One was nearly seven years old and the other was ten. He got interested and asked them what they meant by "Pakistan." At first they became nervous but soon got over their shyness and answered that where the Muslims were in a majority, the Muslims must rule. The Qa'id-e-Azam said that he was immensely satisfied with the reply and further questioned them as to where they were in a majority? The reply was on the tip of their tongues and they cried out with one voice: "Punjab, Sindh, Bengal." He said that it was, therefore, impossible for him to think that there was any Muslim who did not understand what was meant by Pakistan. The fact was that the Musalmans had absolutely no difficulty in understanding what was meant by Pakistan. The people who did not understand it, rather, refused to understand it, were his Hindu brethren.

The Goal

The goal of Muslims in India, he said, was simple and clear. It was Pakistan. But the question was how the Musalmans were to achieve it. Its achievement, he said, was in the hands of the Muslims themselves who should know that there was nobody who was going to help them in reaching their goal for the simple reason that others had nothing to gain from it except the Muslims. The Hindus were opposed to it because they wanted Hindu Raj in the whole of India, and they wanted to establish Hindudom throughout the country.

The Muslims, therefore, must be up and doing and they should always be ready to make any sacrifice that was demanded of them.

The Qa'id-e-Azam said that if they continued their efforts and organized themselves thoroughly well on the League platform and spoke with one voice and one soul they were sure to see that even those who were opposed to them would become their friends and they would willingly come forward to make peace with them (Muslims).

He laid great stress on the internal purity of the organisation and said that so long as the members of the Muslim League were imbibed with the true spirit of Islam and worked harmoniously for the cause of Muslim India loyally and selflessly, their success, under any circumstances, was certain. He advised the workers not to be impatient for reward or recognition of their services. He told them that when the time came these things would automatically follow. He pointed out that any effort which was made essentially in the spirit of service was in itself the best reward.

Discrimination

Referring to the arrest and imprisonment of Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, Allama Mashriqi and Dr. Abdul Sattar Khairi of Aligarh, he condemned the discriminative attitude of the Government towards Mr. Gandhi who had started the Civil Disobedience movement in defiance of Law and order and yet was free from the clutches of the law. The Indian Penal Code and the Defence of India Act were not meant for Mr. Gandhi, as everyone could see. The reason, he said, was obvious. He added that the time was fast approaching when the Government would equally find it impossible to lay their hands upon any Muslim.

He advised the Musalmans to be cautious as their path was full of snares and that they should always proceed step by step. He did not therefore, want them to be in a dreadful haste about anything and thus take a rash step only to repent afterwards.

Temptation

He particularly advised the students to follow his advice carefully and organise themselves as best as they could. If they did so, he had no doubt that they would be successful in the task they had set to themselves. He reminded them that theirs was, at any rate, not a political organisation and that there was a vast field and enormous work to be done by them in various spheres. He exhorted them to apply their mind to the various social educational and economic problems which deserved the best of their attention during the holidays, in addition to their academic pursuits. These, he said, were the spheres for them in which they could make their full contribution. He warned them against the temptation of catching the lime-light, which, he said, would sap the very foundation of a good educational career.

Referring to the condition of the Depressed Classes in India, he said that that was the greatest blot on the history of this country and advised the students that a lot of social work could be done in that direction too. He said it was no use students wasting their time in superficial talks about controversial matters which did not result in anything good.

Concluding he observed: "we will have Pakistan sooner than you think or I think."

Dhanbad Academy

The first annual meeting of the Muslim Students of Dhanbad Academy was held on Thursday, December 18 last, under the auspices of Anjuman Ittehad-e-Tulaba-e-Muslamin at the Juma Mosque. Head Maulavi Mohammad Abdus Subhan was in the chair. Muslim students and teachers of other schools were also invited. Poems of the late Dr. Iqbal were recited and speeches on the subject of "Unity" were delivered. The Founder-President of the Anjuman, Hafiz Abdul Ahad Azimabadi, then delivered his Presidential address and advised the Muslim students to be united.

The meeting then adopted resolutions, requesting the Muslim Students of other schools to establish a committee under the guidance of their Muslim teachers—like the Dhanbad Academy—and urged the Muslim Students to form a Manbhum District Muslim Students Federation, to be affiliated with the Bihar Provincial Muslim Students Federation, so that the rights of the Muslim students of Manbhum district may not be ignored.

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DELHI

Sunday, January 11, 1942.

THE UNHOLY CHORUS

Incoherency of the chorus apart, whether it be Nehru, Gandhi, C. R., Savarkar or Sapru, the burden of their songs is the same—that Britain should forthwith commit herself to the effect that the sub-continent of India is one homogeneous *country*, inhabitted entirely by one Indian *nation* and is, therefore, indivisible, and that she should, on that basis, give a categorical promise to concede the freedom of the *country* at the end of the war and at the moment undertake provisional settlement as an earnest of their promise. So, that is the impossible price of Congress co-operation in war efforts, which they expect to extort from Britain under the stress of the war. The latest to join the band is the misguided British Press, led by their *Guardian*.

The Congress represents a people—not the Muslims—who, according to history, have never ventured out of this sub-continent and have almost always surrendered to or got beaten and subjugated by foreign invaders and have, therefore, little accumulated experience of statecraft in peace or war. To appease such a people at the cost of those who have been the rulers of this sub-continent before the advent of the British, for more than seven centuries, and whose brethren-in-faith are still ruling, for more than a thousand years now, parts of Asia, Africa and Europe and fighting side by side with Britain, cannot be justified even on the grounds of expediency, let alone justice and fairplay. But if Britain must continue to bungle even at this critical stage of the war, she can please herself.

Democracy or no democracy, Indian Musalmans are not going to submit to Hindu domination, in spite of British bayonets. If freedom is to come it must benefit all the different peoples inhabitting this sub-continent and not only the Hindus who, being in a minority in no less than six provinces (the Punjab, the N.-W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sindh, Assam and Bengal) nevertheless happen to be the majority in the "administrative phantom," called India, taken as a whole. The Muslims, on their part, have known freedom better than those whom the Congress claims to represent.

Knowing that Britain is not going to "get out", in spite of Jawaharlals, the Congress is harking back to Britain for a declaration in favour of the Hindus, to the exclusion of other claimants. Let Britain, by all means, concede or even "confer" freedom now and here or whenever she so pleases. But that freedom shall not be conceded unless the claims of the different peoples to independent homelands in the sub-continent have *first* been determined and adjusted to the satisfaction of all concerned. Only then can freedom come to stay. What is required is not the freedom of *the* country or *the* nation—for, there is no one nation or one homogeneous country—but the freedom of each one of the homogeneous zones of the Indian sub-continent.

If Britain has not the courage to give a "categorical promise" to that effect, she has equally no moral justification to commit herself, contrary to the solemn pledge of August 1940, to a course of action detrimental to the interests of all but the Hindus—100 million Muslims and nearly as many millions of the scheduled classes, which makes a total of nearly half the population of the Indian sub-continent. If, again, she cannot muster courage, for fear of the Hindus, to do justice by the peoples who together make up nearly half the population of this sub-continent, let her clear out, as suggested by Mr. Jawaharlal, leaving the peoples free to settle things between themselves. But if, on the contrary, she chooses to appease the Hindus, as represented by the Congress and allied organisations, regardless of the cost or consequences, she will reap as she will sow.

NOTES

Pakistan For Peace

Referring to Pakistan Sir Bijoy Parshad in his Presidential address at the 23rd annual session of the National Liberal Federation says that it is a challenge to the fundamental unity running through the whole continent of India, it is a repudiation of the unity of purpose which underlies the external multitudinous ramifications of society, it encourages an attitude towards life where emphasis is placed on differences and incompatibilities in scorn of the impulse of cohesion. Such a scheme leaves society open to the assaults of chaos and anarchy.

It shows Sir B. Parshad lives in unrealities and refuses to understand the Pakistan scheme. As a matter of fact there does not exist any fundamental unity in the country to which Pakistan is a challenge. There is only an artificial unity invented by the rulers for their administrative convenience which has developed into a great menace to the existence of 100 million Muslims inhabitting the sub-continent. Pakistan is there to meet that exigency. India is inhabitted by peoples of different nationalities who have nothing in common between themselves, despite close contact of centuries past. The external ramification of society is the mirror of the internal conditions where there is no unity of purpose between different peoples.

Pakistan stands for establishment of national homes of all the peoples in the sub-continent of India—Hindus, Muslims and scheduled classes. Once the scheme materialises it would obviate all chances of chaos and anarchy in society. In fact the scheme is a sure guarantee of justice and fairplay to all and peace and harmony all over the sub-continent. Those who talk in different terms either misunderstand or deliberately misrepresent it.

The Assam Affair

The resignation of Mr. Rohini Kumar-Chaudhury, the Education Minister in Sir Sa'adullah Cabinet, neces-

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NOTES

(Continued)

sitated the resignation of Sir Sa'adullah and his remaining colleagues. But before the latter had done so a no-confidence motion was brought against him which was carried with the support of the Congress party. Sir Sa'adullah took no part in the proceedings as he had already announced his intention to resign immediately on the arrival of the Governor at Shillong. Accordingly, Sir Sa'adullah resigned and the Governor called upon the party leaders with a view to ascertain their respective strengths and entrust the leader of the majority party with the formation of a Cabinet. Mr. Bardoloi, Sir Sa'adullah and Mr. Chaudhury all interviewed the Governor. According to the official statement Mr. Bardoloi had declined the offer and Sir Sa'adullah was not presumed to command a majority after the no-confidence motion, but Mr. Chaudhury had wanted to form ministry on the strength of the Congress party who had pledged only a restricted support. In the circumstances as no stable ministry could be form, section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935 was invoked and the constitution suspended.

There is a great stir in the Congress Circles at Assam and Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhury, who had calculated to come back as the head of the next Government, has been sorely disappointed. It is very significant that the progressive nationalist party, of which Mr. Chaudhury is the leader, has on its roll only 26 members in a house of 107. The Congress party was vehemently opposed to the re-establishment of Sir Sa'adullah's Government, obviously for no other reason than that he happens to be a Muslim. If, as is given out, Sir Sa'adullah did not really command the majoriry, Mr. Bardoloi having admittedly declined to form the ministry, the Governor had no alternative but to suspend the constitution.

Generally we do not approve of suspension of the constitution in any part of the country but there is no force in Mr. Bardoloi's contention that a party consisting of 26 members in a house of 107 could be entrusted to carry on the Government of the province. Mr. Bardoloi says that the suspension does not affect him or his party. The situation is intriguing in that despite his professed disinterestedness Mr. Bardoloi is no less perturbed at the suspension than Mr. Chaudhury himself. In fact he was keenly interested in the affair. His own hands having been tied up on account of the present Congress policy he had wanted to rule over the province through Mr. Chaudhury who would be entirely dependent upon the support of the Congress party. The Assam affair is yet another instance of Congress inconsistency. The only consideration that seems to weigh with them is that any stick is good enough to beat the Muslims with.

Provoking Muslim League

CONGRESS IN BLIND ALLEY: SAYS DR. LATIF

In a statement to the *Associated Press* on the resolution of the Congress Working Committee, Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, one of the authors of the Pakistan Scheme, says: "The Congress Working Committee has again crawled into a blind alley. If it was really anxious to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis at this grave hour, it should have at first come to terms with the Muslim League without whose co-operation no Government could be formed, truly representative in character.

The Committee should have concentrated its attention on the immediate present even as the Muslim League has done and reciprocated its offer of co-operation with it and other parties in prevailing upon the British Government to allow them to form a truly representative Indian Government both at the Centre and in the provinces during the duration of the war, without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of a future constitution for India.

"To insist on a settlement of the question of India's independednce as a condition of participation in the defence of the country is to provoke the Muslim League to insist on a prior settlement of the independence of the Muslims in an Independent India on the lines of Pakistan.

"Since this issue will not be considered by the British Government unless the Congress and the League and other parties come to some compromise between themselves, the Bardoli resolution of the Congress Working Committee which is meant to be a significant gesture to British Government will bear no fruit.

"The British Government cannot settle anything directly with the Congress over the head of the Muslim League. The Congress must realize this and make amends in proper time if it is in earnest to help the country to defend hereself on what it calls a "National Basis."

Congress Claim Untenable

Mr. Edwin Haward On Deadlock

The claim that the Congress Party Leaders have been converted to the support of the Allies is untenable, writes Mr. Edwin Haward, the wellknown writer on Indian affairs, in the *Sunday Times*. The party's co-operation, he continues, depends on the Government's acceptance of the terms to be ascertained on inquiry, and adds: "from words let fall by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, it is clear that the terms revive demands for prejudgment of the constitutional issue in a sense which would at once arouse strong opposition of the Muslim League."

Betrayal Of Muslims And Others

"Muslim League A Power To Reckon With"

MR. SUHRAWARDY OUTLINES FUTURE PROGRAMME

I have received a number of letters asking me for directions and advice as to what the Muslim League branches in Bengal and the members of the Muslim League and its supporters and, generally speaking the Muslims of Bengal should do in this crisis which has overtaken the community and the Province. The Muslims ofBengal have answered. From far and near there has been a chorus of condemnation against the attempts that have been made to humiliate and destroy the Muslim League in this Province. Muslim Bengal realises the dangers that best the Muslim League and Muslim community from all sides, and it has declared against the enemies and betrayers of the League and of the community. The resolutions mostly are on the following lines:—

Supporting Qa'id-e-Azam Mr. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, affirming allegiance to the All-India Muslim League as the only organisation of the Muslims of India and condemning all attempts to disintegrate the Muslims.

Condemning Mr. Fazlul Huq for having betrayed the Muslim League; for creating another party of Muslims and for attempting to bring about division amongst Muslims, and generally for his anti-League activities.

Condemning the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca for his wanton betrayal of the Muslim League.

Calling upon all Muslim members of the Legislature, who have not joined the Muslim League Party, to disassociate themselves from the Progressive Party and the Progressive Coalition Party and to join the Muslim League Party in the Legislature, and to oppose the present Ministry; failing this to resign their seats in the Legislature as they have forfeited the confidence of their voters and of the Muslim public.

Respectfully requesting His Excellency the Governor to disserve the Assembly and order a fresh election as their representatives are deliberately flouting public opinion and are disobeying the mandates of their constituencies.

Stunned

There are some Districts, Sub-Divisions, Cities, Municipalities and Unions whose League organisations have not yet expressed their opinion publicly although I have received letters from the executives of most of them which give expression to the above views in a very forcefull manner. Many of them have declared that they feel so stunned at the magnitude of the calamity which has overtaken Muslim Bengal that they do not know how and where to start to give expression to their feelings of anger and resentment. Such organisations should, as a first step, pass resolutions supporting the league and giving expression to their sentiments, and acquaint the Muslim public within their jurisdictions how the Muslim community has been betrayed.

More important, however, than these Resolutions is the solid work of organising the Muslim League, reconstituting the primary Leagues and educating public opinion along right lines in Muslim solidarity and unity. I am recommending to the Working Committee and the Council to change the rules of the Constitution so as to enable the primary Leagues to be reconstituted in the months of January and February. At least seven days' notice of such reconstitution meetings should be given. It would be advisable for Sub-Divisional Leagues to appoint a Returning Officer for every Primary League to whom membership receipts should be issued, and whose duty it will be to enrol as members every Muslim eligible to be a member under the Constitution. Members may be enrolled up to one hour before the actual meeting is held. These membership books may be issued to other responsible persons as well, but under the supervision of the Returning Officer. The fullest facilities must be given to every Muslim to enrol himself as a member. Muslim national guards should also be enrolled in every union, the number, of course, varying with the Muslim population in the union.

Tour

Six of us, namely, Maulana Md. Akaram Khan, Sir Nazimuddin, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin, Khan Bahadur Syed Moazzamuddin Hussain and myself propose making a tour of East and North Bengal between January 5 and 22. It is intended to hold meetings and meet organisers and workers at Faridpur, Hajigunj, Feni, Chittagong, Noakhali, Comilla Kishoregunj, Mymensingh, Bogra, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Natore and Rajshahi, ending with Serajgunge. We shall visit other places including West Bengal after the Provincial Muslim League Conference at Serajgunge which is to take place on January 22. We trust that at each of these places we shall receive favourable reports of the expansions of the organisation.

Although a very serious blow has been dealt at the Muslim League, there is no cause for pessimism or anxiety. Indeed, it may well be considered to be a blessing in disguise inasmuch as it has expossed those who had joined the Muslim League for the advancement of their own personal interests. We shall now be able to build the Muslim League on more solid and surer foundations and include within its fold only those who believe in Muslim solidarity and unity and the universal brotherhood of Islam and the goal of Pakistan and are capable of making sacrifices in the cause of the community. We shall then be able to achieve such real strength that not a single Muslim however highly placed he may be, will dare to defy the united will of the Muslim community. The betrayal of the Muslim League has been rendered posssible by the treachery perpetrated by some members who pretended to be Muslim Leaguers, but who were constantly stabbing the Muslim League in the back and letting down their own community. They have only had the effrontery to do so in the mistaken belief that they can successfully defy the Muslim community and that public opinion has no sanction strong enough to deal with betrayers and self-seekers. They are hoping to disorganise and demoralise the Muslim community by offers of petty favours, such a nominations to local bodies and by the distribution of Government patronage to sycophants and favourites and persons of their own type. But although a few may stray, the vast majority will treat their offers with disdain, and loyally support the Muslim League, much preferring to forego an ephemeral advantage gained at the expense of their conscience, for the sake of securing lasting power and advantage for their community and for themselves, their children, and their children's children.

Misleading

I would not indeed be surprised if these persons who thrive on disunity even try to resuscitate that wing of the Congress which goes by the name of the Krishak-Proja Party. Or perhaps an attemt may be made to deal a still more treacherous blow by creating another Party bearing the Muslim League name, but unclaimed and unrecognised. We must set our face against all such attempts at disruption and educate public opinion to withstand the shock of such nefarious activities. The anti-League propaganda may take yet another form. at may be said that there will be more communal harmony under the new dispensation and that unity

(Continued on next page)

Same Old Farce

Writing under the caption "C. R.—Gandhi plot," the *Sunday Observer* says: Mr. Gandhi, who is not even a four-anna member of the Congress, has been relieved of his leadership by the Congress Working Committee. The same old farce has been re-enacted. The Congress Press has extolled the decision as a "gesture" and been emphasising that the responsibility for making the next move lies with the British Government. But, as Sir Mohamed Usman has pointed out in a press interview, when the two chief political parties in the country do not agree, what can the British Government do? Mr. Jinnah has reiterated his warning against any declaration which will militate against Pakistan. Any move on the part of the British Government to conciliate anti-war propagandists will only make the situation worse.—*Sunday Observer.*

Ministerial Government

Commenting on the statement of His Excellency the Viceroy in his last speech that he hoped to see the day when, in the provinces which were still without a ministerial government they would see in power governments set on the winning of the war, the *Manshoor* says: It clearly shows that His Excellency the Viceroy and the British Government desire the establishment of ministerial Government in the six provinces which had Congress Governments. We are not opposed to the idea. Nevertheless, there should be a previous settlement between the Congress and the League as regards provincial matters. In case Congress ministeries of the old type are allowed to re-establish themselves in the six provinces it will create a new problem of maintaining the internal peace and tranquility while the war is developing not very far from the eastern frontiers of the Indian sub-continent. The Muslims are not prepared to tolerate a Government which may be under the sway of the Congress High Command and in which the Muslim League would have absolutely no say. His Excellency the Viceroy has rightly said that if the conditions in the provinces were not changed the differences with regard to the future constitution would still remain. We may add here that in the event Congress Governments are established in the provinces without the co-operation of the League, it will lead to an intensification of differences.—The *Manshoor*, Delhi.

League Stand Just

Commenting on the statement of Mr. Jinnah in which he had warned the Government that should they entered into any settlement with the Congress contrary to the Muslim interests it would be vehemently opposed by Muslim India the *Sarosh* says:—

The stand which the League has taken is just and fair. It is not opposed to the Hindu demands. On the contrary we would be too glad to see the end of British imperialism over the sub-continent of India. But at the same time we would not like the imposition of Ram Raj, instead. Unlike the Congress, who wants Hindu domination all over India, the League stands for the freedom of all peoples in the sub-continent.—*Sarosh*, Bombay.

"Muslim League a Power to Reckon With"

(Continued)

between Hindus and Muslims may be achieved. This is wholly misleading. Unity cannot be achieved merely by Hindus and Muslims of the anti-Muslim League variety working together in the same Cabinet. To achieve unity or co-operation or mutual toleration the communities have to come together, and this can only be done if the Muslims are united and the Hindu organisations are prepared to work and co-operate with the Muslim League and not get behind the Muslim League by attempts at mass contact or by capturing some of the alleged Muslim representatives who imagine themselves safe because they have no election to face. We, too, are most anxious to work in harmony and co-operation with the Hindu Community and we await the day with confidence when the Hindu organisations will come to an agreement with the Muslim League and achieve the political salvation of India. In the meantime I may repeat what I said a few days ago at Barisal where we received a most tremendous ovation. "Unity cannot be achieved over the body of a dismembered Muslim community."

Past and Present

It must be realised that the composition of the Ministry is of little consequence. Too much excitement has been caused at the personnel itself and we are likely to lose sight of the principles involved. It does not matter how many or how few Hindus, Scheduled Castes and Muslim Ministers there are and what is their proportion. What does matter is that the Ministerial Party which consisted mainly of Muslims and Scheduled Castes (the representatives of the masses) and of fair-minded Caste Hindus has been replaced by a Party dominated by the militant Hindu Mahasabha and the Forward "Bloc" and by those elements which opposed the beneficent measures of the late Muslim League Ministry and the very spirit behind the administration. All that we had achieved and worked for are on a fair way to being undone and destroyed; the spirit has now changed as the Muslims are already beginning to realise to their cost.

I cannot anticipate all the arguments that will be advanced and the propaganda that will be made and the steps that will be taken to bring about disruption in the Muslim ranks. Those who love the Muslim community and the Muslim League, who believe in the solidarity of the Muslim Nation and in Pakistan must realise the necessity of upholding the power and the prestige of the All-India Muslim League and rallying the masses under the banner of the League in this grave crisis, for it is only through the All-India Muslim League that the Muslim community will reach its political, social, economic and religious goal. The League has welded the Muslims into an organised mass and has made our community a power to be reckoned with. No constitution for the future of India can be fashioned without the support and the consent of the League, a consent and support which will be forthcoming for all reasonable proposals as may be expected from a responsible organisation. The sin of those who attempt to destroy or minimise the power of the organisation is unpardonable, the more so, at this critical period when the method and goal of the next constitutional advance is being seriously considered and interested parties taking advantage of the defection of unreliable and volatile politicians are loudly declaiming that the Muslim League is unrepresentatives and should be ignored.

The Crime

The crime in its enormity is unforgiveable and well may Mr. Fazlul Huq ponder over his oration delivered in Calcutta in 1938 that if he ever combined with the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha his Government would be of no greater account than the Government of Shah Alam or Mir Jaffar and that he will be doing nothing better than signing the Islam-killing "firmans" of anti-Muslim organisation, well may he set himself the question he asked on that day how under these circumstances he will be able to show his face before Allah on the day of judgment.

LETTERS

Call To Womanhood

Sir—I have watched with interest the reactions to my call to womanhood. The response evoked is encouraging. THE DAWN has provided an excellent forum for political discussions throughout Muslim India. May THE DAWN really help the new era to dawn without delay.

I agree with my sister, S. Begum, that the Muslim womanhood should occupy a frontal position in the body politic of Muslim India —not by mere courtesy or chivalrous sentiments of our brothers but by dint of solid achievements. Gifts are hardly graceful. It is time the Muslim women should realize their position and responsibilities, and try to fulfil their rightful role with credit.

Education is the prerequisite for effective awakening. It is encouraging that the Muslim girls are now taking to education in larger numbers than in the past. But the number of girls under tuition is still a mere drop in the ocean. The position has to improve.

The command of our Prophet (peace be on him) is, as usual clear on the point —*Tallab-al ilme farizatun ala kulle Muslemino wal Muslimat.* (Acquisition of knowledge is the bounden duty of *every* Muslim male and *every* Muslim female). The saying clearly enunciates the salutory principle of compulsory education for children of both sexes. The principle enunciated by the Prophet of Islam fourteen hundred, years ago has been adopted by the Christian countries but still stands unhonoured and unimplemented in Muslim countries. Nothing could be a greater tragedy and a matter of greater shame for the Muslims.

We must now try to rectify past mistakes. Things are changing slowly but steadily. The enlightened few amongst the Muslim womanhood should take the lead.

Politics undoubtedly holds the field. The Muslim womanhood should veer round the Muslim League and try to help it and utilize it to serve the cause of womanhood in all sphere of life. We must add strength to the elbows of our leaders, as suggested by S. Begum.

The Muslim women could also set better examples by their unshaken devotion and steadfast loyalty, which are their innate virtues. The waverers and deserters should be put to shame. The Muslim womanhood of Bengal should come forward to be members of the Muslim League so that the deserters may feel the ignomy of their perfidious conduct the more.

Yours etc.,
Muslim Womanhood
Calcutta. of Bengal.

Modern Education and Muslim Women

Sir - I have read with interest the views of my venerable sister S. Begum about the apathy of Muslims in the matter of education of Muslim women. I have no desire to enter into a discussion with her or any other sister who does not feel inclined to agree with my humble opinion. I, however, venture to draw attention to the opinion of Miss L. R. Laksmi of the R. B. Sohan Lal College, Lahore, which she expressed during a debate in the Y. W. C. A. Hall as recently as November last on the subject whether "an educated girl is a misfit in society." She said that "the modern educated girl was neglecting the sacred duties entrusted to her by nature and instead of being a devoted mother, an affectionate sister, an obedient daughter and a loving wife, she had become a reluctant mother, an indifferent sister, a self-willed daughter and a quarrelsome wife." She added that "from financial, domestic and other points of view" the modern educated girl "was hardly to be considered other than a misfit in the society." It may be remembered that Miss Laksmi won the first prize which fact speaks for itself.

In view of the opinion of one of the modern educated girl herself, which was endorsed by the majority of the audience present there, I venture, to differ from the views of S. Begum that "the present system of education may be defective, but let us have it and try to get better education in due course. It is no use crying for the moon." Because by the time arrangements are made to modify the present system of education in order to bring it into line with the Islamic point of view, the harm done would have gone beyond the stage of rectification. The Muslim world wants mothers to beget and bring up Khalids and Tariqs.

I would, therefore, respectfully suggest to my sister to have Islamic education first and then obtain modern education in their own homes without attending any regular schools which produce only "modern girls" who are a misfit especially in the Muslim society. Only a few who want to enter any profession, such as medical, may have higher education. Apparently the modern education is more attractive and appealing to those who are in their teens; but adolescence is a stage in which one has not prudence enough to think of one's future, and it is at this time that children need advice and guidance of sincere and experienced well-wishers which a modern girl has no desire to take. Neglect on her part to look to parents and brothers for guidance sometimes brings about disastrous consequences. I venture to tender my humble advice as a Muslim brother and hope that my Muslim sister will kindly take it in the same spirit.

Yours etc.,
Lahore. Fazlur Rahman.

N. A. C. Delhi-Shahdara

Sir—It will be of interest to the authorities and the public to know the comparative figures of Hindus and Muslims both in the establishment as well as the Members of the Notified Area Committee, Delhi-Shahdara:—

Members

(1) President, Hindu, (2) Vice-President Hindu which has now become vacant due to the resignation of Hindu Vice-President on account of ill health), (3) Health Officer, Hindu; (4) Sanitary Inspector (Rural Area). Hindu; (5) Overseer, Hindu; (6) Member Hindu; (7) Member Hindu; and (8) Member, Muslim.

Against seven Hindus there is only one Muslim member.

Establishment

( ) Secretary, Hindu; (2) Overseer, Hindu; (3) Sanitary Inspector (Delhi-Shahdara), Hindu; (4) Vaccinator, Hindu; (5) Typist, Hindu; (6) House Tax Clerk Hindu; (7) Water Works Supdt., Hindu; (8) Water Works Mistry, Hindu; (9) Ter. Tax Inspector, Hindu; and (10) Accountant, Muslim.

Against nine Hindus there is only one Muslim.

Yours etc.,
Delhi. Muslims of Shahdara.

THE CONGRESS GAME

By ABDUS SAMI

The Congress Working Committee met and dispersed. As is apparent from the recent statement of Maulana Azad, at a Press Conference at Bombay, there was a lot of difference between Mahatma Gandhi and others, and also among those others *interse*. After a week's labour the Sub-Committee of five (Messrs. Azad, Jawaharlal, Rajendra Pershad, C. Rajagopalachari and Govind Ballabh Panth) produced the resolution which is before the country now. The resolution, as one can easily see into its fabric, is a patch-work, meant to reconcile apparently conflicting views, on the political and war situation of India. It is very vague—not due to bad draftsmanship of its authors but due to a deliberate resolve to be elastic, to meet the changing situation. It is not a bold and frank declaration of policy, based on a realistic outlook and evidencing a genuine desire to solve India's political problem.

There is nothing new in the most recent performance of the Congress. They have played their old game of hide-and-seek Mahatma Gandhi is, seemingly, out of the picture. The background of this dramatic exit, is certainly intriguing. He bids good-bye to the organisation, as he is disillusioned now, after about a year and a half, as to the meaning and import of the Bombay resolution; hence his forced retirement. To the self-surrendering worshippers of 'Gandhiji', this may sound an explanation worthy of note. To others this is nothing but a bluff to Britons and Muslims.

Meaningless

What is the kith and kernel of the Bardoli resolution? But for the relaxation of the non-violence ban, in matter of wars, the resolution keeps the Congress policy intact. This relaxation becomes meaningless, from the point of view of practical politics, when Maulana Azad, in his Bombay statement says:—

"It was quite clear to me that in the Bombay resolution, Congress had taken up the position that it would not participate in this war, because of political considerations. It was not because of non-violence."

It is thus clear that the Bombay resolution was not founded on Mr. Gandhi's ideology of non-violence; it had, on the contrary, for its basis, the same political considerations which exist to-day. Mr. Gandhi has, on his part, conceded, that he was mistaken and that the Bombay resolution admitted of the only interpretation put upon it by Maulana Azad and others. This leaves no doubt in our mind that Mr. Gandhi's exit, and the academic change in the Congress policy in matter of non-violence, applicable to wars, do not, in essence and truth, affect any substantial change in the Congress creed, *vis-a-vis*, the war, and do not open any fresh avenues to explore an adjustment of rights and liabilities that may bring about a dissolution of the present political deadlock.

British Press

This takes the bottom out of the vain hopes, trotted out by a section of the British Press, regarding the chances of a compromise between the Congress and the British Government.

The childish optimism of those British papers, based on an ignorance of realities in India, makes one laugh. On what premises do they base their conclusion, one may ask? The only answer is that they have no clear vision of what is passing in India.

I have very minutely read and analysed the editorials of a number of British papers which clamour for a move on the part of the Viceroy, and, in their stupidity take theBritish-cum-Congress adjustment to be an accomplished fact. They fail to take notice of the veritable and stout stand of 100 millions of Musalmans not to submit to the rule of the Hindu majority in this Sub-Continent. They forget that in the event of declaring a date after the war for India's independence, the British Government would stand committed to the principle of indivisible and democratised India, with Congress as her mouth-piece and sole representative; for, otherwise, to whom will power be transferred?

The principle of agreement between the peoples in the matter of India's Constitution, to which the British Government stands committed so far, will go to the winds. The Muslims will be deemed to have merged in the supposed Indian nation, and the power and sovereignty will go permanently to the Hindus as an all-India Majority.

Consequences

The tragic consequences of such a disastrous policy are not realised by the British amateurs of Indian politics. They are ignorant of the History of Indian Musalmans and they are oblivious of the fact that the Muslims constitute a separate national unit. They seem to have closed their eyes to the truth that Muslim culture is incapable of merger, and that a Musalman, as such, cannot accept the position of a minority in this land.

The Congress Working Committee's recent bluff is meant to coerce Britain, under the menace of a Japanese invasion, into a departure from the declaration of August 8, 1940, which took a due account of India's peculiarities.

That any such departure will be catastrophic needs no arguments. It will amount to a declaration of perpetual bondage of 100 million Musalmans who are determined to protect their rights and liberty, in any constitution, at any cost.

Sacrifice, it must be remembered, is one of the Muslims articles of faith; and his capacity to offer sacrifices is immeasureable. It is inconceiveable, therefore, that to appease the Congress Pandits, Britian will commit the folly of antagonising the Musalmans of India who are certainly more capable of helping the war-machine than the Congress lords, in spite of the latter's cant to the contrary.

Practical Offer

The offer reiterated by the Muslim League at Nagpur appeals to imagination and is decidedly practical Mr. M. N. Roy's comment on the Nagpur Resolution of the Muslim League is a faithful commentary of the League view, *vis-a-vis* the war, and co-ordination of various forces in the country in respect thereof. The Muslim League, representing the Musalmans, has been consistent throughout. It stands unbluffed by the Congress throw; how the British Government is affected, thereby, remains to be seen.

Government Warn By Gaya League

The Working Committee of the Gaya District Muslim League which met on January 4 last, passed the following resolution on the present political situation in the country:

This meeting most emphatically warns the British Government that any departure from the solemn declaration of August, 1940 without the consent of the Muslim League will be deeply resented by Muslim India and the Government alone will be responsible for the consequences that will follow.

"Lion Bearded In His Own Den"

SIR NAZIMUDDIN ON LEAGUE POSITION IN BENGAL

Sir Nazimuddin who presided over the second sitting of the session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation on the night of December 27 last at Nagpur was cheered and profusely garlanded when he rose to address the audience on the present situation in Bengal. He regretted very much the absence of the Bengal delegation of Muslim students and added that notwithstanding their absence, he was proud to say, they were taking a great part in organising their province. The Muslim students of Bengal, in spite of what Mr. Huq had said, were the first and foremost to protest against the treachery aud disloyalty of Mr. Huq to the League organisation.

He assured the audience that Bengal was not behind any other province in its loyalty and devotion to the League organisation. He was thoroughly convinced that every Muslim in Bengal was a believer in Pakistan and that Muslim Bengal was undoubtedly in a position to give a lie to all the false claims that Mr. Fazlul Huq was making on behalf of the Muslims of Bengal. Referring to Mr. Fazlul Huq's miscalculation of the support from his own "home town" in Bengal, Sir Nazimuddin informed the audience how the lion had been bearded in his own den after the Musalmans of that place learnt the true situation.

Recalcitrants

He further assured the audience that the recalcitrant were only a few in Bengal and they were only those who were in the Legislature, elected on the Muslim League ticket, and were hankering after their selfish ends. They had adopted this attitude knowing that there would be no general election for at least some years to come, and that in the meantime they could profitably dance to the tune of Mr. Fazlul Haq who had sold himself to the Hindu Mahasabha.

He said that Muslim Bengal would teach a lesson to those who had betrayed their electorates and the cause of Islam in Bengal. He added that the present situation in Bengal was a blessing in disguise in that it had roused the Musalmans to organise themselves as best as they could to meet any challenge.

He gave details of the tour programme of the members of provincial Muslim League and said that their tour would enable them to set matters right in the province of Bengal.

Rift In Congress Ranks

Hollowness Exposed By Pandit N. Dass

Pandit Nilkantha Das, M.L.A., (Central), in the course of a statement on the present political situation in India, especially with reference to the policy of the Congress, says:

The Mahatma, who once said during the days of the late Mr. C. R. Das that he would be the leader of the whole Congress and not a section of it, actually became the leader of a section of it at Tripuri where he said that Dr. Pattabhai Sitaramayya's defeat was his own defeat.

The Congress has lost its character as a national institution. Besides the Forward Bloc and the Leftists like the Communists, there has been a rift among the Rightists, I mean among those that believe the parliamentary activity as a weapon for achieving independence.

They have no policy and it appears personal considerations or the strength or weakness of the provinces are the only factors which weigh with them.

All this now goes under the name of truth, non-violence, spinning, removal of untouchability and things like them but it is suprising when one speaks from experiences in Orissa that all kinds of evil forces such as goodaism, jealousy, false propaganda creating panic and using that panic and temerity of the people against possible war measures to be adopted by the Ministry, are let loose in the names of the Congress.

Clique

This is a very sad state of things which had overwhelmed India on account of the unconscious selfish behaviour of a section of our leading men due to an overweaning opinion of themselves. They should now face facts and try to be practical in their political activities. If they want to force the Congress opinion on others they should make the Congress living, for neither the Congress nor its Working Committee nor even the Parliamentary Sub-Committee is a static body with any finality of decisions.

No Surrender To Congress

PERIYAR'S WARNING TO GOVERNMENT

Periyar E. V. Ramaswami, leader of the Justice Party, issued the following statement from Erode on January 2 last.

The decision of the Congress Working Committee at Bardoli is a well thought-out device to dupe both the Government and the public. The attempt of the Congress to come to terms with the Government and at the same time carry the public with them will not be an easy affair hereafter.

If the Congress's stand is to be honest, it should find out ways and means of conciliating the Muslim League and the Justice Party. Nationalism and Freedom are not the monopoly of the

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Congress.

If Mr. Gandhi has relinquished the leadership of the Congress, it has not raised his prestige or that of the Congress. Nor can it be said that anything new has happened. For it is not the first time that Mr. Gandhi has left the Congress.

Under these circumstances if the Government were to think of surrendering to the Congress, they will be committing a serious blunder and making the position worse.

SPIRIT COERCION

(Continued)

Concluding, Principal Chatterjee upheld the view that 'life contains values which transcend nature, and are not nullified as the result of the vicissitudes which it brings! Our sense of values may sometimes be perverted but the values are always there to be sought, apprehended and defended, with life if necessary.

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Agreement Essential To Freedom

Mr. Amery On Congress Demands

No Progress Until Parties Work Together

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, in the house of Commons today stated:

"I have noted the resolutions passed by leaders of the political parties in India towards the end of December and the various statements made by political leaders in connection therewith, but I regret I cannot discover in them any satisfactory response to the Viceroy's recent appeal for unity and co-operation in the face of common danger.

The Government will not abate their efforts to promote that measure of agreement which is essential to the fulfilment of their pledges in India, pledges which though given independently of the Atlantic Charter, are in complete accord with the general principle affirmed in that declaration."

Mr. Amery made this statement in reply to requests for a statement on India by Mr. Graham White and Major Milner, while Mr. Sorensen had asked Mr. Amery "whether he appreciates the desire of Pandit Nehru and the Indian nationalist movement to co-operate on the basis of equal status with Britain and Allied Powers and whether in view of the present situation, the Government intend taking any further action to remove the impression caused by the restrictive interpretation of the Atlantic Charter and to mobilize politically conscious Indian opinion in the interest of world freedom and democracy."

Mr. Graham White in a supplementary asked Mr. Amery, "Having regard to the growing desire and anxiety in India and this country that something should be done to take advantage of the more fluid state of affairs in India, can you do something on the return of the Prime Minister to see whether we cannot at this stage take some step which will lead us towards removing the difficulties?"

Mr. Amery said: "Government are naturally anxious to take advantage of any real willingness on the part of the political parties to come to an agreement.

Major Milner asked: "Why you not take some active steps yourself and not continue this policy of masterly inactivity?"

Mr. Amery: "I will do so when there is some prospect of result."

Mr. Sorensen asked: "Don't you realize the significance of the fact that political leaders of various types in India are unanimous in characterizing the present situation as one which should have a great response from the Government of this country, and, secondly, that the Atlantic Charter in its interpretation in this country does not in any way meet the demand of the Indian people for the application of its principles to them in the same way as to other countries."

Contradiction

Mr. Amery: I am afraid the resolutions to which you refer were far from being unanimous. The resolutions of the Muslim League and the Congress are in direct contradiction to each other."

Mr. Shinwell asked: "Are we to understand from that reply that the Government's policy for the time being at any rate is to reply exclusively on the Viceroy's appeal for co-operation?"

Mr. Amery replied: "We cannot make further progress constitutionally in India until there is some willingness on the part of the leading parties to work together. It is not in our power to bring them together."

Mr. Gordon MacDonald asked Mr. Amery whether he had given consideration to sending out a goodwill mission to India to discuss with the representatives of Indian opinion ways and means of improving the position throughout India.

Mr. Amery replied: "I have considered this suggestion from time to time in consultation of course with the Viceroy but as yet we have seen no good prospect of such a mission achieving fruitful results."

Mr. Gordon MacDonald asked Mr. Amery what action was being taken by the Government to secure the restoration of popularly elected Governments in different provinces throughout India.

Mr. Amery replied: "You will be aware that Ministerial Government was resumed in Orissa on November 23. I am not aware of any immediate prospect of its resumption in other provinces in which normal working of the constitution has been suspended but the Governors are ready to welcome any such measures of co-operation among political parties in the provinces as will lead to the constitution of Ministries willing to undertake the responsibilities of office in the present circumstances."

Mr. Gordon MacDonald asked: "Are you satisfied that the passive attitude on the part of Government is the best that can be adopted? You tell us that they are willing to do certain things. Are they taking any action of their own to try to bring this about?"

Mr. Amery: "We will do everything possible when Ministries are ready to serve."

Mr. Sorensen asked Mr. Amery in what provinces Governors have now assumed complete personal responsibility for government, what representations he has received respecting the Government of India from non-Congress and Muslim League sources and whether these are receiving consideration.

(Continued on page 12)

Kazaks Migrate To Kashmir

Denial Of Religious Freedom, The Cause

Early in the month of November when news of "incursion" of Kazaks into Kashmir territory and their clash with the State troops was published in the newspapers, grave misunderstandings were caused by the translation of the term Kazak to that of "free booters" or "marauders". In fact no authentic information was so far available about these people who have been rendered homeless for the last five years.

The Kazaks are now in the valley of Kashmir. The home of these people is the country known as Kazak, with Caspian Sea on the West. Iran and Afghanistan on the South, Sinkiang and Chinese Turkistan on the East and United States of Soviet Russia on the North.

They belong to Kirghis, a large and widespread division of the Mongolo-Tartar family of which there are two main branches, the Kara-Kirghiz of the uplands and the Kirghis-Kazaks of the steppes, The term kirghiz is, however, never used by the steppe nomads who always call themselves simply Kazaks, that is "riders", as the word is commonly interpreted by them.

It is amusing how the term Kazak came to be used in the Persian literature meaning marauders. It appears that the first reference to this name is by Firdousi (1020) who speaks of the Kazak tribe as much dreaded steppe marauders, all mounted and armed with lances. From this circumstance the term Kazak came to be gradually applied to all free booters similarly equipped.

"Kazak" and "Cossack" though originally the same word, the former now designates a Mongolo-Tartar nomad race the latter various members of the Great and Little Russian Slav Family.

The main reason assigned by their leader, Elias Khan, for migration from their country was that under the Communist regime there was no religious freedom and they were forced to leave their home-land. Elias Khan said that their country was under Chinese influence before the Russian influence.

Elias Khan said that no less than 4,000 Kazak families had migrated from their home towards the nearest Chinese Province and that they were pursued by the Communists.

To their misfortune the Chinese Province which they entered was also in a troubled condition. This perhaps explains the story of a few hundred people who entered Kashmir territory some years ago with large quantities of gold which was seized partly by the Government of India and partly by the Government of Kashmir.

Elias Khan said that it was 5 years and 8 months now that they were wandering in a homeless condition, Asked what had happened to the other Kazaks who had migrated, Elias Khan said that the remainder were still in the Chinese territory. and a batch of 3,000 had come with him to Kashmir through the Tibetan territory.

In their own country the Kazaks dwell exclusively in the *Kibtka* or *Yurt*, a semi circular tent consisting of a light wooden frame-work and Namda (felt) covering with an opening above for light and ventilation, At their camp the same tents are pitched by them in the valley, which proves that they belong to a nomadic tribe.

Elias Khan did not admit that they had looted any Buddhist monastery in Tibet, when reminded of earlier reports regarding their alleged lawless activities in Tibet. He, however said that resistance was sometimes offered to their onward march and they were forced to find out their way. The Tibetan authorities did not allow them to proceed towards Darjeeling, a route which was much easier for them, and they had no alternative left except to enter the Kashmir territory *via* Leh Treaty Road, which they knew was open to travellers and traders from Chinese Turkistan and Tibet,

About 300 Policemen are now detailed on duty to guard the Kazaks, All the supplies are made to them on cash payment by contractors appointed by the authorities and an officer supervises all the sales and purchases made by the Kazaks,

A batch of about 500 is still left behind and is struggling to cross the Zojila Pass.

The Kazaks are Sunnis and their dress consists of the *Chapkan*, a flowing robe. Horsemanship is the great amusement of all true Kazaks who may almost be said to be born in saddle. They are a stoutly built people and are carrying their women and children along with them.

It is understood that instead of the Kangan Valley, the Kashmir Government has decided to put them in a camp in Muzaffarabad Tehsil, pending final decision about their destination.—*Hindustan Standard*.

Serajganj League Conference

Mr. M. A. Jinnah President of the All-India Muslim League, has, it is learnt, accepted the invitation of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League to preside at its Annual Conference to be held at Serajganj on February 14 and 15.

Many prominent members of the League from all over India are expected to participate in the Conference. Arrangements to make the Conference a great success are well on the way.

Assam Muslim Association

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Assam Muslim Association, Calcutta, was held there on Sunday, January 11 last.

The meeting passed a resolution condoling the death of Maulana Nazir Ahmad Chaudhry and Sir Akbar Hydari. Tributes were paid to the late Maulana's independent and fighting character.

The meeting concluded after passing a resolution, congratulating the student leader of Bengal, Mr. Fazlul Quader Chaudhry on his arrest by the Government of Bengal,

"BANDE MATARAM" AND MUSLIM GOVT. SERVANTS

C. P. Govt's Clarification

In a Press Conference, the Chief Secretary to the C. P, Government clarifying the position regarding "Bande Mataram" said: "No circular has been issued by the Government to officials to stand up when the song is sung in public meetings. The only departmental instruction has been by the Inspector General of Police to Police officials to stand up when on duty at such meetings. It was a matter of courtesy and endeavour to avoid unpleasantness in the discharge of official duties. This departmental instruction does not imply any obligation on the part of officials—Muslim or non-Muslim."

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Special Article

Muslims of the World: Unite!

By NAQIB-UZZAMAN

Islam has got to be free and united all the world over. Having seen enough of it, Islam is no more going to be deceived by professions of friendship by others. The Musalmans must be careful against defeatist and dividing propapanda. They should first secure their individual national territorial independence. But here we should remember that the terms "nation" and "national territory" do not convey the common meaning in the Islamic world. They denote, for advantage, administrative units in the world Muslim entity. Islam does not recognize geographical boundary and division of man.

Islam is an eternal message of God to man. One who accepts this message is a Musalman. Thus Islam is a mission of the Musalman to man and the world, and he takes it up for personal practice and propagation, on "word of faith" or covenant with God which is called *iman* and which involves duties to self and duties to others. Duties of both these categories, taken together, are the whole duties of a Muslim to God. Therefore, a Muslim by—command of God and upon implicit word of faith and honour cannot break his word even with a non-Muslim, because it is a sin. So, the word *be-iman* is held as the worst abuse in the Muslim world.

No Compromise

Islam has laid down directions for the guidance of the Musalmans in the clearest manner. A Muslim, therefore, cannot modify or omit any of these directions to suit his own convenience. Islam admits of no compromise where a principle is involved. And history bears witness to the same in the martyrdom of Imam Hussain (peace be on him.) Even in a hopeless situation Islam is not to sacrifice or modify its fundamental aims and principles. So, to preserve its health and purity Islam is traditionally uncompromising—— compromise being meant for a bankrupt principle. From sad experiences of the past the Musalmans all over the world should wake up to this eternal truth. They should remember that compromise only postpones and diverts one from his set course. So if a Muslim compromises against the direction of Islam or does not act or live up to his covenant with God, he ceases to be a Muslim he becomes a *munafiq* (a hypocrite). Thus in Islam principles rule, incidents and not incidents principles, because she is a dynamic force and is intended and required to be free.

Islam aims at establishment of one nation (universal brotherhood) and one country under one God. That nation is the whole of mankind and that country is the whole of the earth. This nation she wants to mould by unity, equality and brotherhood of all men of the world in a common faith in Islam. For that reason she bans all prejudices of race, colour, caste, creed, sex, language, territory, society and economic orders. Islam is forging ahead for universal brotherhood by international, inter-religious and inter-colour marriages. It requires no proof, it can be seen.

As a mission Islam, being unable to compromise, shall march straight. So, for unfettered progress, she requires to be free. Freedom is her indispensable and permanent necessity. Here we should remember that Islam is not only a religion; it is also a self-sufficient polity, an economic system, a social order and a culture.

Revival

At this moment the world is in a turmoil. Muslim world must at once wake up and take stock of her past experiences and errors and formulate a line of action for her united revival and independence. It is no time to lose moments. Musalmans must be near to each other. Never before was this so much necessary.

The views expressed in this article are not necessary those of THE DAWN.

The Musalmans covet nothing that belongs to others. Non-Muslim powers and peoples should not take fright at the talk of revival of Islam. A revived Islam will help preservation of world peace and justice.

Instability of world peace for the past two centuries is essentially due to the scramble of the western powers for possessions in the East. All the nations of the East are kept at a safe distance from getting together. No one can deny that there exists this source of friction between the East and the West.

Islam does not want her own freedom only. She will be glad if all other peoples were also free. It will be a joy to a League of Muslim Nations to join in a League of Eastern Nations and supplement the defence of the East in the Middle East round the eastern and southern Mediterranean shores. Do we not remember that with the fall of Muslim States around the Mediterranean, it was a walk-over for the European powers to the East. The entire East should help put up this Muslim bulwark against Western aggressors for the sake of her own protection.

It should not be concluded that the Muslim powers will thereby be a menace to the West. Islam, by her natural interposing position, will intervene and stop all conflicts that may be about to flare up between the East and the West, and shall protect the one against the other's assault.

Muslim Nations League

Here another aspect of the peace policy of the future Muslim States may be dealt with. The Muslim has seen that disarmament has been a failure to save peace. It is rather an invitation to aggression. So the Muslim zones will always be prepared for total war with the most up-to-date equipment and training to hurl back all assaults. The Muslim fundamentally believes in deterrents. Revived Islam will serve a world and humanitarian purpose. Revival of Islamic power is to world's interest. Islam will be a great factor in preserving world peace.

It should well be borne in mind that Islam will acquire strength by adjusting modernism to herself and not hereself to modernism. She will not lose herself in modernities. For no consideration will Islam pay in her independence. She cannot remain dependent for all times. Islam has got to rise all the world over—in Arabia, Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Lybia, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Sudan, Central Africa, the Balkans, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Sinkiang, Russia, China, India, Malaya and the East Indies.

The Musalmans in these countries should proceed with the task of freeing themselves with a view to reviving world Islamic power and unity. They should secure their territorial independence first and then unite with the other free Muslim countries to help acquire independence of other enslaved Muslim nations and countries. To facilitate achieving each other's independence they should make moves to mutual advantage. When all this is done they should unite in a League of Muslim Nations of the World for defensive, offensive and economic purposes and for the purpose of propagation of Islam—a real League of nations, unlike the one born of the last war.

Indian Muslims

To wound up, notice of the problems of the Indian Muslim Nation may be given as a lead to similar discoures on other Muslim countries by others. When the British came, conspired and helped disintegrate the Muslim Empire in India the Musalmans, truly proud and disdainful like members of all glorious powers in decline, hated and refrained from becoming slaves and servants of the British to facilitate the latter's

(Continued on next page)

Muslims of the World: Unite!

(Continued)

Indian administration. They kept aloof, and proud of their old and rich culture and language, never gave them up for the inelegant foreign education. This, many argue, as a blunder on the part of the Indian Musalmans. But at that time there was no other course open to them. Besides, can a great and once a ruling people be so abject as to throw away their individuality and separate entity overnight to gain favours of their conquerers? The Musalmans acted quite honourably,

The Crescent is always a bogey to the European powers The British in India still feared the Muslims. To facilitate and prepetuate their rule in India, the British posed as saviours to the Hindus who actually hailed them as such. They engaged historians to unearth and invent stories of atrocities by Muslims upon them. As a consequence the Hindus looked upon the British with favour and upon the Muslims as enemies and aspired after a day when Hindu power would be established in India. The Hindus, naturally, being habituated to foreign domination, readily adapted themselves to British rule, and being favourably treated helped the new administration to be deep-rootedly established. They took up western education and jobs under the new government.

Non-co-operation

The Muslims non-co-operated, in pride and grief,—but to grave harm to themselves. So here one will see that the original Indian freedom movement in modern times goes to the credit of the Musalmans. Non-co-operation is a Muslim device. Having not much usefulness under an alien rule their culture and education fall into the background. The Hindus also turned away from them for the new profitable European culture and education. Economically the Muslims went to the bottom, as all avenues were practically closed to them. For lack of English education they did not get employment under Government. In other fields also the Muslims suffered from handicaps. The Muslims were subsisting on the *jagirs*, zemindaries, gold and jewels inherited from the Mughal period. Soon these means of subsistence were spent up by idle sitting at home, as no other occupation was available to the Muslims. They gradually pawned and ultimately sold at nominal prices all these properties to the Hindus, which process was facilitated by the usurious laws of the British.

Thus, the Hindus not only monopolised the government posts but also took away all the properties that the Musalmans had. Further, to ensure against revival of the Muslims the British created a new large body of Hindu landed aristocracy by the Permanent Settlement. These circumstances made the Hindus abnormally prosperous in all matters and the Muslim nation subnormally backward. This position naturally made the Hindus deliberately inconsiderate and hostile towards the Muslims. At long last when the Indian Musalmans realized that they were utterly helpless, they slowly began to get English education.

Hindu Raj Dream

Becoming conscious of their new prosperity the Hindus began to seriously aspire after independent Hindu Raj under the Congress and other tit bits. This alarmed the British who at once realized that it would be impossible to rule such a vast continent as India with so few British ers and from so far distant as Britain without subtler tactics. She now, in pursuance of her policy of checks and balances, thought it fit to lessen a little the stiffness of her attitude towards the Musalmans.

This change of attitude on the part of the British frightened the Hindus who now, in reality and substance, in spite of their outward professions, changed their political goal to 'Hindu Raj under British protection'. And the British ever knowing the real worth of the Musalmans did not allow them adequate margin for progress. The British know that once a governing nation for long, the Muslims will in all cases head for independence.

Thus, when the Musalmans realized, to their disillusionment, after the Round Table Conferences of the thirties that the Hindus did not really want independence but Hindu Raj under the British bayonet to oppress the Musalmans even where they were in a majority, by virtue of their (Hindus') central majority, and that the British took advantage of it, they decided, on a practical, fair and reasonable and democratic basis for establishing completely independent Muslim States in those regions in India where the Musalmans are in a majority. They would not interfere with the independent Hindu States in Hindu majority regions.

This has stirred up the Hindus to senseless and blind obstruction. The British Government has also realized the force and fairness of the Muslim case, but suspecting in the acceptance of this a sure means to Indian independence they are making use of it in other ways and setting the unthinking Hindus against it.

Pakistan

For ever, now on, the Indian Muslims have made 'Free Islam in Free India' in the shape of the 1940 Lahore League Resolution, their fundamental political interest. In ordinary talk they call it Pakistan. To-day the Muslim in the street says 'no life but Pakistan'. All concerned should now know that the Indian Muslim Nation is determined to attain her goal by any means and at any cost, even though that nation may have to fight both the British and the Hindus at the same time. Only few Musalmans came to India and ruled her for many centuries, and they are now a hundred millions. Will they have now no courage even to ask for their freedom only because there are obstructions?

Discrimination

In India, at the present moment, British policy towards the Musalmans is reprehensible. The Congress is obstructing the war efforts, while the League offer of co-operation has been rejected by the Government. The British always put up with Hindu anti-British agitations, including murders of British officials, but whenever the Musalmans try to organize themselves a little without prejudice to the British they are all in a hurry to crush that attempt. Take for instance, their behaviour towards the Khaksar organisation which is a purely Muslim social regeneration organization. The Government declared them an unlawful organisation, though they had offered fifty thousand trained men for war service. It is obvious, therefore, that the British will feel immensely relieved if the Indian Muslims were disorganized and their only political organization the All-India Muslim League went to pieces. Has not Mr. Amery spoken in the House of Commons thus. "I am glad to think that regardless of party leaders and in defiance of party discipline, patriotic Indians have come forward to work for India's defence"? A fine example of morality indeed!

Recently, to obstruct the Muslim League demand, communal clashes all over the country were engineered by the speeches of certain Hindus responsibly irresponsible leaders who had, again, the cheek to throw the blame upon the Muslims. They pointed the Khaksars as an agent of these troubles to the British and caused their being declared unlawful. Here the British are guilty of giving too ready an ear to the Hindus.

Then the manner of expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council has been clearly indicative of disregarding Muslim sentiment. It is a clear insult and an open challenge to the Indian Muslim Nation. Besides, this expansion carries implications of magnitude which many may not yet realize. According to democratic privilege it is the majority which rules. The present Council of the Viceroy is composed of Hindu majority. Thus, for the first time since Asoka, the Hindus, by virtue of British policy, have got the power to rule over the whole of India, including the Muslims—once the rulers of the Hindus and of India.

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Special Article.

Gandhian Non-Violence With The Lid Off

By M. A. SHAKOOR, (Alig.)

The inspired commentators of the Saintly Mahatma tell us that we should perpetually reside on a certain elevated spiritual plane, if we are to fully grasp the *inner* significance of his cult of Non-Violence. One is reminded of the Conjuror's trick of focussing the attention of his spectators on the magic puppet thrown into the air, while he substitutes a rabbit for the hat inside the basket. Our friends are so obligingly lifting us to the spiritual plane to show us the transcendental beauty of Non-Violence that we forget to keep an eye on the material plane to see what fraudulent game is going on there.

It is now well over a quarter of a century since the Mahatma has robed himself with the mantle of a prophet of Non-Violence. What is the net result of his preaching this gospel of Non-Violence during these 25 years? It is worth-while for the Musalmans to consider this question.

The Result

The Hindus for whom the Mahatma is a prophet and a god both rolled into one, have become obviously more violent and more aggressive, as a result thereof. They have absolutely lost faith in Non-Violence. Their authoritative representative organization, the Congress, has, on behalf of the Hindus, declared in the well-known Wardha Resolution that they have no faith in the creed of Non-Violence. The Hindu Mahasabha, the more militant section of the Hindus, consisting of the Congress die-hards, are openly advocating violence. If there is any doubt lingering yet in our minds, we need only read the history of communal riots during the last two decades; we will see how the Hindus have systematically developed their aggressive instincts and how steadily they have grown in violence. Who knows that this is not what the Mahatma has intended his sermons to achieve?

But while even Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the distinguished Lieutenant of the Mahatma, makes no bones to declare that he does not believe in the Gandhian ideal of Non-Violence, our Mr. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the leader of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier Province, has the temerity—or may I say the timidity—to say that the fate of the Pathans depends on their implicit acceptance of Non-violence as their creed. Look at this picture and that! What the Hindus discard, the Muslims seem to snatch up and hug to their bosom! How pathetic, how pitiable the sight.

"The Pilgrimage"

Some time back the Mahatma, after his second visit to the Frontier Pathans, declared in a statement that the North-West Frontier Province is a place of pilgrimage for him. He hoped, he said, that even if Non-violence is discarded by the rest of India, it would take root and live for ever among the Pathans of the North-West Frontier.

Why should he choose the North-West Frontier in particular as his place of pilgrimage, one may ask? Why should he show so much solicitude for the Pathans and take so much trouble to go and preach among the Musalmans of this far-off hilly North-West, while he has around him crores of Hindu brethren sorely needing this enlightenment? The answer is not far to seek. To all intents and purposes this doctrine of Non-violence in ultimately meant for the Musalmans. The muscular power of the valiant and virile race of Musalmans of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier is a force the Ram-Rajists have to reckon with. The flame of their zeal once kindled can consume any thing. To deprive them of this power, to destroy their zeal and courage, to emasculate them, to devitalise them, in short to de-Muslimise them, the easiest way was to convert them to the creed of Non-Violence. If the Muslims could be de-Muslimised, if they could be plagued with a suspicion about the correctness of Islamic tenets, if they could be induced to reject what Islam sanctions, the Mahatma thought, more than half his battle whuld be won.

Unsuspecting People

The Mahatma, who knows the psychology of the Pathans, chose the Frontier for his experiment. If the press reports can be believed, his experiment has proved a great success. A great many of the Muslims of the North-West have fallen an easy victim to this Non-Violent hoax. Nor is there any wonder in this for those who know the simple unsuspecting nature of the Frontier people. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, himself is a supreme example for this national trait.

It is interesting to know what Pandit Jawaharlal, the Mahatma-to-be, thinks of him, He speaks of him in his autobiography: He was and is no politician, as politicians go. He knows nothing of tactics and manoeuvring of politics. A tall straight man, straight in body and mind .,...... vague about and uninterested in constitutions and legal talk. "This is only a euphemistic way of calling him a simpleton. However, the fact remains that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, does not and cannot understand the "tactics and the manoeuvring" behind this Gandhian Non-Violence.

You're telling us

We learn from Mr. Gandhi that the Holy Quran inculcates strict non-violence. It is true that the Quran never enjoins violence for any purpose. But it unambiguously permits the use of violence within prescribed limits on specified instances. For example, it allows Muslims to use force, if necessary, for the defence of their religion, for defending their lives and properties, for preventing outrages on places of worship, no matter to what religious orders they belong, and to protect the honour of women, no matter to what community they belong. The Quran would never have accorded sanction for the use of violence, had it been considered evil *per se*.

Sea-change

The Gandhian doctrine of non-violence itself has undergone a sea-change. Non-violence in thought word and deed is a wild goose which all but the simple-minded Red-shirts have ceased to chase. Mr. Gandhi has allowed the killing of a calf on certain grounds. He has given the Hindus of Sindh permission to use violence during communal riots. He exhorted them even to keep a violent army, if they cannot use a non-violent one. Recently he admitted that Non-violence, like a geometrical straight line, exists only in theory. Is it not then as preposterous for the Muslims to leave the sound tenets of Islam and embrace an uncertain creed, as it is foolish for a sailor to leave a sea-worthy iron-clad and enter a cast-away cockle-shell in a tempestuous sea?

Iqbal Sees Through It

As early as 1913 Allama Iqbal saw through this colossal humbug that goes under the sanctimonious appellation of 'heroic Non-violence.' It required the prophetic vision and the imaginative insight of a philosopher-poet to nail this humbug to the counter. Allama Iqbal has knocked the bottom out of this pernicious doctrine. But it is doubtful if his prophetic words have reached the ears of the Musalmans. He remains, perhaps, as he himself says, "the vioce of the poet of Tomorrow."

I would only exhort my Muslim brethren to read the immortal parable of the sheep and the tiger which is the theme of the sixth canto of *Asrar-e-Khudi*. (The secrets of the Self). Iqbal herein makes a masterly and searching analysis of the doctrine of Non-violence and *Ahimsa*. The

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The Dawn

DELHI

Sunday, January 18, 1942.

"BOLD STROKE"

We are surprised to note the indefinite and vague reactions of one of our contemporaries to Lord Meston's plea that the British Government should seek to satisfy India by what the contemporary calls a "bold stroke"—of policy, let us add. But the article itself is not what concerns us so much as the mentality which is revealed through the comment. It appears that Lord Meston's characterisation of Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan scheme as "fantastic nonsense" has given a sort of holy satisfaction to our contemporary which, however, cavils at the fact that Lord Meston does not, like a true full-blooded Congressite, identify that "bold stroke" of policy with the grant of full and reckless power to the Hindus of India to dominate over the Muslims. We do not hold a brief for Lord Meston's views. Yet we are constrained to remark that the indecent impatience of our Hindu brethren to coerce the British Government to hand over power exclusively to them over the head of the Muslims is something which smacks of the blackmailer and the brigand.

We are conscious that the country is face to face with an emergency and a crisis. And we admit also that it is the duty of every inhabitant of this vast sub-continent to do all that lies in his power to avert the danger that threatens us both from within and outside the continent. But so long as the Hindu mentality remains as it is, it is too much to expect that all the peoples of India can ever possibly co-operate with them.

Plain speaking may not be palatable to many but, then, these are times which admit of no euphemistic verbosity. Our brethren have been persisting in trying to make the world believe that they represent the hypothetical 'Indian nation'. Let it be said once again that the Muslims of India are not represented by the Congress and that they constitute a nation by themselves, separate from the Hindus, with ideals and basic views on life which more often than not conflict with those of others. The goal of our efforts is to evolve a Muslim polity in which there shall be ample scope for the Muslim genius to grow and for the Muslim culture to flourish. That being our purpose, it is idle to try to frighten us with the bugbear of invasion and to stampede us into loosing our identity in the vast masses of that amorphous thing, 'Indian culture'. We view in that light every effort made by the Hindus to coerce the British Government into transferring power at the Centre; because such a coercion is our coercion, in a way.

Our attitude is this: the white-skinned enemy of our culture and civilization is just as bad as the dark-skinned one; while it is our sincerest desire to shake off the white noose of the one, we have an equally strong determination not to allow the dark noose of the other to be slipped over our neck; we can never tolerate the prepetuation of any domination over us; and every effort, however cunningly concealed, and every demand, however sweetly presented in the garb of holy patriotism, which militates against our interests, shall be resisted with all our might. The move to blackmail the British Government to hand over to the Hindus the reins of power and control over the destinies of all the peoples of the Indian sub-continent is such an effort. And it is not simple blackmailing, but blackmailing coupled with foul effort to grab the just rights of a third party.

The "bold stroke", whether it comes during or after the war, if it is at all bold, is not likely to oblige our contemporary by transferring power exclusively to the Hindus; instead it is going to be a candid recognition of the justice and unavoidable necessity of Mr. Jinnah's "fantastic" scheme. The sooner our Hindu brethren reconcile themselves to this the better it is for us all; for, nothing else can "satisfy" India.

NOTES

'Light' For Congress

Whatever may be the weakness of Mr. Amery he has, at least, one great virtue—that he, unlike many politicians, avoids cant. It is gratifying to note that he has come to realize the absoulte need for agreement between the Indians themselves before "further progress" can be made "constitutionally" in India. While it is none of our business to inquire into the *bona fides* of Mr. Amery or probe into the motives which make him take that stand we must say, however, that he has a strong sense of the realities of the situation—a sense which Hindu leaders lack deplorably. We hope the Congress shall yet see the 'light' which it has refused to see, so for, just because it has been possessed of the desire to dominate and to coerce others.

As for his assurance that he would take active steps when there was some *prospect of result*, we need only remind him of what that renowned writer, Mr. H. G. Wells, wrote to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the columns of the *News Chronicle* the other day about the latter "pretending that it was the business of the British Raj to crush every one of the multitudinous peoples and cultures of India in order 'to weld India together' and hand it over to his far too audible group of party associates".

Sir Tej's Appeal

Just as day follows night so do the Hindu leaders follow one another, although professing widely divergent political views. Immediately after the Congress Working Committee meeting at Bardoli Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, with 14 others, came out with an appeal to the British Prime Minister for a declaration of Dominion status in favour of the Indian sub-continent, conversion

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NOTES

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and expansion of the Central Executive Council into a "National" Government, restoration of "popular" Governments in the provinces where the constitution is suspended, recognition of India's right to direct representation in the Imperial War cabinet and consultation with the "National Government" precisely on the same footing as His Majesty's Government consult the Dominion Governments in all matters affecting the Commonwealth as a whole.

We are as much anxious for the freedom of India as Sir Tej and his associates profess to be. But in the case of Muslims a change of masters is no freedom. Sir Tej Bahadur's appeal is yet another effort on the part of the Hindus to establish Hindu hegemony over India. The acceptance of the appeal would necessitate cancelling of the August Declaration, framing of the Constitution by the British Government instead of by the major political parties and recognition of India as one single unit. After the required declaration the entire fabric of India's future constitution would be completed and nothing will have been left to be done in that direction after the war.

Late Sir Akbar

The memory of Sir Akbar Hydari shall always be associated with the constructive aspect of life. He was one of those who came to the first rank not through the speedier and more common method of agitation and so-called 'politics', but

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by treading the narrower and harder path of doing slow, silent but enduring service. He was an administrator of the first order and India, as a whole, and the Muslim people, in particular, shall miss him sorely. The days ahead shall call for the best men to give of their best to the cause they serve. While we deeply mourn the loss, we hope, however, that the example set by him shall serve as a guiding star to those on whom shall devolve the new responsibilities of administration.

MOVE FOR ALLAMA'S RELEASE

It is understood that the question of releasing Allama Mashriqi, the Khaksar leader, is engaging the attention of the Government of India. Likelihood of his release even before this issue of The Dawn *is out on Sunday, January 18, cannot be rulled outaltogether.*

In this connection it will be recalled that a Press Note stated the other day that the Allama had given up the fast which he was observing for the last several months.

"Straight Hit" From Mr. Wells

NEHRU'S "MENTAL HONESTY" QUESTIONED

We do not think any British politician has had the courage to call the Congress spade a spade in the way in which Mr. Wells has done. We like the Wellsian way of driving home truth. Thus remarks the Sunday Observer, *commenting on the reply of Mr. H. G. Wells to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The contemporary goes on to say:*

An interesting controversy has been going on between Mr. H. G. Wells and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the columns of the *News Chronicle*, and the latest is a straight hit from Mr. Wells. The world-renowned British author says:—

"I wrote to him as one free citizen of the world to another. He dodges the answer and responds—he must—forgive my frankness—as a shifty politician. What word in my letter asked him to 'accept imperialist status?' What sort of mental honesty is there in pretending that I did? I took his own admission, from which he now retreats, that there is neither internal unity nor external limits to define the 'Indian people.' Why not reply to that, instead of pretending that it is the business of the British Raj to crush every one of the multitudinous peoples and cultures of India in order 'to weld India together,' and hand it over to his far too audible group of party associates?"

We do not think any British politician, whether of the front or back rank has had the courage to call the Congress spade a spade in the way in which Mr. Wells has done. We like the Wellsian way of driving home truth. The statement of Pandit Nehru to which Mr. Wells has made a reference runs as follows:

"It is a poor tribute to the British Raj to say that after 170 years, it has not been able to weld India together."

And what was it that the British could not weld together? The India which was already one? In the words of Panditji:—

"There is no other country in the world barring China which has had such an amazing continuity of cultural traditions which bind the country. From Mohenjo Daro to the present day, there is that unbroken stream of culture and a sense of unity in common traditions and achievements."

So called unity

And what is that unbroken culture, unity and common tradition? Caste system? Untouchability? A galaxy of gods and goddesses whose virtues are cheating, double-crossing, immorality and so on?

And who was it that broke up this so-called unity? When was it that Muslims began to demand Pakistan, and Non-brahmins Dravidasthan? Was it not after the 27 months' Rama Rajya of "Mahatma" Gandhi's disciples?

What the British Government sought to unity for 170 years, the Congress broke up into pieces in 27 months. What is wanted is not the Mohenjo Daro culture—the stone culture—but the culture of human beings, that culture of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, the culture which India never had, because of men like Pandit Nehru who wear a piece of cotton string as a cross belt, call it the "holy thread," and commit all sins against humanity in its name. Mr. H. G. Wells has questioned the "mental honesty" of this man whom the British Press looked up to as a great intellectual. This is not enough. There are any number of them from Mr. Gandhi downwards to Mr. Rajagopalachariar who deserve similar public exposure.

LETTERS

> *The Editor does not accept responsibility for the views expressed by contributors.*

Pakistan: The Only Way

Sir—The Indians have always had the bad reputation of being divided and disunited whenever India was threatened by an invasion. The invaders in the past, whenever they came, always found them quarrelling among themselves. Ever now when the present Far East war situation has brought India into the front line of conflict, the political atmosphere is permeated with the miasma of discord, disunity and suspicions. Various political parties are at loggerheads with one another, and unless a compromise is soon effected, history is going to repeat itself.

The first point that is important in this respect is that the problems that arise in India, instead of being referred to outsiders, should be thrashed out by Indians themselves. It is quite impossible for any democratic constitution to succeed which has not the substantial approval and support of the peoples concerned.

Why then are the Indian National Congress and the Hindu Mahasbha making frantic appeals to the British Government to grant Dominion Status of the Westminster Variety? They should seek a solution in India, *with the Muslim League*, and not in London. The British Government has done all it could to help the Indian sub-continent towards free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations. When we reach that level, we are free to absolve the British Government from the responsibility of ruling India. But, how to reach that level?

The only way is that we should examine every problem, that arises, faithfully and without prejudice. The Muslim League has, for example, broached the scheme of PAKISTAN. We should not wave it aside simply because it does not recognise the so-called unity of India. India is not one nation. "Despite a few misguided Muslim faces putting on Gandhi cap and a *kurta*, there is little in common between Hindu and Islamic cultures". Nothing could be better if Hindus and Muslims were united. But since it is a practical impossibility, it is useless to dream of Utopias that can never prove real.

The Congress are trying hard to establish Hindu domination over the Muslim and Dravidian zones as well through the Centre—a "National Government," as they would have the world believe. As if, there was only one nation, the Hindus, in the entire sub-continent. The Congress party deliberately ignore the existing circumstances in India.

The English parliamentary system is not suitable for India. Salazar, the Philosopher Dictator of Portugal, did once rightly say that "the attempt to adapt the English parliamentary system to all European countries was one of the greatest mistakes of the 19th century". What chance has that system to succeed in India or the Orient when it was found unsuitable for the countries of the Occident itself? It should not be taken for granted that the institutions which succeed in England. (a homogeneous *country*) will necessarily succeed in India also (a non-homogeneous *sub-continent*).

PAKISTAN, therefore is the only solution of the Indian problem. PAKISTAN suits Hindus and Muslims alike. Let the Congress face facts squarely and honestly, instead of coveting what in all fairness belongs to others. Let the Hindus, the Muslims and the Dravidians share the continent, so that, thus contented, they may declare to the world with one voice—"India for Indians; hands off India!"

Gurdaspur, Yours etc.,
(Punjab). M. Anwar Khan.

To Muslim Students.

Sir—It is a sign of the times that the Muslim students of India are realizing the dangers ahead of Muslim India. The session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation at Nagpur has filled us with hope for the future. It is bound to be a land-mark in the student movement in Muslim India. The Muslim students must read and scan the magnificent speech delivered by the Qa'id Azam —a masterly analysis of the present political situation in India and the antagonistic forces all around.

The students of to-day will be the leaders of tomorrow. They must study the situation carefully and equip themselves for the future leadership The world is passing through a crisis of unprecedented and unparalleled magnitude. Muslim India is beset with dangers and hostile forces all around. The Muslim students cannot afford to sit silent or look on with equanimity. They must be ready for sacrifice and sufferings for the ideals of Pakistan and Muslim solidarity.

The signs of new life and awakening are there. These have to be harnessed and utilized aright. Organized efforts are the crying need of the hour. The Muslim Students' Federation must be made a living and vitalizing force. The Muslim students of Aligarh and Dacca universities in particularly should take the lead. The Muslim Girl Students' wing of the Federation should be organized without delay.

In Bengal, repression of the Muslim students has started. Their leader is now behind prison bars. The ordeal should be welcome. Let not the ordeal cow them down. This should brace them up and make them more determined to achieve the goal. It is the privilege of youth to suffer. Out of sufferings and sacrifice will be born the undying and unconquerable determination to achieve and win. Fight is life. Defficulties provide the seasoning necessary for real leadership. Go ahead for Pakistan and Muslim solidarity—the object worth trying for and even dying for.

Remember the clarion call of the Qa'id-e-Azam —Faith, Unity, Discipline. It is a call which must be honoured. It is the call of Muslim renaissance in India. The renaissance has set in. The set-backs here and there, out of selfish motive and aggrandisement, need not chill the genial current of the soul. The *Munafiqeen* sought to obstruct even the holy Prophet. But they did not succeed. They cannot succeed. The Muslim cause is based on truth and justice which must triumph.

Madras. Yours etc.,
Voice of Muslim Youths.

Allama Mashriqi

Sir—All the political prisoners are unconditionally released by rhe order of the Government of India. They were guilty under the Defence of India Rules and the charge against them was proved after they were given full facilities to argue for their defence; but how strange it looks that a person who offered himself and his organisation for the support and defence of the country has been sent to

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THE BARDOLI DECISION

By **Sir Mohammad Yakub, M.C.S.**

I am surprised at the deliberate or unconscious welcome which has been accorded by a section of the press in India, as well as in England, to the recent resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee at Bardoli. I do not find the slightest change or improvement in the Congress attitude towards the war. If there is any change, it is for the worse and not for the better.

It is true that the Working Committee takes due note of the implications of recent war developments, but, how does this appreciations of the war situation, on the part of the Congress help the British? "A free and independent India" obviously contemplates the evacuation of the country by the British. How will it help the British, if the defence of the country is undertaken by Indians, according to the Congress notion, after the British have evacuated the country? "Free and independent India" has been the theme of the Congress leaders for a long time, and the Bardoli resolution reiterates the same formula and, in the words of a prominent member of the Working Committee, "the Congress attitude to the war remains as before."

Camouflage

It is a camouflage to say that it is up to the Government to take advantage of the situation created by the recent Bardoli resolution. It is also not right to say that individual *Satyagarha* has been suspended. On the other hand, Mr. Gandhi is still free to continue civil disobedience with such Congressmen, and others, whom he may selects for the purpose. Notwithstanding this restriction few Congress leaders would have offered themselves for *Satyagraha* for a second time, even if Mr. Gandhi wanted to do so, and therefore the restriction is only to save Mr. Gandhi's face.

The whole background of the Congress policy is one of hostility and disrust of the British Government and, in the words of the resolution, "not even the most far-reaching promises could alter this background". It is, therefore, preposterous to saythat the door for negotiation is not barred.

The most significant part of the Bardoli proceedings is that no notice is taken of the Musalmans and no inclination is to be found in the direction of coming to any settlement with them. The underlying policy of all the resolutions seems to be the establishment of a rule in which the Musalmans will have no place under the sun.

Jugglery

I cannot understand the importance which is being given to Mr. Gandhi's parting company with the executive of the Congress. This is a piece of jugglery which has been staged more than once and this machiavelian policy of the Congress does not, in any way, alter or improve the situation. I will not at all be surprised, if another fasting farce of Mr. Gandhi is played on the Congress stage. Any approval or support of the resolution by the Anglo-Indian or European press is extremely mortifying and annoying to the Musalmans.

In the present war the Musalmans are taking a most prominent part on all the battle fronts, and it is no exaggeration to say that the Musalmans are an indispensable factor in bringing about victory to the British cause. Almost all the Muslim countries and Muslim rulers of the world have thrown their lot with Great Britain in this war. Under the circumstances nothing can be more unjust, impolitic and unworthy than to ignore the Musalmans in any future adjustment of India and to under-rate their value in the body politic of the world.

Muslim Offer

The demands of the Muslim League, as enunciat-

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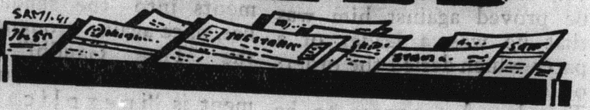

Cognress Snubbed Again

We think we must congratulate Mr. Amery. His statement in Parliament is nothing else but a snub administered to the Congress Party a well-merited snub. He said that he had noted the resolutions passed by leaders of political parties in India and regretted that he could not discover in them any "satisfactory response" to the Viceroy's appeal for unity and co-operation. He also said that the pledges given to India by the British Government are "in complete accord with the general principle affirmed in the Atlantic declaration." The New Delhi correspondent of a local contemporary says: "It is freely stated that Mr. Amery has shaken the optimism of pro-changers in Congress who hoped against hope for better appreciation of the Congress position after the Bardoli decision "to put Gandhiji on the shelf". Poor Mr. Gandhi! He even suspended his Satyagraha to facilitate the sinister move of "C.R." So the "open door" of the Congress may close again, or the Sapru Company the new joint stock North Sea Bubble floated by political insolvents, may move further to draw the chestnuts out of the fire for the Congress. Mr. Amery has not doubt put his foot down, but we cannot be sure of the British Government's policy for long. They may change, climb down or surrender to the Congress later—*Sunday Observer.*

All One

It has been pointed out time and again that the Congress is an organisation representing only Hindus and that the Hindu Mahasabha, Liberal Fedartion, Non Party Leaders Conference etc., are in fact camouflaged names for this self styled national organisation to carry on its activities. That this is so has been abundantly proved recently during the Hindu Mahasabha session episode. It is not our purpose here to hold and examine whether the Government's action or those of Mr. Savarkar and his henchmen were right. What strikes us most is the alacrity and the readiness with which the so-called leaders, nationalist and others rallied round and condemned with one voice the treatment meted out by the Bihar Government to the law-breakers of this militant Hindu organisation. Right from the Rt. Hon'ble Silver-tongued Srinivasa Sastri and the non-violent Dictator to the latest "political orphan" every one of them has raised his voice of protest. The truth is not far to seek. These men, it is needless for us to emphasise, do not look with favour on the rapidly growing strength of the League and the popularity of its Leader. Calling themselves nationalist they could give the League a bad name and hang it but pat the communal Sabha on the back to serve their purpose. If the Muslim League had been faced with a crisis similar to that of the Mahasabha, will these champions of civil liberty have protested? Was a whisper heard when the Chandur Biswa tragedy occured? The Baghalpur incident has incidently served as a timely reminder to Muslims that these multi-coloured bodies are after all one, call it by whatever name you will.—*Deccan Times.*

jail and his organisation banned—Allama Mashriqi and his Khaksar Movement. The only offence that could be proved against him was that he was a leader of a party which defied the orders of the Punjab Government. This does not appear to be an adequate reason and the leaders of other orgnisations, including the Congress, may likewise be locked up any time arbitrarily.

It is alleged that the Allama was suspected to belong to the "Fifth Column" and that some of his letters from Germany were intercepted. This may appear to be a serious crime. But why is he not being sent up for trial and why is he not given a chance to defend himself in a court of law?

It is significant that the report of the Committee, appointed to inquire into the unfortunate disturbance in Lahore in 1940, has not yet seen the light of day. Nor is it known why or by whose orders the publication of the same has been delayed or withheld.

Will not the Muslim League come forward to protest against the unjust treatment meted out by the Government to the Allama? Lip sympathy and passing of resolutions alone will not do the needful.

Cannot the Punjab Premier come forward and give his assurance in the case of the Allama, even as Mr. Fazlul Haq did the other day in the case of Mr. Sarat Bose?

At this juncture I would suggest to the Government of India to win the goodwill of the Muslims by releasing the Allama, whose illness is causing anxiety, and by removing the ban on the Khaksar organisation.

Gorakhpur. Yours etc.,
A. R. Adhami.

NOTE:—The Muslim League is already doing what is possible in the circumstances—EDITOR.

LETTERS

(Continued)

Inexplicable

Sir—The latest statement of Mr. Gandhi, regarding the action of the Bihar Govermnent in banning the meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha at Bhagalpur, has thrown his previous statements into the shade and has, once again, brought out the "True Gandhi". To him the action of the Government is "inexplicable." Quite so. But his views are also INEXPLICABLE. The circumstances under which the Conference was to be held and the mentality that made the selection of the avenue for the Conference were really dangerous. Those who are fully conversant with the communal feelings prevailing in Bihar can never sanction such conterences and following the communal riots in Bihar Sharif early this year the provincial Government was fully justified in apprehending trouble. Mr. Gandhi either does not know the facts or sophistically shuts his eyes towards them.

The duplicate policy of Mr. Gandhi is also INEXPLICABLE. On the one hand. he is not only against the idea of extending help to the war activities but is favouring *Satyagrah* to prevent any sort of help, while on the other he confesses that it fills him with delight to find Mr. Savarkar and Dr. Moonje and other leaders being arrested. The arrest of the Hindu Mahasabha leaders has not only filled him with delight but he congratulates them on their dignified and peaceful protest against arbitrary action of the Bihar Government. In one breath he sings songs of 'Hindu-Muslim Unity' and 'Nationalism' supports the organisation that is diametrically opposed to his ideals and gets excited at the restrictions placed on its activities.

Mr. Gandhi may say that he cannot tolerate restriction on the activities of any organisation and that he favours freedom for all parties. But where were his ideals when his 'Popular Governments' gagged the Muslim Press and Platform, entrapped the innocent Muslims and never brought the Hindu culprits to books? It appears that he has reserved all freedom for his Mahasabha and Congress.

The sooner Mr. Gandhi puts a stop to his 'stupid bungling' the better it is.

Yours etc.,
Bombay. "Radium."

A call to unity

Sir—Some self-deluded and misguided Muslims seem to have forgotten the commandments of the religion to which they profess to belong. They forget that Islamic unity was one day a blessing to the world at large. The Muslim League is trying to bring back those days of Islamic glory in India. Certainly it deserves all credit for awakening the Indian Muslims to the realities of the situation. It can justifiably be asserted that the Muslim League has saved the Indian Muslims from being reduced to the position of "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in India. It has infused life and the spirit of unity among the Indian Muslims.

That accredited leader of Muslim India, in the person of Qa'id-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in the evening of his life, is trying his utmost, at the cost of his health, through the Muslim League to bring about unity among the Indian Musalmans. Not because he wants to be the King or Premier of Pakistan, but because he wants that when freedom comes, sooner or later, to the Indian sub-continent, it should equally benefit Indian Muslims in the shape of separate sovereign Muslim State or States when they could rule according to their own lights and laws. He concedes the same right to the Hindus. In short, Mr. Jinnah wants the different nations to develop according to their own lights unfettered in their respective homogeneous zones or countries in the sub-continent of India. This is no mean arrangement to solve the complicated Hindu-Muslim problem. The Hindus are opposed to this arrangement because they are dreaming of establishing Hindu Raj over the whole of the subcontinent which, in its entirity, never belonged to them, The "Hind" or India includes even today homogeneous zones, much bigger than Britain, in the North-West, the North-East and the South where the Muslims or the Dravidians predominate—for instance, the Punjab, Kashmir, the N.W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sindh, Bengal, Assam and the Madras Presidency. Let my friends who are still out of the League remember the adage: "United we stand; divided we fall".

Silchar, (Assam)

Yours etc.,
Makabbir Ali Mojumdar.

Bengal Crisis

Sir—The crisis in Bengal Politics is neither unnatural nor unexpected. Those who are well acquainted with Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq's political career will not be surprised at his strange behaviour. Consistency has never been his strong point. He has always played a most emotional role in politics. He has been a Leaguer and a Congressite by turns. He is a good-hearted man who can hardly resist the will and importunities of those who cluster round him for personal and political ends. That has been the tragedy of his whole life. Emotions and not cold logic and consistency have all through characterised his long and enventful life.

He has stabbed the Muslim League in the back. But the fact remains that Mr. Huq has never been very sincere about his professions about the League during recent years. That is why he did not disband his Krishak-Praja Party despite his joining the Muslim-League.

Mr. Huq is to be pitied for his misguided steps. He will perhaps seek to justify his stand on the plea of bringing about a better understanding between the Muslims and Hindus. But a man of his experience and abilities should not have

(Continued on next page)

Gandhian Non-Violence With The Lid Off

(Continued)

moral he draws out of the tale is that negation of Self is a doctrine invented by the subject races of mankind, in order that, by this means, they may sap and weaken the character of their rulers. Briefly stated the story (adopted from Prof. Nicholson's English Translation of *Asrar-e-Khudi)* is as follows:

Sheep and Tiger

A flock of sheep dwelling in a pasture multiplied themselves so much that they thought themselves powerful and secure. But out of the malice of Fate there appeared among them a shaft of calamity. For, tigers from the neighbouring jungle invaded the sheep fold. Conquest and dominion are always the signs of strength. The fierce tigers beat the drums of sovereignty. Inasmuch as the tigers must have their prey, the meadow was crimsoned with the blood of the sheep. The sheep were sorely vexed by the violence of the tigers. An aged sheep, complaining of the course of Destiny, sought to restore by cunning what their weakness could not retain. It is but natural that in slavery the power of scheming is quickened. There were only two ways open to the sheep for recovering their lost power; either the sheep must become powerful like the tigers or the tigers must be rendered weak like the sheep. The wise old sheep realised the impossibility of converting sheep into tigers; but to make the furious tiger a sheep, that was possible. Like an inspired prophet the sheep began to preach to the tiger; "Whosoever is violent and strong is miserable. Life's solidity depends on self-denial. The spirit of the righteous is fed by fodder. The vegetarian is pleasing unto God. Paradise is for the weak alone, strength being but a means to perdition. Forget thyself if thou art wise. If thou dost not forget thyself, thou art mad."

The tiger tribe being exhausted by hard struggle, swallowed the charm of the sheep, in their stupidity. He that used to make sheep his prey, now embraced a sheep's religion. This soporific advice pleased them. The tigers became vegetarians and took kindly to fodder. It blunted their teeth and put out the awful flashing of their eyes. Their tigerish nature itself was broken. Their courage departed and the craving for action died out. They lost the power of ruling and the resolution to be independent. Their bodily strength diminished, while their spiritual fear increased. The lack of courage produced a hundred diseases—poverty, pusillanimity, low-mindedness. The wakeful tiger was lulled to slumber by the sheep's charm. He called his decline moral culture!

Mischief

The Mahatma, it would appear is only playing the role of this cunning old sheep. True, he preaches his sermons to both the Hindus and Muslims. But the Hindus have sense enough to understand their significance. One is alarmed at the amount of mischief done among the Muslims of the Frontier by this "soporific sermon." It has begun to sap the vitality of the Musalmans and it will continue to do so unless this tendency is curbed down.

There is no reason to grieve over a group of men embracing the "Sheep's religion" if it is accompanied with the renouncing of Islam. But to indulge in these doctrinal abuses against the spirit of Islam, while professing to be Musalmans, is a very dangerous thing.

Allama Iqbal has exposed the sinister motive behind this

(Continued on next col,)

(Continued from page 10)

forgotten that the unity that can be brought about by breaking Muslim solidarity and weakening the Muslim League cannot be permanent and lasting unity. After all, there can be lasting *entente cordiale* between equals only. Unequal combination is always disadvantageous to the weaker side.

The Muslim League is not opposed to unity between the different constituents of the country. Nay, it stands for such unity. But the League wants unity on the basis of equality and justice to all. But the opponents want to perpetuate their vested interests. Herein lies the rub. Vested interested die hard. Hindu India will concede the legitimate rights and interests of the Muslims only if the latter are strong and stand united. This is what the Muslim League stands for and is struggling for. Mr. Huq has forgotten or ignored this vital matter.

Yours etc.

Aligarh. Bengalee Muslim,

Bengal Politics

Sir—After years of wilderness, Muslim Bengal was getting into its rightful position under the inspiring guidance of the Muslim League. It is a pity that when the opposing groups of Hindu Bengal have combined together and forgotten their domestic differences, Mr. Huq should have caused disintegration in the united ranks of the Muslims. It was not expected of Mr. Huq in the evening of his life. The League has survived many vicissitudes in the past, when it was not half so strong as it is now. It will survive the present stab in the back,

Yours etc.,

Lucknow. Muslim Voice.

(Continued from pre. col.)

slave-born doctrine of non-violence. If the Muslims are to advance they have to remain "Muslims out and out." The Muslims can never remain a Nation if they forget their inherent national virtues.

According to the great Arabian poet, Showqi: "Nations endure as long as their character remains. When their character vanishes they also disappear." Will the Frontier Muslims wake up before disillusionment overtakes them?

Muslims of the World: Unite!

(Continued from page 4)

Leaders' Responsibility

Whatever may come, success will be the Musalmans' if they do not allow themselves to be discouraged, under any unfavourable and grim circumstances, in their determination to attain their objective which should be fixed as the Pole Star in their hearts. But the responsibility for the success or failure of the efforts of the Musalmans for the revival of the world Islamic freedom and unity will mainly rest with the leaders upon whose conduct posterity will sit in judgment. Every leader should, therefore, without loss of time, get in touch with every other Muslim leader in the world and act in concert and inspire every Muslim to live a true Muslim life in spirit and action, as no nation can rise and live without preserving and maintaining its own distinctive and individual features and characteristics.

(Continued from page 9)

ed by Mr. Jinnah, are much more reasonable and moderate than the Congress theory "free and independent India". It does not savour of any hatred or rebellion, towards the British. On the other hand, the Muslim League has unequivocally expressed its readiness to help the British in the war efforts, provided they are given a substantial share in the administration of the country. The Muslim League has not made its support of the war conditional on the acceptance of Pakistan by the Government.

It is therefore, unfortunate that the Anglo-Indian press, and a section of the British press, do not, or would not, realise the realities of the situation and have adopted an attitude which is far from being called discreet and statesmanlike. I would reiterate again that the policy of appeasement would prove suicidal to the British interest in India, as it has proved to be in Europe.

Mr. Amery On Congress Demnad

(Continued)

League Resolutions

Mr. Amery replied: "There are seven provinces in which the administration is at present carried on by Governors in accordance with proclamations issued by them under Sec. 93 of the Government of India Act, namely, Assam, Bihar, Bombay, the Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, the North-West Frontier Province and the United Provinces. I have seen summaries of the resolutions on constitutional and other matters passed by the Muslim League on December 26 and 27, and by the National Liberal Federation at Madras on December 27 and 28. These and other suggestions affecting Indian constitution continue to receive full consideration of the British Government and the Government of India."

In reply to another question by Mr. Sorensen, the Secretary of State for India replied: "I understand that the number of persons detained or sentenced in imprisonment under the Defence of India Rules who were not affected by the recent release of civil disobedience prisoners was little over two thousand. I have received no actual representation on their behalf but have seen the Congress resolution of December 30, regretting that all prisoners and detenus had not been released. With regard to civil defence measures in India I would refer to the reply given on December 18. It has been reported that the Congress Working Committee recently issued instructions to Congressmen regarding their conduct in air-raids and I have no doubt that the authorities will welcome and encourage co-operation of all sections of the population in the tasks of civil defence."

Mr. Sorensen asked: "Have any further steps than those announced been taken in order to secure the support of political leaders in India on this important matter and when are other

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(Continued from prev. col.)

prisoners likely to be released and why have they not been released?"

Mr. Amery stated: "It is not contemplated that there should be a general release of persons who choose violent methods for opposing the conduct of the war for the overthrow of the existing basis of society."—*Reuter.*

Need for Sharper Sense of Reality

BRITISH PAPER ON CONGRESS ATTITUDE

"Despite the unhelpfulness of the Congress Working Committee's manifesto issued after the Bardoli Conference, there are signs of a growing movement in India towards the sinking of political differences in the common fight against Axis" states "The Yorkshire Post" in an editorial.

"Unfortunately as Mr. Amery suggested in Parliament yesterday, the leading parties still show little willingness to co-operate. The precise intentions of the Congress leaders remain obscure, though it is clear. Nevertheless, that they are seeking to exploit their country's situation in an attempt to extract new concessions from the British Government. For, while there have been hints that they were operating a conciliatory move on the British side, it appears they are still adhering to their old constitutional demands. Possibly they feel they can pursue the present line with safety as India's impressive defence effort is going forward vigorously without their co-operation. *They should be warned that they are in the danger of losing not only the sympathy of the progressive opinion in Britain and elsewhere, but also the confidence of many of their fellow countrymen.*

"Important centres of Indian opinion are inclining towards a more generous and more farseeing view. This has been strikingly revealed in such declarations as that of Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Labour Member of the Viceroy's expanded Executive Council. A similar call has come this week from the All-India Students' Federation. Distinguished Indian Moderates, led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, have sought to give practical expression to the widespread desire for then ending of the present deadlock in their appeal to Mr. Churchill.

"Their proposals are bound to receive sympathetic consideration in this country. Both Britain and India owe much to the dilligence of Sir Tej Sapru and his fellow Moderates to create a better atmosphere. *But are distinguished signatories of this moving appeal convinced that it has been delivered to the right members? Have they thought of making similar representations to Congress leaders, to their statesmanship in this hour of increasing anxiety for India? Little real progress can be made in our view until Congress shows sharper sense of realities and more accommodating spirit than it showed at Bardoli."—Reuter.*

"Muzzle Taken Off"

Mr. Wells' Reply to Pt. Nehru

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and Mr. H. G. Wells have been in correspondence in the London *News Chronicle*, arising from the statement in that paper by Pandit Nehru that India would never accept any position in the Empire by whatever name it might be called.

In his latest letter to the editor in today's *News Chronicle*, Mr. H. G. Wells writes: "I must confess I am deeply disappointed by what he (Nehru) is pleased to consider an 'answer' to my recent letter. I wrote to him as one free citizen of the world to another. He dodges the answer and responds—he must forgive my frankness as—a shifty politician.

"What word in my letter asked him to "accept imperialist status? "What sort of mental honesty is there in pretending that I did? I took his own admissions, from which he now retreats, that there is neither internal unity nor external limits to define "the Indian people." Why not reply to that instead of pretending that it was the business of the British Raj to crush everyone of the multitudinous peoples and cultures of India in order "to weld India together" and hand it over to his far too audible group or party associates?

"Well, any how, he has had his muzzle taken off and we know where he stands. From every single plain question I put to him he has dodged away and where his dodging will land him ultimately is no concern of mine."—*Reuter.*

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Drama of Mr. Huq's Reception

Banquets For League Delegation

Black Flags Greet Bengal Ministers

Thousands of people greeted Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq with black flags at Bongaon, Jhinkergacha, Jessore and Singia on his way to Barisal amidst thundering shouts of "Down With Fazlul Huq, Down With Huq Ministry, Muslim League Zindabad, Jinnah Zindabad, Students League Zindabad," etc.

About two hundred black flags and posters inscribing "Go Back Fazlul Huq" were pasted on the train.

The Premier of Bengal, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, as he got down at Barisal, at one time known to be his stronghold, wore a none-too-cheery face—a phenomenon, which was later to be explained by the manner of reception accorded him and his party.

At almost all the wayside stations "en route" Barisal in the crowds that assembled, one could observe a merely handful of Muslims.

And these Muslims, however, did no more to demonstrate their feelings towards Mr. Fazlul Huq and party than by a vigorous waving black flags which they were carrying.

At Jessore Railway Station Mr. Fazlul Huq and Party seemed very much disappointed and depressed to see a huge concourse of Muslims waving black flags impetuously and shouting vociferously, "Go Back Huq," "shame, shame"; and "Muslim League Zindabad."

Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali felt like an orphan in the storm at Barisal where he arrived on Friday afternoon. Now that his colleagues have arrived at Barisal he may not feel it more sorry for the reception he received as none warmer was accorded to them.

But the finale of the drama was yet to come. At a meeting at Barisal yesterday strangely advertised as the Muslim Conference, but attended by 90 per cent. Hindus and the rest Muslims, Mr. Huq abruptly sat down after having hardly spoken anything with the result that the meeting broke in confusion without passing any resolution.

Muslims observe Hartal

As a mark of protest against "this Hindu Sabha Ministry" the Muslims of the town observed complete Hartal. All Muslim shops and Bazar were closed. Even Rickshaws went on strike. The whole Muslim population of the town rose in a body to demonstrate their denunciation of Mr. Huq revolt against the Muslim League and condemn his Mahasabha Ministry.

Student Leaders Arrested

Messrs. Shamshul Alam and Abdul Faiz and a number of other workers of the Muslim Students' League, have been arrested in connection with the black flag demonstration staged at Barisal on the arrival of the Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. Great resentment prevails among the Muslims of the town against the arrest and the alleged inhuman treatment meted out to the students.

League Delegation

Members of the Muslim League delegation, who arrived at Feni recently were accorded a rousing reception by a gathering of over 50,000. They addressed a meeting at Mijan Maidan on the present political situation in Bengal. The speakers dwelt on the necessity of organising the Muslims on a stronger footing in every part of the province. They laid special stress on Pakistan which, in their opinion, would regain "the lost badshai for the Muslims." They criticised the conduct of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq and stated that Mr. Huq had "betrayed the cause of the Muslims by joining hands with the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress." By his action he had undermined the Pakistan Scheme which promised them freedom, prosperity and happiness.

Mr. H. S. Subrawardy exhorted Muslims to muster strong under the banner of the League and appealed to them to strengthen the League by becoming its members and helping it to establish the system of Pakistan.

Sir Nazimuddin, in a brief speech laid emphasis on Muslim unity. He said that such unity was only possible if the Muslims would join the League in an overwhelming number.

A number of resolutions were adopted at the meeting which, "inter alia" condemned the action of Mr. Fazlul Huq and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, asked His Excellency the Governor of Bengal to dissolve the Assembly for enabling the electorate to pass its verdict and urged the Government to release Allama Mashriqi.

Assam Muslim Association Mr. Fazlul Quader Congratulated

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Assam Muslim Association held on Sunday (January 11), passed a resolution condoling the death of Maulana Nazir Ahmad Choudhury and Sir Akbar Haidari.

The meeting also adopted the following resolution congratulating the student leader of Bengal Mr. Fazlul Quader Choudhury on his being arrested.

"This meeting of the Executive Committee of the Assam Muslim Association congratulates Mr. Fazlul Quader Choudhury, the student leader of Bengal, on his being arrested by the Government of Bengal. This committee believes that this victimisation of the independent Muslim opinion will infuse new life into Muslim youths and they emerge stronger by passing through these clumsy attempts at repression."

Hilal Ittehad Aziz Hall

GRANT FROM THE NIZAM'S GOVERNMENT

The opening ceremony of Aziz Hall, the newly built Library of Anjuman Hilal Ittehad, Khusrupur, Patna, took place on the afternoon of January 17 last. The hall has been named after the Hon. Syed Abdul Aziz, Judicial Member with the Nizam's Government, as a token of recognition for the great services rendered by him to the development and propagation of Urdu Language literature in Bihar Province as well as the keen interest which he has always taken in the activities of this Anjuman. The ceremony was performed in the presence of a large gathering by Nawab Khan Bahadur Syed Mohammad Ismail of Patna who also presided over the meeting held on this occasion. The Hon. Syed Abdul Aziz, who is on a short visit to Patna, was also present on the occasion.

The meeting began with the recital of a peom by Maulvi Shah M. Ismail, welcoming the two distinguished visitors. The Secretary, Syed Shah Akhtar Hasan, in his report gave a short but complete description of the manifold cultural, social and literary activities undertaken by the Anjuman ever since its inception.

Before performing the ceremony Nawab Syed Mohammed Ismail addressed the meeting, particularly emphasising the need for cultural and social work in the villages and that of co-operation between the various communities in such activities.

After the ceremony the Hon. Syed Abdul Aziz made an announcement that the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam would be pleased to make a grant of Rs. 500 to the Anjuman for its Library.

After this announcement Khan Sahib Syed Mazhar Imam thanked the Hon. Syed Abdul Aziz on behalf of the Anjuman and expressed the heartfelt gratitude of the members of the Anjuman and of the inhabitants of Khusrupur and surrounding villages to the Nizam's Government for their munificence and, particularly to the distinguished guest for his patronage of the library. It was made clear by Syed Mazhar Imam that the use and membership of the Library was open to Hindus and Muslims alike and also that the Anjuman intended to add a number of Hindu books to the Library.

After the conclusion of the function the guests were entertained to tea. Among those present were: Nawab Syed Shah Wajid Husain, Khan Bhadur Abdul Karim, Professor Najmul Huda of Patna College, Babu Mahadeo Lal, Babu Ganga Prasad, Dr. Syed Sultan Ahmad, Dt. S. Akhtar Imam of Calcutta University, Syed Shah Wali Sahib (Sajjada Nashin), Mr. S. Jafar Husain, Babu Mathura Prasad, Syed Shah Hakim Abul Barakat, Dr. Chowdhry, Babu Brijnandan Sahay, Syed Shah Manzar Hasan, Syed Shah Baqar Husain, Syed Shah Mehdi Jafry, Syed Musi Reza Kazmi, Syed Asghar Husain, Maulana Khair Rahmani and others.

After the function was over the Secretary was informed by Maulvi Abu Sohail of Kalauna that he would make a gift of about five hundred books and four almirahs.

Ban On Mr. Moledina Removed

Bombay Muslim League Decision

The following resolutions were passed by the Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League which met there recently:

"The Working Committee take the view that Mr. Yousuf Moledina committed breach of the Rules of the Muslim National Guards Organisation and also of Rule 67 of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League by associating himself with the Muslim Radical Party, which was a political organisation, but as he has expressed regret and assured the Committee of his loyalty to the Muslim League and as he agrees not to belong to any other political organisation the Committee, in consultation with the Salar-e-Suba removes for the remaining period the ban imposed upon him by the Salar-e-Suba and is also of opinion that no further action is necessary against him."

"The Working Committee has considered the resignation of such members of the Muslim National Guards as have resigned. They are of opinion that it was not the right course for them to adopt, while the matter was actually pending before the Committee. On further consideration these National Guards have reached the conclusion that the course adopted by them was not the right one and some of them have already withdrawn their resignations. Such of them as have not already withdrawn their resignations should do so now and the matter should be closed."

Qa'id-e-Azam's "Correct" Lead

An extraordinary meeting of the Working Committee of Lahore City Muslim League, held recently under the presidentship of Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan, adopted the following resolution:

"This meeting of the Working Committee of Lahore City Muslim League and other representative Muslims of the City fully supports the statement made by Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah at Nagpur towards the end of December last. By warning the British Government again that any departure from the August declaration wherein definite assurances were given to the Musalmans, and any yielding to the Congress campaign of coercion resulting in a breach of faith with the Muslims, will be strongly resented by Muslim India, the Qa'id-e-Azam has correctly spoken on behalf of the Indian Musalmans. And the Lahore City Muslim League representing correctly the feelings of the Muslims of Lahore fully and in every way supports the statement of the Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah."

Jamiat-i-Tablighul Islam

The annual meeting of Executive body of the Central Jamiat-i-Tablighul Islam, Ambala City, will be held on Friday, February 6 next at 4 P. M. at the residence of the General Secretary of this Jamiat at Ambala City in which the statement of account for the year 1941 and report of work for the same year will be read.

The General Meeting of the members of the Jamiat will also be held on the same date at 5 P. M. in which the election of the members of the Executive body and office-beares for the year 1942 will take place. The members of both the bodies are expected to attend.

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Special Article.

Choice Before Britain:
CONGRESS OR LEAGUE?
By **M. R. T.**

POLITICS has been degraded the Congress leaders into a game of hypocrisy. They often make public statements which conceal carefully their real feelings. The speeches delivered by some of the prominent members of the Congress Working Committee at Wardha on 16th January are full of inconsistencies, half-truths, and misstatements. Mr. Rajagopalachariar at the outset of his speech said that "if India had the means to help, she would have helped even at the cost of postponing a settlement of her quarrel with Britain," but he made a directly contradictory statement when he said in the course of the same speech that: "Since the British Government had not cared to understand what was for their own good as well as that of others, the Congress was unable to help them". Explaining this point further he said: "We want proof, and positive action is wanted on behalf of Britain. The British Government know what we want. We have not helped them because they have been unhelpful."

Now on a careful comparison of the conflicting statements in the same speech, it will be evident that Mr. Rajagopalachariar wants to please the British public opinion and the Congress at the same time. The former is reminded through a clever manoeuvring of words that Congress is not in a position to help in the war effort and that its present policy of non-co-operation is not due to any intransigent attitude on its part. This argument is really meant as a reply to those who have often said that this is not an imperialistic war, that India should come to the rescue of countries which have been victims of aggression, that it should not insist on any conditions as preliminary to help and should not take advantage of the present difficulties of the British Empire.

Congress And League

If Congress had been as magnanimous as Mr. Rajagopalachariar supposes it to be and had it been willing to postpone its quarrel with Great Britain till after the war, the political deadlock would have been easily solved, and a temporary basis for the settlement of Congress-League differences would have been discovered. The Muslim League is prepared to co-operate within the present framework of the constituation, and to postpone the issue of Pakistan till after the termination of the war. It does not insist on any concessions as price for its help which may weaken the position of the Government or the Congress. It only demands a due recognition of the war effort of the Muslim community as a co-sharer in the future of India. It is unfortunately the Congress which has so far refused to come to a reasonable compromise. The Congress attitude has all along been one of all or nothing. It wants complete independence immediately and full transfer of power to Indian hands without defining how this power will be shared by it with the Muslim League which is the next biggest political organisation in the country.

Dilemma

The British Government is faced with a situation which admits of no easy solution. If it effects a compromise with the Congress. the League will naturally turn antagonistic, and the situation will further deteriorate in so far as the war effort of the Muslim community is concerned. With the Muslim League driven into active opposition, the British Government, besides losing the sympathies of 100 million Muslims in India and the effective help of the recruitment areas in Muslim Provinces, will incur risks of unpopularity in Muslim countries at a time when their moral and material help is indispensable. On the other hand, if the British Government comes to terms with the Muslim League and gives it an effective representation at the Centre, the Congress might start civil disobedience.

Congress

As a potential power for the intensification of war effort the Congress cannot compare with the Muslim League. It may succeed in raising war loans, financing schemes of industrialisation or mobilising volunteers for local defence, but it will not be able to raise powerful armies ready to defend India's cause overseas or on its frontiers. The supply of recruits, both skilled and unskilled is essentially limited in a community which has lost touch with martial traditions. The creed of non-violence has further crippled the Hindu belief in the efficacy of suppressing violence by violence.

A prominent section of Hindu leaders under the direct inspiration of Mr. Gandhi has already adopted non-violence as a permanent creed and is opposed to all wars. Babu Rajendra Prasad, as a spokeman of this group, has exposed the real trend of mind of millions of Hindus in this country. He said in a speech at Wardha: "It is politically wrong in our opinion to involve the country in war at this time. We consider that this resolution provides for armed resistance in this war, which is not in the best interests of the conntry." To remove the misconception, that he was not opposed merely to participation in the present war but to all wars for all times, he said, "our belief is that arms have not settled any dispute in the world, nor are they ever likely to do so in future".

Congress leaders, holding similar views, in a joint statement, have made it clear that they will resign membership of the Congress and will resist all efforts to secure their assistance for war, even if the Congress demand for complete independence is accepted by the British Government.

Undoubtedly the Congress will have a nuisance value if it turns hostile. But it will not be, however, of much effective help, in the military sense, if it is befriended. One thing, however, is clear from the Bardoli resolution. Whether the door for negotiations with the British Government is opened or closed, Congress is not prepared to give full and effective assistance in the prosecution of the war and the schisms in its ranks on the issue of non-violence will be further widened.

Secret Motives

There are many secret motives which sway the sympathies of a large section among the Hindu against the British Government in this war. Mr. Rajagopalachariar let the cat out of the bag when replying to 'defeatists' among Congressmen. He said: "There are some who say, 'if British is going to be defeated within the next two or three years, then we will have to face a different power; why should we antagonise them'."

There are at present three important points of view which prevail among the Hindus in general. One section of Hindus, which is mainly represented by Liberals, Mahasabhites, and Congress imperialists of Satyamurti brand, wants power at the Centre and in the provinces in order to militarise the Hindus, The dominant motive behind their lip symathy with Britain in this war is their desire to gain power and prestige for themselves and to use it in the consolidation of the Hindu community. Independence or no independence—complete or otherwise—for present they are content with wresting positions of vantage in defence and industry of the entire Indian subcontinent. Internal affairs can stir up their feelings only in so far as these affect or seem to affect their prospect adversely.

Another section of the Hindus, which is made up of extreme groups such as Communsits, socialists, and members of the Forward Block, are uncompromising opponents of the British Empire and of the existing order of society. Their prejudices against Britain have been neutralised by the latter making common cause with Russia after that country had been involved in the war. They have only *now* become indifferent spectators of the armageddon.

A third section of the Hindus, which is dominated by

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Choice Before Britain:

(Continued)

Congress Rightists under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, is at heart a strong advocate of the dismemberment of the British Empire, but is making impossible demands to avoid the possibility of a compromise. This section wants to get the maximum advantage out of Britains difficulties. Even if their demands are conceded there is no knowing that they will in fact give an effective help in the prosecution of the war. Their potentiality for help will further be limited by the open revolt of the Gandhiites who are opposed to all wars in accordance with their creed of non-violence.

Fifth Columnists

Lastly, there are some disorganised groups among the Hindus who are never tired of claiming their cultural affinity with Japan and some of whom actually rejoice in Japanese victories. One Hindu gentleman in the course of conversation with me, could not conceal his supreme satisfaction while asserting that "this war will seal the fate of over 220 millions of Muslims for ever". In further elucidation of his point he volunteered the information that "if Japan wins, 60 millions of Muslims in the Dutch East Indies, 60 millions in China and 100 millions in India will be permanently enslaved". He rejoiced to say that in the new Japanese empire the lot of Hindus will be much better than that of the Muslims, as the former will be entrusted with positions of power and influence as a counterblast to check the power of the Muslims. In his opinion, just as the British have chosen the Muslims as their "pets" in India, so will the Japanese choose Hindus as the favoured community in their new empire. Even the Chinese will be under a ban, as by their continued hostilities against Japan, they have permanently impaired their relations with the latter.

Muslim Interests

It is time the British Government should carefully analyse and understand the motives which have determined the attitude of the various communities in regard to the present war. The Muslim League stands for all out war effort. It is alive to the dangers threatening Muslim countries. If British armies are withdrawn from North Africa or the Middle East, these countries will be overwhelmed by Italy and Germany and colonised with the surplus population of the conquering nations. The Musalmans do not like to see the Muslim countries of Java, Sumatra and the islands of the Dutch East Indies fall into Japanese hands. Holland, in view of her limited population could not use the uninhabited islands of her Empire as colonies, but it is almost certain that Japan will establish settlements in Borneo, Sumatra and Malay if these countries are conquered by her. Thus, an axis victory will lead to gradual extinction of Muslim population in North Africa, the Middle East and the Dutch East Indies which can accommodate millions of Germans, Italians and Japanese. The British Empire presents no such dangers. At the worst it will continue to exploit the economic resources of the countries under it, but it will not use them as homelands for the British people who already possess immense colonies in Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

The Key

By winning over the Muslim League to its side, the British Government will stimulate war efforts in the directions hitherto unknown. The attitude of the League will have direct repercussions in Muslim countries beyond India. Sixty millions of Muslims in China and another 60 millions in the Dutch East Indies will be heartened by the news that the Indian Muslims have thrown their full weight on the side of the Allies. The Muslim leaders

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in the three countries will work in close collaboration and will bring to bear on the side of the Allies the resources of a combined population of 220 millions of peoples. The League attitude will again have a tremendous effect on the chain of the Muslim countries west of the Indus, excluding right up to the Atlantic Ocean. Afghanistan and Turkey in particular, which are still pursuing a policy of neutrality, will gain additional strength in resisting pressure from Axis powers. The Arabs, Turks, Iranians, Afghans—all will become virtual allies in this war. Muslim goodwill missions will tour all over the Muslim World and the Allies cause will receive immense support.

Let Great Britain choose a path which is the best in the furtherance of her war effort. The Indian Muslims hold the key to any future solution. Ignored, they will be the storm-centre of the British Empire, but conciliated, they will be the most earnest supporters of the common cause.

Why Allama Mashriqi Gave Up Fast

ADVICE TO KHAKSARS

Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi leader of the Khaksar organisation, who is at present detained in Madras, on the orders of the Government of India has made the following statement which, as desired by him, is released to the Press by the Government in a Press Note:

"I started fasting from October 16, 1941 in defence of the religious Islamic principles of active brotherhood, godly actions, amity with all, prayers, bodily health, social service, etc., on which the Khaksar organisation is based, also for the release of the remaining Khaksar prisoners. Government of India had already before this released several hundred prisoners in May and June last and had also intimated to me the full and unconditional release of my personal money amounting to several lakhs, also had asked me to apply for the release of my invalid pension amounting to several thousands. On the 51st day of my suffering the Government of India informed me that only circumstances in which my permanent release would be considered, would be if I were to issue a public pronouncement to the effect that the movement was to be abandoned and the entire Khaksar organisation wound up and if I were at the same time to order my followers to act accordingly. This position was impossible and I continued suffering.

Order To Khaksars:

"While not relinquishing the right of every people to improve their bodily health and spirit by innocent physical exercises I felt however that the military side of the Khaksar organisation is a source of embarrassment to the Government during the war and I herewith order the Khaksars to discontinue altogether for the duration of the war, the display of uniforms or badges, the carrying of Belchas or any other weapons and marches or drilling of any description, either in public or in private. With regard to the remaining features of the organisation viz., prayers, social service, gatherings, etc., I propose to ask the selected Khaksars to meet me after my release and I shall have full and free consultation with them. I also propose to settle with the Government of India our relations with them in details after this consultation. I hope that the Government will release all the remaining Khaksars after this settlement is made. I ask the Khaksars therefore to remain perfectly peaceful and calm in the meanwhile.

"On the expiry of the eightieth day, viz., January 4, 1942, after the Government became amenable I discontinued my fast with the extremest gratitude to the almighty Lord that I have passed through the ordeal successfully."

"HINDUSTANI"

By ABDUL JALIL KHAN

Of late the word 'Hindustani' has been given much undue publicity—more out of malica against Urdu and with a sinister motive to instal Hindi in place of Urdu, as the accepted *lingua franca* of India, than due to any real need to invent a common language. The people who have now suddenly felt the need for another common language take the word 'Hindustani' to mean a language, more akin to Hindi, in which incongruous Sanskrit words are laboriously and deliberately introduced to the exclusion of simpler and popular Persian and Arabic words—words which are in constant use for the last so many centuries and now form part of the vocabulary of the common language that is Urdu. Rekhta, Hindi or Hindustani have, so far, been known as the other names of the same common language Urdu, the *lingua franca* of India. But this new move of the Hindu brethren, with the blessings of the 'Mahatma' to break away from Urdu and to invent another common language. 'Hindustani', which is so far non-existent, is another attempt on their part to "vivisect Bharat Mata"—a 'sacrilege' which they pretend to shudder contemplate.

The name 'Hindustani' for 'Urdu' was first used by the Europeans who naturally thought that the name of the language of Hindustan (a convenient translation of 'India') must be 'Hindustani', even as the language of England is English, of France French, of Germany German, and so on. So they started learning Urdu (which they conveniently called 'Hindustani'), for they found that it was the only language which was spoken and easily understood throughout India.

Urdu Papularity

A language which is capable of being easily understood, easily picked up and easily mastered will undoubtedly claim popularity not only in its homeland but far and wide as well. This is perfectly true in the case of Urdu which enjoys an international position. In its homeland the Urdu language is having some trouble, of late, but in other countries it commands the respect it deserves. To substantiate my remark I shall translate a passage which was quoted by Allama Pandit Brijmohan Saheb Kaifi in the *Paisa Akhbar* of January 21, 1899:

"The Government Gazette of St. Petersberg runs as follows:—'For the future development of the Russian trade and commerce in Central Asia, Urdu language deserves special attention, for this is a language which seems essential for the betterment of our country. We should adopt all possible means and ways for the progress of this language. The fact should not be lost sight of that it is very necessary for the candidates for Government employment in Central Asia. People knowing this language are found from Samarkand in Asia to Zanzibar in Africa. The Government of Russia will bear the burden of all the expenses in the direction of setting up Urdu schools. Successful candidates, going out of these schools, during their period of services in Central Asia will be in a much better position to mix up with the peoples of Central Asia and to hold conversation with them. After the Chinese language, Urdu is a language which is spoken over the greater part of the world. From the boundary of Turkistan to Africa it is regarded as the solvent of all difficulties (as it serves as the common link between differentlanguages.) In all our Asian possessions and the passes in the mountains of Hindukush, leading to the Punjab, it is the only language which is spoken by the people. The learning of the Urdu language, therefore, in all the Russian Universities, Military and Technical colleges and, particularly, in all the schools situated in Central Asia, should be made compulsory."

History

The history of the Urdu language goes as far back as the advent of the Muslims in India. The language, culture and religion of the Muslim conquerers were quite different from those of the Indians. Their language was Persian which, being the court language, was learned by a considerable number of the Hindus. Thus the closer and closer contact between the different peoples of the Indian sub-continent and the Muslims evolved a new language—Urdu—which served as the common medium of expression between those different peoples as well as between them and the Muslims. Before the advent of the Muslims there was no common language which could be understood throughout the sub-continent. There were, as they are even now, quite a number of local languages spoken in different parts of the sub-continent. The new language is a mixture of Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Bhasha and other Indian languages. Urdu is the only language in which are found the words of a considerable number of languages—Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi, Telegu, Turkish, English, French, Portuguese, Bengali, Sindhi, Punjabi, Marathi, etc. And that is why Urdu is understood all over India and is spoken by the majority of the Indians.

So we see how foolish it is on the part of the Hindi enthuasts to shun all Urdu words (and these are innumerable) of Arabic or Persian origin in their vain efforts to evolve a new common language—for which attempt of theirs there is not the slightest provocation save their own separatist Hindu mentality which has already given birth to 'untouchability' and caste system,

Train Incident

Dr. Maulvi Abdul Haque, while delivering one of his presidential addresses, narrated that one of his Hindu student while travelling by a railway train felt the necessity of a match box and he asked his fellow traveller to lend him a *diya salai*. The fellow traveller while lending the *diya salai* said: the name of *diya salai* has been changed and henceforth you should call it *dharmoo shalaka!* The student was very much puzzled and innocently asked as to what was wrong with the word *diya salai*. The fellow traveller, being at a loss to give a suitable answer, angrily replied; I do not know whether the word is good or bad but it is your duty henceforth to call *dharmoo shalaka* instead of *diya salai*.

The propagandists of Hindi who are so vigorously carrying on their activities solely against Urdu, the *lingua franca* of India, fail to give a moments thought the fact that they, along with Hindi, are furthering the cause of PAKISTAN. Pakistan explodes the myth of 'Nationalism' in India. A condition precedent for 'Nationalism' in the unity in language.

Urdu, according to the appeal of Rev. B. P. Smart, which appeared in *Hamari Zaban* of January 1 last, "is the only language which serves as the common medium in India. Unfortunately in our country there are a good many wars being waged, and we should prepare ourselves to face one of such wars. This war has been caused by the Hindi worshippers whose aim is to destroy Urdu, We shall take up the defensive position. They have compelled us to gird up our loins to come out in the field to sacrifice our lives for the defence of Urdu."

In the words of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, "Urdu is a language which the Hindus and the Muslims have received from their ancestors as a mutual and sacred heritage which is absolutely indivisible." In the name of common sense, therefore, the enthusiasts of Hindi would do well to give up all their unpatriotic efforts against Urdu; for, Urdu may furnish a common platform on which the Indian political leaders could solve the Indian political deadlock.

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The Dawn

DELHI

Sunday, January 25, 1942.

THE QAZAGHS

Lately the migration of the Qazaghs from Central Asia and their entry into Kashmir has been perplexing the peoples of India. Our Hindu compatriots who have been fearing a possible invasion by the Central Assian races are seeing that dreaded phantom in this innocent and natural migration of afflicted peoples, and they are unduly but naturally alarmed. It is feared in certain quarters that these people are being drawn towards India by the same lure (no longer existing) which was the cause of the Mughal eruption over Iran and India in the middle ages. This, however, is nothing but the hallucination of a fevered imagination.

To a large extent an unfortunate misunderstanding on the part of Indians has been responsible for the treatment meted out to them on the northern borders of India and for the cold indifference of the public at large towards their fate. The similarity of the name 'Qazagh' (meaning a rider), which is wrongly pronounced in India as 'Qazzaqs' or 'Kazaks', with the notorious Cossacks or marauding bands, has given rise to the idea that these people are nomads whose sole means of subsistence is by preying upon others.

Facts are otherwise however. They belong to Qazaghistan—once a province of Turkistan, a country which was nearly as big as India before it was split up into several smaller states by Russia—now a unit of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U. S. S. R.) of Russia. It comprises of Sehmai, Aqamaula, Turghai, a part of Astrakhan and a few other districts to the east of the Caspian Sea; and with a population of about 65,30,000 it covers an area of 29,60,000 sq. kilometres.

The Qazaghs, numbering about 3,000, who with their families are now in Kashmir, have been knocking about in the inhospitable northern plateau of the Himalayas trying to find a place of refuge. These people left their homeland more than five years ago. The chief cause of this movement of population was that after the establishment of the communistic regime it became very difficult for them to live in accordance with the tenets of Islam. As the communistic polity had no room then for an ideology that professed any relation to God, the two possible courses open to these people were equally hard. But in preference to giving up their ideals and treading the path of primrose dalliance—as many people would have done— they chose to leave their homes and hearths and to start out in quest of a place where it may be possible for them to keep the flame of their spirit alive—even if that be in the bleak inhospitable wilderness of the Pamirs or in the uninviting concentration camps of the Indus Valley.

The inquisitorial encroachment on the freedom of conscience was not the only cause of their migration. The uprooting of native population and the transplantation of other races from beyond the Urals further created complications which forced whole classes of these poor people to move on in quest of fresh lands. As a result of this colonization the Qazaghs are now in a minority in their own homeland—nearly 47 per cent, as against nearly 53 cent of the newly transplanted population of non-Muslim races. It is obvious that under the circumstances their faith and culture were in danger of being swamped by the infusion of the new atheistic trends.

Believing, like true Muslims, that every land, being part of their God's Earth, is their own land, and banking on the traditional hospitality of Muslims who, whatever part of the globe they inhabit, are all members of one international brotherhood, the Qazaghs rightly expected that Muslim India, which, unlike Muslim China or Iran, is not in a termoil, will give them shelter. But the treatment meted out to them on their entry into Kashmir in November last must have disillusioned them.

Some busybodies, to whom Muslim brotherhood and the international character of Islam is a nightmare, are making moves ever since these now homeless Muslims entered Kashmir to get them ejected out of that predominantly Muslim area, which happens to be a Hindu State, beyond the Indian border, back again into the termoil of Central Asia. The Hindu press all this while has faithfully been doing its part of the job by maligning them as a band of marauders and freebooters.

The comparative indifference of the Indian Musalmans towards their guests, uninvited though they are, is, to say the least, deplorably un-Islamic. Cannot room be found for them somewhere in the Punjab, Baluchistan or Sindh to let them settle in any of those parts of British or Indian India—particularly where land reclamation schemes may usefully be set in operation? Cannot, again, Muslim leaders move the Government of India in the matter? Naturalised in any of those areas this branch of the great Tartar family is ever so likely to prove an asset rather than a liability to the zone which gives them shelter.

NOTES

Inquisition ?

The Urdu periodical, Too-lo-i-Islam, has taken exception to certain expressions occurring in our leading article in the issue of December 7 last. Pressure on space and preoccupation with more important things did not permit us to remove his misunderstanding earlier—which, we are constrained to say, is at best the half-baked child of pseudo-religiosity from intellectual lethargy. We invite the learned objector to read the article once again. We hope our objector friend would realise, if he could not do so earlier, that we cannot, of necessity, confine ourselves to addressing the Muslims alone; hence, any avoidable dogmatic pronouncement would have been out of place.

The non-believer cannot be expected to hold the Quran as best for all times. But honest efforts to understand things can convince him at least that the system propounded by the Quran is the best of all those at present extant.

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NOTES

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Such a non-believer may retain hope of evolving a better system in course of time but, while we are confident of his ultimate disillusionment, we invite him to accept that which is, to him, the best for the time being. Such an acceptance, though without the higher conviction, shall, we hope, be his first step towards his gradual elevation.

We wish the learned critic had tried earnestly to understand our meaning, which was by no means difficult to grasp, instead of rushing to pronounce an overhasty judgment.

As regards the other point we are afraid our critic has too much of that doubtful quality—self-complacency. Does he not see how many nations of the world have already adopted isolated principles from Islam and marched on to prosperity and wellbeing—without being Muslims?

We do not believe in being acrimonious but the habit of pronouncing judgments without due deliberation is the bane of some people. We hope the learned objector is not one of those who do more harm than good by untimely and unmerited criticisms; but then obtuseness is the only explanation left us for such an objection.

As for our *iman* (Faith) which, we find, is in question—Well, we plead unpreparedness. For, we had thought and believed, like a true Muslim, that that inquiry, being the prerogative of the Almighty, was not coming off even before the Day of Judgment.

Muslims And The Manifesto

Discussing the manifesto of Sir Tej ahadur Sapru in the columns of the *Time and Tide*, Professor Thomson has said: 'If the Congress and the Muslim League were to support it, it would be hard even for Mr. Churchill to turn it down'. The ignorance of the British Press and the public in respect of the political situation in India, particularly about the Muslim point of view, is pitiable. How they grope in the dark! And Professor Thomson is no exception. The Sapru manifesto is based upon the principal of a Central Government for the whole of the Indian sub-continent which is detrimental to the Muslim interests. For, a Central Government would make the indus all poweful at the Centre on account of their numerical superiority in the sub-continent taken as a unit, and it will thus put even the Muslim majority Provinces under the control of the Hindus. In the circumstances Muslim support to the Sapru manifesto would be analogous to signing their own death warrant. Muslim support to that manifesto is, therefore, entirely out of the question. They quite appreciate the advisability of presenting a united demand which, so far, has not been possible owing to the short-sighted policy of the Congress. If there is readiness, even now, on the part of the Congress to come to an honourable settlement with the Muslims there would be no difficulty in adjusting things together; for, unlike the Hindus, the Muslims do not covet what belongs to others.

Gandhian Inconsistency

It is a matter of common knowledge that the Congress had started the Civil disobedience movement under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi with a view to coerce the Government to accept their demands on the pretext of freedom of speech and that having failed in their attempt they have suspended it. Instead of confessing defeat, Mr. Gandhi has embarked upon giving it a new and very fantastic colour. In his letter addressed to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad he says that in the course of the discussion in the Congress Working Committee he had discovered that he had misunderstood the purpose of the Bombay resolution and had wrongly interpretted it to mean that the opposition of the Congress to war effort was based on the ground of non-violence, while as a matter of fact it was not so, and that the opposition was not merely on the ground of non-violence. The realisation of that error had prompted him to relinquish charge of the Congress—a responsibility which had been entrusted to him by the Bombay resolution. No one but the few blind followers of Mr. Gandhi could believe that the Bombay resolution was an enigma which took him no less than 14 months to understand. Mr. Gandhi says that that resolution being opposed to his creed of non-violence, it had become inevitable for him, as a conscientious man, to keep himself aloof from the Congress. It would have been hardly objectionable if he had stuck to this new position. But there is no consistency in his utterances or moves. He strongly supported the Bardoli resolution at the recent meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and extorted those present in the following words to adopt the resolution: "I want you to carry the resolution". It is significant to note that the resolution which he supported reiterates the Bombay resolution which shows scant regard to his creed of non-violence and has thrown open, conditionally though, the door of co-operation with the Government in the war effort. That shows that his profession of non-violence is a mere mockery and a deceit. And yet he had the audacity to harangue in the same breath his belief in the so-called non-violence. How long more will he and his satellites persist with impunity in insulting the intelligence of the world?, time alone can tell.

Allama Mashriqi Released

In view of the statement issued to the Press by Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, instructing his followers to abandon the millitary side of the Khaksar movement for the duration of the war, the Government of India have issued orders releasing him from custody, but restricting his residence for the present to the Madras Presidency.

The Allama will be free to meet any one he wishes for the purpose of consultations referred to in his statement. In the meanwhile, it must be clearly understood that the Allama's conditional release does not in any way affect the ban on the Khaksar organisation. It remains an unlawful association, meetings of which or other activities to assist its operations constitute offences under the Criminal Law Amendment Act so long as the notification remains in force.

LETTERS

Bhagalpur "Hartal"

Sir—The Statement issued by Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and published in newspapers to the effect interalia that "the Muslim League and the Muslim public of Bhagalpur joined the Hindus in observing *hartal* in sympathy with the Hindus in their struggle to defend the fundamental civic rights of all India alike" is absolutely unfounded and incorrect. The real fact is that only four shops of the Musalmans were closed as the result of mob hooligarism. All the other Muslim shops, including many of the Hindu shops were, as usual, kept open in the town of Bhagalpur on the days the *hartal* was announced by the Mahasabha. I moved in the town with Dr. A. Rahim, Vice-President of the District Muslim League, and Dr. Nasir Khan, a member of the Working Committee of the Muslim League and the Secretary of the Shujaganj Muslim Shopkeepers' Association, and my above statement is based on our own observation and knowledge. I am stating on my full responsibility that the Muslim League of Bhagalpur never joined the Hindus in observing *hartal* in sympathy with the Hindus.

Yours etc.,

(Sd.) M. A. Mannan,
General Secretary,
District Muslim League,
Bhagalpur.

Bluff and Bluster

Replying to certain comments of the National Herald, *Lucknow, Mr. Mohammad Ishaq Khan, M.L.A. (U.P.) in a letter, addressed to that contemporary, which, according to him, did not appear in its columns and which he has now forwarded to us for publication says :*

Sir—I was pained to read in today's issue your two leading articles: 'Thus British Mind' and Mr. 'Amery's Latest'. In your zeal to condemn the British Government you could not resist the temptation of indulging in mud-slinging on the devoted head of the Qa'id-e-Azam and the Muslim League. Your whole argument is a farrago of puerilities.

It seems the crack of the whip broke your bone and you find the beggar's bowl smashed to pieces by the kick of Mr. Amery. And in impotent rage you begin to shower your abuses on the League.

If that is the real mentality of the Congress it will find that it has caught a Tartar.

Shorn of all verbiage, bluff and bluster and the sickening shuffling hypocrisy underlying the present tactics of the Congress, have you ever cared to study the situation in its true perspective. Why malign the League?

Nobody ever thinks that the Bardoli resolution has 'marked the parting of the ways'. It was a face-saving device. The 'Satyagraha' movement proved an utter failure and the Mahatma 'applied' to be relieved from leadership, Satyagraha has been suspended and by a judicious management of solemn platitudes the British Government is being coaxed to accept the exploded theory of the so-called 'National' Govt. at the centre on the basis of counting of heads.

Have not the hundred million Muslims the right of self-determination? Instead of 'statements' 'Commentaries', 'Cables' and 'S.O.S.' to M. P's on the Bardoli resolution, is it not desirable to effect a settlement with the League even during the War. Who is 'obstreperous' and 'intransigent'?

It is said that with 'Pakistan' as the ideal of the League the Congress cannot negotiate with that body. But in spite of the fact that the British Govt. does not accept the ideal of 'Complete Independence' Mr. Gandhi went to London to negotiate and now frantic efforts are being made by Congress to cajole the British Government to come to a settlement.

The Congress is not prepared to accept the 'League' as the authoritative representative of the Muslims and has set up rag-tag and bob-tail associations to challenge its authority. How can it ask the third party to accept the Congress as the sole representative of India. Does it not strike you that an alliance between Hindus and Muslims on a basis of reciprocity would be the starting point for the acquisition of power?

The mewings of the fire-side kittens of the Congress cannot be the voice of Muslim India.

The twaddle meant for the purpose of depicting Mr. Jinnah as the potential villain of the political drama will cut no ice.

The Congress is to be blamed for the failure of the Hindu-Muslim settlement. Did Mr. Jinnah shrink from discussion when the Viceroy requested Mr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah to evolve a war-time compromise? Who ran Away? Again, when Mr. Jawaharlal was on his way to meet Mr. Jinnah in 1940 at Bombay, who turned the other way round? Was the observance of 'Deliverance Day' a sufficient excuse for the Congress envoy to run away from a friendly talk? The presence of a sprinkling of Khadi-drapped Muslims, in the Congress makes it no more, 'National' than the presence of a few Indians on the membership at Chhatar-manzil Club would turn it into a non-European body?

The Congress is pining for a declaration from Mr. Churchill but it considers settlement with the Muslim nation as of little importance. Mad after power, the Congress has been changing its tactics. First a declaration of Independence. Given up. Constituent Assembly. Given up. Poona offer. Given up. It will forget everything if it gets the key positions at the Centre.

The position of the League in regard to the war has been definite and consistent. It has never used it as a lever for bargaining. It has never believed in the fetish of non-voilence.

It has declared its intention of defending India, but it has never been prepared to work as slaves under foreigners.

It never declared that it was satanic' to help in the war efforts and then, overnight, at Bardoli, changed its creed and tapped at the Viceregal back-door for resumption of overtures.

Constructive statesmanship demands that the Congress, instead of cajoling the British Government into the imposition of a judgment in their favour, should straight-way arrange for a friendly discussion with Mr. Jinnah who is trusted with the execution of the Muslim policy upon the sufferage of Muslims of India. Let copy book maxims from fossil chapters of Western democracy be relegated to the lumber-heap and let us explore a common formula to wrest power and authority from the British Government. Let Mr. Rajagopalachari, negotiate on behalf of the Congress and there is no reason as to why an interim arrangement may not be found in order to end the present political stalemate and the autocratic mismanagement of the Indian Government.

The policy of 'Kiss and Kick' should cease. Arise, awake, ally or ever be fallen

Yours etc.,

Basti. Md. Ishaq Khan,
January 10, 1942. (M.L.A.)

PRESS

League Co-operation

Commenting on the statement of Mr. Jinnah on Bardoli resolution the *Nadim* says: Now that the co-operation of the Congress is not available owing to its demands embodied in the Bardoli resolution, the Government should try to seek the co-operation of the League. The President of the League and the resolutions of the League Working Committee have offered their co-operation in war effort in case they are given real and substantial share in the power and authority of the Government both at the Centre and in the Provinces. The demands of the League are just and fair. It is, therefore, hoped that the Government would welcome the offer to meet the enemy who is drawing ever closer to India.—*Nadim*, Bhopal.

Congress Inconsistency

The Congress Working Committee in its Bardoli resolution says: The Committee believes that real peace and freedom can only last if it is based on the co-operation of free nations. The idea is no doubt good. But it is not understandable why the Congress hesitates to act upon the same principles here in India. As in other parts of the world so in India also real freedom can come to stay only when all her peoples are free and there is complete understanding and goodwill between them. Congress leaders do not feel ashamed of putting forward demands before the British Government to transfer power, licence or 'freedom' to the Hindus to keep the Muslim and the Dravidians, Peoples in perpetual bondage—of the Hindus, of course, in place of the British.

This attitude of the Congress is responsible for disharmony and deadlock in India. —*Manshoor*, Delhi.

Ruinous Policy

We do not find any reference in the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee meeting to the Hindu-Muslim question or to a settlement with the League. It seems they do not at all care for such a settlement. But it is a great blunder and a ruinous policy. They must remember that without a Hindu-Muslim settlement there can be no freedom, and it is futile on their part to negotiate with Britain over the head of the Muslim nation. No power on earth would pay heed to the Congress demands unless they have satisfactorily solved this important problem.—*Iqbal*, Bombay.

Repetition Ad Nauseam

Commenting on the present Congress policy the *Inqilab* says: The Congress had prepared for the establishment of a so-called National Government at the Centre. That proposal has been vehemently opposed by the Muslims who number 100 million and by as many millions of the scheduled classes, because it was highly detrimental to their vital interests. The Congress have never realised the urgency of presenting a joint demand on behalf of all the nationalities of this sub-continent. Nor have they realised the futility of harking back to Britain and of persisting in their demands which have so often been rejected by the British Government, —*Inqilab*, Lahore.

Unhelpful

Commenting on the present Congress policy the *Asre Jadid* says: Without losing time the Congress ought to have made a settlement with the Muslim League in regard to the distribution of power and authority. Indeed, it is a very simple affair. Let the Hindus and the Muslims rule respectively in their majority provinces and arrive at an understanding with regard to the rights of Muslim and Hindu minorities in those areas. But the Congress has produced the Bardoli resolution, instead—which does not contemplate any move towards a Hindu-Muslim settlement. And in spite of being opposed to non-violecne, the resolution has the blessing and support of that apostle of non-violence, Mr. Gandhi himself. —*Asre Jadid*, Calcutta.

Muslims and The Manifesto

Discussing the manifesto of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the columns of the *Time and Tide*, Professor Thomson has said: 'If the Congress and the Muslim League were to support it, it would be hard even for Mr. Churchill to turn it down'. The ignorance of the British Press and the public in respect of the political situation. India, particularly about the Muslim point of view, is pitiable. How they grope in the dark! And Professor Thomson is no exception. The Sapru manifesto is based upon the principle of a Central Government for the whole of the Indian sub-continent which is detrimental to the Muslim interests. For, a Central Government would make the Hindus all powerful at the Centre on account of their numerical superiority in the sub-continent taken as a unit, and it will thus put even the Muslim majority Provinces under the control of the Hindus. In the circumstances Muslim support to the Sapru manifesto would be analogous to signing their own death warrant. Muslim support to that manifesto is, therefore, entirely out of the question. They quite appreciate the advisability of presenting a united demand which, so far, has not been possible owing to the short-sighted policy of the Congress. If there is readiness, even now, on the part of the Congress to come to an honourable settlement with the Muslims there would be no difficulty in adjusting things together; for, unlike the Hindus, the Muslims do not covet what belongs to others.

Liverpool Mosque

The following cable has been received by the Associated Press.

Mr. Mohammed Sultan, who came to Liverpool from India, 33 years ago, has provided a room, which has been converted permanently as a mosque, at 3, Parliament Street, Liverpool, reports the Liverpool Evening Express. "About two hundred Muslims—seamen, university students and visitors—kept the Muslim festival, Id-ul-Adha, there."

Mr. M. A. Bukht, the Indian Seamen's Welfare Officer in Liverpool appointed by the High Commissioner in 1940, is directly supervising and supporting the scheme.

LETTERS

(Continued)

> *The Editor does not accept responsibility for the views expressed by contributors.*

Education and Women

I

Sir—I have read with interest Mr. Fazlur Rahman's letter under the above caption, as published in *The Dawn* of January 11 last, and desire to thank him at the outset for the reference to my previous remarks and for the very courteous terms in which his letter is couched. I crave his indulgence to reopen the subject despite his desire not to enter into discussion, as the point raised by him is important and should be thrashed out.

I made it clear in my original letter that the present system of education for girls (and also for boys) is far from being perfect. The system undoubtedly needs improvement, and even thorough over-hauling. But till the millenium is attained, should we sit silent and in the dark as ever? I think not. I am for light, more light, for womanhood, whether it is modern or Islamic light. My stand-point is that education is as much the birth-right of women, as of men, and the women who constitute more than half the society, remaining unenlightened and, therefore, unequipped for the race of life, there is no hope for real progress of the country. It has to be borne in mind that the "woman is the queen of the house-hold," as the holy Prophet of Islam put it, and the first and foremost teacher of the young hopefuls of the family.

Modern education may have made certain girls "misfits in society", but I think it has also turned out excellent mothers and house-wives. I do not agree that modern education is capable of turning out only "misfits of society" and nothing better. It will be a mistake to think so. The same may be said in reference to boys as well. Miss Lakshmi may have argued and won the first prize for the sweeping indictment against modern education, but I hope Miss Lakshmi herself will try to disprove the indictment for which she was rewarded, let me hope, for her diction and debating ability. The very fact that Miss Lakshmi realized the effect, call it disastrous, if you please, of modern education, bespeaks the light for womanhood for which I plead. I pray that Miss Lakshmi may contradict herself later in life.

I am not opposed to Muslim girls getting Islamic education. But is Islamic education something entirely out of tune with modern education? If by Islamic education is meant only the rudimentary knowledge of *Namaz*, *Roza*, and other religious practices of the Muslims, I am afraid the Islamic education is interpreted in a very narrow and unjustifiably orthodox fashion. The Prophet of Islam made the acquisition of knowledge compulsory both for Muslim boys and girls. *Ilm* does not mean merely religious or Islamic education. *Ilm* is knowledge—modern, mediaval or religious. Knowledge has to be acquired not merely for secular gain or advantage but for real expansion of the mind or the development of the mental, moral and physical faculties of men and women. Modern education cannot be considered as entirely devoid of these virtues or potentialities.

I repeat I do not consider modern education as perfect. No man-made system in the world can be considered as perfect, for men or women are themselves imperfect beings. There must be improvement or evolution of every mundane system. Every question has its bright or dark side. I do not think the sunnier side of modern education is less conspicuous than its darker side. Water takes the colour of its container. Keep it in bright tumbler, it shines, but keep it in dark, dirty tumblers, it is turbid and repulsive. That is the case with modern education too. It is the mind or the receptacle which reflects the colour of what it contains.

Yours etc.,

Calcutta, S. Begum.

II

Sir—I have read with great interest the letter of Mr. Fazlur Rahman, in reply to S. Begum, published in *The Dawn* on January 11 last. Quoting Miss Lakshmi he says that an educated girl has become "a reluctant mother, an indifferent sister, a self-willed daughter, and a quarrelsome wife." May I point out to him that it is not quite wise to attribute these evils to education? The fault lies elsewhere—in men themselves. How many husbands pause, for a moment, to think of their wives during their busy hours of hard work? How many of them think it fit to buy occasionally a little flower for their wives as a token of their renewed love? How many again feel their absence while in the company of other friends? Are there any brothers as attentive to their sisters as they expect their sisters to be? How many fathers are more of an encouragement than of a restraint? Sons hardly find any time from other pastimes to respect their mothers' affections.

The educated girl naturally revolts against this state of affairs and in cases where the shackles of orthodoxy and conservatism are very strong the result is either indifference or coldness. Human life demands sociable company and friendship. Have we qualified ourselves to be a company? How many of us, men realise that our family is our first society, our relatives are our first friends and our home is our first school? Have we made our home life pleasant and cheerful? Are we genuinely interested in it, or only to the extent of bossing over it?

I agree that the primary duty of a woman is to look after the home and the hearth. But how many of us have made that duty pleasant and interesting. Love begest love. Devotion is always rewarded by devotion. Sympathy evokes sympathy. We should be prepared to give what we demand. If we desire our mothers, our sisters, our daughters and our wives to be attentive to us, let us first deserve their attention by being attentive to them.

Yours etc.,

Bombay. "Onlooker."

III

Sir—Permit me to put in my point of view in reference to the remarks made by Mr. Fazlur Rahman on the above subject in the course of his letter published in the "*Dawn*" of the 11th January last.

Mr. Rahman is opposed to the Muslim girls getting modern education as it is capable of making the "modern educated girl" only "a reluctant mother, an indifferent sister, a self-willed daughter, and a quarrelsome wife," instead of being "a devoted mother, an affectionate sister, an obedient daughter and a loving wife."

I am afraid the picture drawn above is over-done. Miss L. R. Lakshmi's picture, in my opinion, represents not the real out-turn in general of modern education but an exceptional type or bye-products. I do not think all modern educated girls are as bad as pictured by Miss Lakshmi who appears to have been carried away by her emotional enthusiasm to emphasise only the flippant side of modern education.

I do not say that the cap, or should I say, the hat, does not fit in the heads of some modern educated girls, but I do assert that it ill fits many, if not most, of our educated sisters. Modern education has its vices as well as its virtues. If it makes some of our girls go off their legitimate track, it does the same to the boys as well. This can, therefore, be no argument against the girls

(Continued on page 11)

Sultanul-Qa'ideen

By **SYED SHARIFUDDIN PEERZADA**

The life history of Qa'id-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the un-crowned King of Muslim India, is, in fact, a history of rennaisance of Muslim India. Not long ago, the Musalmans in India were groping in the dark, disorganised and split up into various camps.

The 25th of December, Christmas day, of the year 1876 saw a Star appearing in Karachi. A son was born in the house of a well-to-do Khoja gentelman of Karachi. He was Mohammed Ali Jinnah, destined to galvanise and awaken the Musalmans of India in a manner as to astound and stagger their opponents. It was, in fact, the guiding star for the Indians in their aspirations to achieve Independence and political freedom. Let India now keep her gaze on that Star and her journey to the promised land is safe and sure.

Endowed with exceptional brains Mr. Jinnah completed his studies with flying colours both in India and in England and was called to the Bar in the year 1897 when he was at the threshold of youth.

As was expected, Mr. Jinnah did make history in his profession. He is, to-day, one of the greatest and most successful lawyers that India has ever seen. His services in defending Tilak and Horniman against the Government at a time when Indian Leaders could hardly venture to incur the displeasure or face the wrath of Government are of the greatest value, and the masterly conduct of these cases brought him renown in his professional career and public life. His name shall go down in history in golden letters.

Politics

Mr. Jinnah, to quote his own words, has a hobby for politics. He was closely associated with the Congress for several years and did yeoman service in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity and political advancement in India. Jinnah, in his early days, had derived political inspiration from men like Gokhale and Naoroji who based all their political activities on the evolution of a wide-spread patriotic sentiment in the country. When Mr. Gandhi came into limelight in the Congress and changed its creed to non-co-operation, Mr. Jinnah did not approve of it and rightly too. He finally severed his relations with the Congress when that political body was changed into a Hindu body by the slow but steady process of the intrigues of Mr. Gandhi. A student of politics of to-day knows, that Congress is a coin with two different stamps on either side of it—the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha.

The Great Qa'id of the Musalmans of India, is a Realist. All the charges now levelled against him are simply baseless and devoid of any truth in them. It was the strong hand and forceful personality of Mr. Jinnah that brought about the famous Lucknow Pact of 1916 into existence. Till then it was only a tall talk of unity between the two great communities of India. The Jinnah Memorial Hall in Bombay is a symbol of Peace and Unity. Even his bitterest opponents and worst critics can never question his patriotic sincerity and most uncorrupted political life of the highest order.

Leader

Shrewd judgment, clear vision, deep foresight, penetrating intellect and perfect knowledge of mass psychology—these are the qualities that go to make a leader. Jinnah has them all in abundance, and that accounts for his wonderful and masterly hold over ten crore Muslims in India. Throughout his political career Jinnah never committed any mistake which he had reason to regret or to resile from the stand he had once taken up—unlike Gandhi and his satallites. Surely, Jinnah is a politician of prophetic foresight. In him there are many traits which the younger generation may well emulate, so says Mr. Satyamurthi, the well-known Congress leader.

Fervent patriotism, fearlessness, prophetic vision, unerring judgment, magnanimity towards friend and foe alike, fluency of tongue—combine all these qualities of head and heart and there stands before you an august personality, tall, grave, resolute and commanding, the Great Qa'id-e-Azam.

Jinnah is level-headed and most constitutional. In his hands problems are shorn of all their intricacies and become transparently clear. Wise, courageous and unselfish lead is essential. Jinnah has not failed to give that lead. He is neither Gandhi whose heart and tongue are poles apart; nor is he Nehru, a fairy tale writers who would not consider the conditions prevailing in the sub-continent.

As a devoted servant of Islam Jinnah stands as an emblem of service—pure, selfless and incorruptible. His physical energy, his intellectual powers. his oratory, his belongings are nothing but the property of Islam. No other leader in the world to-day can excel him in eloquence, energy, geniality and personal charm. In private as also in his public life Jinnah is a pattern of purity. He is the harbinger of a new era in Muslim India.

Muslims United

With the flame of his exuberant energy, Jinnah has lighted thousands of flames—never to be extinguished. Instead of the scattered units of a Persian love lyric, Muslim Nation is acquiring the unity of a poem. That is Jinnah's contribution to the rejuvenation of Muslim India.

Great as a lawyer, great still as a politician and a statesman, Jinnah's name shall always remain dear and near to a Muslim heart. May God give him, the life of KHIZR to steer the Pakistan Ship through stormy waters. Amen.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 11)

getting no education; if so, the same argument must apply to the boys too.

Mr. Rahman wants Muslim girls to be mothers of "Khalids and Taricks." I cry "Amen". But will our girls be mothers of Khalids and Taricks by being kept outside the portals of modern schools, colleges or madrasahs? I think not. Uneducated mothers cannot even conceive of Khalids or Taricks? The mothers of these national heroes were not perhaps uneducated ladies; even if they were, the births of these heroes were perhaps accidents and not the results of ignorance or want of education. The time-spirit must have produced them. It is enlightened mothers who are expected to produce enlightened issues, for mothers are the first and natural tutors of children. The blind can never lead others aright or along the tracks of light.

I do not mean to say that modern education is perfect and free from defects. It has its virtues and evils. The modern educated girls are not to be considered good-for-nothing whole-sale. I would prefer them, with all their faults and frailties, to uneducated girls who are nothing better than more chattels. Of course, even amongst uneducated girls, there are both good and bad materials, just as there are amongst educated girls. Modern girls are no more "misfits" in society than uneducated girls who are perhaps round pegs in square holes of modern society.

Yours etc.,

Dacca. M. J. Zahedi.

Muslim Students Meet At Indore

PROTEST AGAINST BAN ON DY. PRESIDENT

A largely attended meeting of the Muslim Students Federation was held at Indore on January 15 last to protest against the anti-Muslim attitude of the authorities of the Holker College and the ban imposed on Mr. Mohammad Noman, Deputy President of the All-India Muslim Students Fedetation, preventing his speaking on the occasion.

However, a hearty welcome was accorded to him on the Railway Station at Indore, when he arrived there on January 15. He was garlanded amidst shorts of Allah-ho-Akbar, Muslim League Zindabad, Pakistan Zindabad, etc.

The meeting was held at about 8-30 p.m., with F. H. Azad in the Chair. Mr. Noman was offered another chair as an, honourable guest.

After a recitation from the Holy Quran, and of the *Taranai Millat* of Dr. Iqbal, Mr. Ilyas traced the origin of Bande Matram and Mr. Haziq Ali and Mr. M. A. Usmani protested against the unsympathetic attitude of the authorities by imposing the said song and bringing obstacles in the way of the Muslim Students of the College on the Friday prayer question was not favourably solved. The policy of the Holker Government was also criticised for imposing the ban on Mr. Noman without any specific reasons.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

This open meeting of the Indore Muslim Students Federation views with great regret the present policy of the Holker Government in not allowing Mr. Mohammad Noman, Deputy President, All-India Muslim Students Federation, to preside and speak on the present occasion.

This general meeting of the Indore Muslim Students Federation expresses with regret the following :—

That the authorities of the Holker College have changed their last year's decision without any apparent reason, allowing the song of *Bande Matram* in all the official functions of the College, (*vide* H. C. Times Volume I issue 11) and urges upon them to stick to their last year's decision—disallowing the said song officially in the official functions of the College.

As on account of the unfair attitude of the majority community no Muslim Student has been elected to the Students Council which consists of 102 Members, the meeting urges that at least 8 Muslim Students out of 45 (the present number) of the Muslim Students in the College according to the Ratio 1.6 be nominated to the Council or seats for the Muslim Students be reserved in proportion.

This meeting deeply regrets that after suspending two periods for the Jumma Prayers the College activities are being to deprive the Muslim Students of the benefit of tutorial lectures. Therefore, this meeting requests the authorities to suspend all the work of the College from 12.45 to 2.15 p.m., enabling the Muslim Students to attend the Jumma Prayers.

"Anti-Muslim Attitude" of Holker College

Protest Meeting at Aligarh

An extraordinary meeting of the Aligarh Muslim Students' Federation, held there recently, recorded its sense of strong resentment and indignation at the anti-Muslim attitude of the Principal, Holker College, Indore, which is quite contrary to the old tradition of the Indian States to respect the susceptibilities of the followers of all religions and to provide them facilities for the performance of their religious obligations. The Principal has for a long time been doing great injustice to the Muslim Students by refusing to close the College for two hours for Friday prayers, compelling them to join in the singing of the anti-Muslim *Bande Matram* song, and using words calculated to hurt the national honour and wound the religious feelings of the Muslims.

"We draw the attention of the Government of Indore to these grievances and assure the oppressed Muslim Students of Indore of the sympathy and support of all the Muslim Students throughout India. We demand that the College be closed for two hours on Friday, that the Muslims should be exempted from singing the *Bande Matram*, that the Principal should tender an unqualified apology and that no steps be taken against the Muslim Students concerned. We also utter a note of warning that if the above demands are not fulfilled then the Government will be held responsible for the grave consequences that would follow."

LEAGUE ANNUAL SESSIONS AT ALLAHABAD

Make It A Success : Says Qa'id-e-Azam

The next annual sessions of the All-India Muslim League will be held at Allahabad during the forthcoming Easter holidays. In this connection the following Press statement has been issued by Qa'id-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah:

By the resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, dated the 27th of October 1941, I was empowered to fix the date and place for the next Annual sessions of the All-India Muslim League. I had received various invitations and proposals for the Sessions from different Provinces and finally, after full consideration, I have accepted the invitation of the U. P. Provincial Muslim League inviting the League to hold its next sessions at Allahabad during the forthcoming Easter holidays.

I am confident that all classes of Musalmans throughout the United Province and specially of Allahabad will do their utmost to make this session successful by supporting the Provincial Muslim League and the organisers wholeheartedly.

I am extremely thankful to the Working Committee of the U. P. Provincial Muslim League and the prominent Muslim League leaders in Allahabad for their cordial and enthusiastic invitation. I wish them all success.

The exact dates of the sessions will be announced later in consultation with the organisers.

Pakistan

A comprehensive history of Muslim League and Pakistan in Bengali by Mr. Md. Habibullah Bahar, a member of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, has been published from 23, Crematorium Street, Bulbul House, Calcutta. The name of the book is 'Pakistan.' A powerful writer and a devoted Muslim Leaguer, Mr. Habibullah has removed a longfelt want of Bengali speaking Muslims. He has traced the cultural and political History of India from the earliest period down to the acceptance of Pakistan as th creed and ideal of the Muslim League. The book contains almost everything that is important in connection with the Muslim League, Pakistan and Muslim Politics in India. The author proposes to have the book translated in English and Urdu soon.

"Rahmani" Meets With Mishap

It is reported from Karachi that the coastal vessel *Rahmani* which left Bombay for Mandvi met with an accident near its destination and all passengers and cargo on board were lost. The number of passengers or other details are not available.

It is learned in Delhi that this is not the Haj ship *Rahmani*, which is understood to be safe.

Haj Ship's Safe Arrival

It is reported from Karachi that the pilgrim ship *Rahmani* carrying 1,500 pilgrims has arrived from Jedda.

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"A VERITABLE UNHOLY ALLIANCE OF REACTION, STUPIDITY AND SELFISHNESS"

Congress And Govt. Incapable Of Learning Or Forgetting Anything

Congress Leaders Not Representatives Of Indian Democracy

(*By* M. N. ROY)

The Government decided to release the Congress leaders with some expectations, if not actually with high hopes. The decision was taken after the Government had been persuaded to believe that two years experience had convinced the Congress leaders of the futility of a purely negative policy. After their release, for a time, it appeared that there was a turn in the trend of their thought. The pronouncements of some of them, particularly of Mr. Rajagopalachari and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, were interpreted as definite gestures of co-operation in the fight against Fascism. Although the two outstanding Congress leaders were believed to represent divergent views, it was believed that, on the immediate issue of lining up India on the side of the progressive world forces, they were going to pull together. The view was, however, based very largely on wishful thinking and a complete lack of understanding of the relation of force inside the Congress, and of the sympathies and convictions of the bulk of Congressmen. The greatest mistake on the part of those who shared that view was to under-estimate the influence of the Mahatma and to ignore the subtle and devious manners in which that influence is exercised.

The Illusion

We did not share the illusion about the Congress leaders getting out of their mental rut. The very pronouncements which were hailed as holding out rays of hope precluded any such illusion. Whenever he opened his mouth in public, Pandit Nehru made it clear that he was not going to budge an inch from the position taken up by the Congress in the beginning of the war, no matter what might have happened in the meantime, and what may happen in the future. In a certain section of the British press, as well as in some of the "Anglo-Indian papers in this country, much was made of his effusions about Russia and China. But it should have been clear to the moderately critical reader that, for practical purposes, all those lyrical outbursts did not amount to anything more than mere lip sympathy. In any case, he never gave it to be understood that he was giving to do anything to give expression to his professed sympathies for the progressive world forces. Now there can be absolutely no doubt about his attitude. His speech at the A. I. C. C. Meeting was a hymn of hatred. That must be very rude shock for the ill-informed 'friends of India' in England, who counted upon the influence of Harrow eventually counter-acting that of Wardha. It remains to be seen whether the shock will cure them of the curious idea of democracy which identifies several hundred "amateur politicians" as H. G. Wells put it, with India.

Utilitarian

There is no doubt that Mr. Rajagopalachari was very anxious to come out of the wilderness; but there is doubt about the reason for which he wanted to do so. His approach to the problem is not idealistic, as in the case of Pandit Nehru. It is said to be realisiic; the better description, however, would be, utilitarian. He thinks that Indians should seize whatever power may be available. He is not very scrupulous about the purpose for which the power is to be employed. In return for an appreciable share in the authority of the Government, he would most probably help the war, even if it were waged against the Soviet Union. Therefore, he is certainly the man for the diehard imperialists, who still rule this country. They hope that he would be able to carry the Congress, or split it. Among the politicians and public men of this country, there are many of his kind. But it would not be worth-while for the Government to yield some places of authority to individuals. Mr. Rajagopalachari was expected to command a considerable following. That expectation again has turned out to be unfounded.

A majority of the Congress parliamentarians shared Mr. Rajagopalachari's views. But, compelled to choose between him and the Mahatma they had to follow the latter, who won the election for the Congress; and without whom the Congress will not be able to win the next elections. The Mahatma's relation with the Congress deprives the latter of any serious democratic significance. As a matter of fact, in the last election, people did not vote for the Congress, but for the Mahatma. And in the next election they cannot be expected to behave otherwise. Therefore, to identify the Congress with the country, is to identify the latter with one individual. That is certainly not a democratic view of the situation.

However, it is now clear that the Congress will not deliver the goods, even if it is still believed that it alone can do so. But this lesson may not as yet be learned by all, and consequently, on the pretext of being very scrupulous about formal democratic practice, democracy may continue to be over-ridden. From the side of the Government, it will be argued: What can we do, so long as the major political parties refuse to accept responsibility? And from the other side, the report will be that the Government is not conceding to the

(Continued on next page)

Congress & Govt. Incapable Of Learning Or Forgetting Anything

(Continued)

demand of the people, and therefore popular co-operation in the war cannot take place. Between the two formalist camps the country alone will suffer.

Idea Of Democracy

Therefore, the idea of democracy must be realistically appraised. The formalist notion must go. Democracy is not counting of heads. Particularly to-day, it has a very concrete expression. Fascism is the avoved enemy of democracy. Therefore, the test of democracy to day is the readiness to fight against Fascism, subordinating all other considerations. The Congress leaders even a man like Pandit Nehru, who is so very loud about his abhorrence for Facism and lyrical about his love for the progressive forces, are not prepared to take up that attitude towards the fight against Fascism. Their main consideration is their prestige, which is camouflage by the demand for independence. The demand appears to be very plausible. The enforcement of this demand will be the vindication of democracy of India. But there another side of the picture. If the demand is not accepted by the British India, in so far as she is represented by the Congress will not do the democratic duty of helping the fight against Fascism. And if Fascism wins democracy will be destroyed everywhere, and India cannot be expected to be an exception. Therefore the plausible demand of independence as the price for India's co-operation in the fight against Fascism, cannot hide the fact that the Congress leaders are not primarily concerned with the defence of democracy. How can they, then, be regarded as the representatives of Indian democracy? In the last analysis their position is that they would see India overrun by triumphant Fascism then to participate in the common struggle against that danger, unless the British Government would make some concession to their prestige. The latest resolution of the A. I. C. C. makes that clear once again. The Congress leaders have neither learned anything nor forgotten anything.

Some Light

Incidentlly, the last A.I.C.C. session has thrown some light on the currents and cross-currents of Congress politics. For one thing the voting was very significant. It has been interprated differently by different people. Wishful thinkers, still looking upon Mr. Rajagopalachari as their saviour, may interpret the voting as an indication of large potential following. That may or may not be the case. But the decisive fact is that Mr. Rajagopalachari did not dare to press his point of view, even after the Mahatma formally abdicated. On the other hand, the voting has been interpreted as the triumph of non-violence. If that is the case there was no reason for the overwhelming majority to keep quiet. However: it is very significant that nearly eighty per cent of those who claim to be the custodians of India's destiny, should not know their duty in this critical moment. That fact alone indicates that intellectual sub-servience and spiritual demoralisation have reached their climax inside the Congress. That being its internal condition, the Congress cannot possibly be expected to act as the leader of the country in these crucial days. It may still continue to confuse the situation, on the one hand on the authority of the Mahatma and, on the other hand, owing to the anxiety of Imperialism not to harm irreparably the position of the politicians who have proved to be so very dependable administrators of its affairs. That anxiety alone explains the short-sighted policy of the Government, which is doing itself no less harm than to the country.

An Eye-Opener

Another incident in the A. I. C. C. meeting is also to be noted. It is an eye-opener. An amendment moved by a member who was associated with the Forward Bloc declared India demanded freedom so that a free India could decide which parties in this war she should join. Those with an insight into the mind of the average Congressman would regard this amendment as indicating the opinion of the great majority of them. It should be noted that the amendment is diametrically opposed to the views expressed for example by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If there was more courage of conviction, the amendment most probably would have secured a very large vote. As a matter of fact, it was not an amendment, it was an effort to make explicity what is implicit in the official resolution. It should be remembered that the famous September declaration of the Working Committee also wanted independence so that India might freely decide to join the war. The grievance was against the fact that India had been declared a belligerent country without being consulted. There was no point in laying so much emphasis on that technical default, which incidentally was no breach of constitutional procedure, unless it was maintained that, given the freedom, India might have decided otherwise. This basic ambiguity in the Congress policy has never been removed. Therefore, the amendment to the official resolution in the last A. I. C. C. meeting was not altogether out of place. It is significant that none of the sponsors of the official resolution thought it necessary to state that the amendment went against the spirit of the resolution. Therefore, it is legitimate to assume that the amendment was not so regarded. It was rejected simply because there are very few members of the A. I. C. C. with the courage to vote against any resolution moved in behalf of the Working Committee.

Curious Situation

In spite of all these revealing facts, most probably efforts will still continue to coax the Congress leaders, particularly of the Rajagopalachari school, to return to office and share the responsibility of defending the country. Indeed, people with equally ambiguous views have already become members of "War Cabinets." Members of the party led by Subhas Chandra Bose have become Ministers of Bengal, which may before long be actually invaded by the Japanese. In this curious situation, it is quite natural to hear the remark that it is very difficult to distinguish between the organisation of so-called civil defence and of the Reception Committee for the coming hero. If the Congress leaders are incapable of learning anything or forgetting anything, the Government is equally incapable of doing so. Between the two, the stage is being prepared for a gigantic catastrophe.

11th Hour

Only a determined, rather desparate, effort on the part of the really progressive and democratic sections of the Indian people can possibly organise some action on the part of the latter which alone may save the situation, yet in this eleventh hour. The number appears to be very small. But they certainly represent the Indian democracy, if that is to be conceived as the welfare of the popular masses. If the present rulers of our country were not so incredibly short-sighted, they would still allow democracy to assert itself and help the turning of the tide. But victory of democracy will not only mean successful defence against Japanese invasion, but will also sweep away many things which have become completely antiquated and harmful for the Indians as well as for others looking forward to a brighter future for all. Therefore, the present rulers of our country would rather continue hoping against hope, thus risking everything, than to act courageously, guided by enlightened self-interest, if not by any higher ideals. The future of India thus hangs in the balance, and at the moment the balance is heavily tipped against the Indian people. But in critical moments like this, great things happen unexpectedly; we can only carry on with the hope that the intervention of some unexpected force will still save India from the conspiracy of what appears to be a veritable unholy alliance of reaction, stupidity and selfishness—Reproduced from the *Sunday Observer*.

Special Article.

Federation Cannot Be Improved

Pakistan, as a Check on Hindu Imperialism

By—**M. R. T.**

INDIA never existed in the past with its present bounds and limits. Its present unity is maintained under the British bayonet. Even Mr. Gandhi was alive to the danger of India's break up when he said in an article in the *Harijan* that if the British left India, the Punjabis from the north and the Gurkhas would overrun the country and that if anybody desired to maintain the supremacy of the British in India it was the Congress which was the only representative and authoritative organisation of the people of India. Historically it is a fact that both prior to the British rule and the establishment of Muslim Empire in India, India was split up into a number of independent kingdoms, each maintaining its own army. During the Hindu period in history, except for the short-lived empire of Asoka, India was never united under a central authority, while even the empire of Asoka was the result of conquest and not due to a natural process of unification. Asoka himself confesses that the conquest of the Kingdom of Kalinga had caused the slaughter of 1,00,000 men and thereafter he had given up all thought of conquest through force. Under the Sultans of Delhi and the Moghul Emperors, India undoubtedly remained united for several centuries, but the Muslim empire owed its existence to the support of the Muslims and its influence was at the lowest ebb in the Deccan and the extreme south of India. The present British empire in India was gradually built up as a result of a series of conquests some of which even now cannot be held morally justifiable. To quote an example, the Amirs of Sindh were provoked to action and were forcibly deprived of their possessions over which they had every right to rule on the principles of self-determination. Likewise, the Muslim Nawabs of Bengal who ruled over a population, mainly Muslim by religion were treacherously despoiled of their hereditary possessions.

Consent

Unity of a country always implies willingness on the part of its constituent units to unite for common purposes, and presupposes a homogeneous nation united by ties of religion, language and culture. Where the will to unite and ties of cultural unity are lacking, unity can only be maintained under artifical devices. India presents the clear example of a country which lacks homogeneity and marks of a common nationalism. The predominant Muslim areas in the north-west and north-east have distinct political aspirations of their own from the rest of India and are on every consideration entitled to supreme political sovereignty. Those who recommend to Muslims, the adoption of a Federal form of Government on the lines of Australia, South Africa and Canada forget that federations in these countries grew up out of independent units which voluntarily agreed to merge their separate existence into the bigger whole.

In Australia, a plebiscite was taken in all the colonies separately to decide the issue of Federation. South Australia continued in its refusal to join the federation till all its objections had been met. In Canada, too, the movement for Federation became only possible after the French and the British had agreed to unite in their respective interests. The French wanted Federation as they feared that French Canada was too weak to maintain its independence long against the growing power of U. S. A. The annexation of Canada by U. S. A. would have reduced the French to the position of an insignificant minority in an English speaking Republic. By joining Federation, the French were assured of, besides protection of their interests, their privileges and rights in the exploitation of the hitherto undeveloped parts of Canada. In South Africa too, the Dutch and the English settlers at first did not agree on the question of Union, but when the Dutch realised, that being in a majority of the total white population, their interests could better be safeguarded through the Centre, they voted for it.

Muslim Case

The Muslims in India have yet to be convinced the Federation will protect their interests much more effectively than their own national states. They have no fears, unlike the French in Canada who were afraid of the annexation of Canada by U.S.A, that separation will weaken their position and expose them to attack by a stronger enemy. Rather, in case of separation, Muslims will have the satisfaction that they will carry the moral support of the neighbouring Muslim countries who will enter into permanent bonds of friendship with their new State. Again, the Muslims of India have no additional advantages which can attract them to support the cause of Federation. Instead of being assured of the right to exploit new lands and territories as was the case in British Dominions, they fear that their own predominant areas may be further exploited by the Hindu money-lenders and industrialists. There is no inducement in any direction which can keep the Muslims as loyal adherents of a strong Centre. The lure of complete provincial autonomy is a poor substitute for the loss of control over such important Departments of a national State as Customs, Army, Foreign affairs and communications. The bait of safeguards is galling to the self-respect and national pride of a people who are a nation by themselves and are capable of defending their own interests by their own organised efforts. Safeguards are a political device to win over a community which has no other course but to remain a minority and which under no re-adjustment of geographical frontiers can be converted into a majority.

The views expressed in this article are not necessarily those of THE DAWN.

Not A Minority

The Muslims of India are 25 times as numerous as Sikhs or Christians, and to speak of them as a minority, entitled to safeguards in the constitution is a misnomer and a gross abuse of the term. There is no minority in any other homogenous State in the world even a hundredth part of the so-called Muslim minority in India. All the modern nations, the Germans, the English the French, the Japanese and almost all other European States have no minority questions to face. Those few countries, like the Czarist Russia, the former Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires in which the minority question presented serious complications, knew no other solution beyond the break up of their artificial unity under the principle of self-determination.

India cannot escape the inevitable fate of a non-homogeneous State, despite the clever efforts of the Congress nationalists to deceive the world. It is absolutely wrong to compare India, as visualised by the Congress, with a national State or even an empire resting on the goodwill of its people. It stands no parallel with Italy and Germany, the two States which took their rebirth in the 19th centuary.

Modern Italy owes its existence to the united efforts of the Italians. The various States and petty kingdoms, into which Italy was divided in the past, collapsed like a pack of cards as soon as the movement for national unity made its voice felt among the people.

In Germany too, the process of unification was prompted by a sentiment of common nationlism. Germany was made up of a number of independent States and Cities, nominally united under a Zollverein for economic purposes. Gradually, as the States realised that Greater Germany would serve and protect their interests much more effectively than their isolated existence, they agreed to delegate certain powers to a Central authority. To make sure of the permanent attachment of states in Southern and Western Germany, Prussia played on Germany's hatred

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against the French, and convinced the Germans that their liberties were under a constant state of threat from France. But for this common danger, which Prussian statesmen created in their own interest, Germany's unification would have been postponed for some time. Can there be a similar urge for Muslims in India to unite in face of a common danger? Greater India here means a communal Imperialism which, besides keeping under abject subjection 100 millions of Muslims, will be a constant source of danger to Muslim countries of the Middle East.

A Check

Pakistan, as a strong buffer state, will be a check on the imperialist designs of Hindu India and will maintain the balance of power in Asia as well as the whole world which might be unduly distubred by the preponderance of an aggressive unit of 400 millions of people. Future of the world peace demands that all States which in view of their preponderance in population and resources are likely to encroach upon the rights and liberties of their weak neighbours should be limited in the scope of their power and aggression by a system of checks and counterchecks. A Federation of Muslim States, including Pakistan, will be a strong bulwark against possible aggression from the East as well as the West.

It will be a calamity of the first order if a sub-continent, as big as India, inhabited by 1/5th of the world's population, is allowed to function as a separate State under the domination of a community which is heading towards a party totalitarianism under the dictatorship of Congress High Command. The Muslims can expect no justice from a community which, in view of its caste prejudices has practically denied the ordinary privileges of society to one-fourth of its own kith and kin and degraded them to the position of untouchables and the depressed classes. No reliance can be placed on the goodwill of a community which differs from Muslims on fundamentals in tegard to religion, language, history, traditions, and above all political aspirations. Muslims

Federation cannot be Improved

(Continued)

know what an independent India under Congress domination will mean from their experience of Congress administration in seven out of eleven Governors' Provinces. The deliberate oppression of Muslim minorities, with a view to denationalise them and to throw them at the mercy of the Congress, could not but provoke deep resentment among the Muslims in general. Naturally, the Muslims heaved a sigh of relief and observed a day of deliverance when the Congress regime came to an end.

Congress Intransigence

Since the outbreak of the present war, Congress-League differences have been further intensified. Imbued with a sense of its importance, and claiming for itself the exclusive sight to represent all classes and interests of India the Congress has deliberately closed the door of settlement with the Muslim League. Mr. Gandhi is not prepared to meet Mr. Jinnah on equal terms, nor he sees the necessity of recognising the Muslim League as the sole authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims. He holds India to be the home of a single nation which can have no differences in the political field. It is for this reason that he refused to discuss questisns about the Centre and the provinces with Mr. Jinnah as a representative of the Muslims and himself as a representative of the Hindus. If it were a fact that India is a nation on the sense that the term is understood in the West, Mr. Gandhi would be justified in his refusal to see Mr. Jinnah but it brings no credit to the saint of Wardah to shut his eyes deliberately to the realities of the situation. Without Hindu-Muslim settlement India's political problem can never be solved, and the goal of independence can never be reached. If the Congress is determined to march on, in utter disregard of Muslim interests, and is bent upon coercing Muslims into accepting Congress political notions regarding India's future government, it will invite trouble and precipitate a crisis, the consequences of which will be too difficult to control.

Alternative

Undoubtedly, the British Empire if facing a life and death struggle. It is threatened with danger from all sides. It cannot overcome its difficulties without the active co-operation of India in the war effort. The Congress, true to its *bania* mentality, has chosen the moment of Britains' difficulties to demand the maximum price for its help. It demands complete independence with the right to frame India's constitution by a constituent assembly, elected on the widest adult franchise under its own supervision. It thinks that Great Britain in her present state of helplessness will concede everything or lose everything. In either case, the Congress will be the gainer. If her demands are accepted in entirity she will have done the greatest service to Hindus by bringing them into power for the first time during the last 2000 years and by fulfilling their dream of a united India which only existed in the Hindu imagination in the past. On the other hand, if the Congress demands are rejected, it will carry the masses with it in its programme of non-co-operation and will, thereby, consolidate its position for a future date when it will be able to dictate its terms with still greater force. The British Government has no other way out of the difficulty than doing justice to the claims of the Muslims for a due share in the government. All threat of Congress opposition, in an aggressive form, will vanish the moment Muslims are taken into confidence and their co-operation is sought on terms honourable to both sides. It is now for the British Government to choose its ally—Congress or Muslim League.

Muslim University Convocation

A. R. P. Demonstration to be held

His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, Pro-Chancellor, will visit the University on the occasion of the Annual Convocation fixed for February 7, over which he will preside. A detailed programme of his visit has already been drawn up.

His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces will visit the University on February 27. The programme of his visit is being arranged.

The authorities of the Muslim University are organising Civil Defence and A. R. P. demonstrations within the University area. At a meeting of the Provosts and Wardens at which other members of the Staff were also present, it was decided to divide the University area into seven sectors, each sector being assigned to a batch consisting of a sector Warden, an Assistant Sector Warden and other Wardens and including both the students and the members of the Staff. Sub-Committees have also been organised to deal with first aid, technical assistance, fire-extinguishing and other works. The University Defence (Civic) Guards are also organising partrolling by night. Instruction in First Aid and A. R. P. methods will also be imparted by means of lectures and a pamphalet which is under preparation by the University Staff.

£ 50,000 COLLEGE FOR NATAL MUSLIMS

To co-ordinate and organise cultural Muslim activities throughout the Province, a £ 50,000 scheme for a Muslim College in Natal has been launched. Promoters of the enterprise are the local Muslim authorities and they are asking Muslim merchants to contribute freely to make the success of the scheme possible. Provision for 350 poor children will be made at the central college.

LETTERS

Congress And the League

Sir—The All-India Congress Committee has met at Wardha and endorsed the Bardoli decision of the Working Committee. The apprehended split in the Congress has been averted by the extraordinary adaptibility of Mr. Gandhi to the everchanging political atmosphere. There are people who discern in the decision of the A. I. C. C., the triumph of Mr Gandhi and the discomfiture of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. This may be so in a mystic sense, but to the ordinary intelligence the order of victory and defeat is just the reverse. Mr. Gandhi has discretely surrendered and 'Rajaji' has scored throughout. There is no gainsaying the fact that at present the latter is the dominating force in the Congress and both at Poona and at Bardoli, perhaps the only occasions on which he openly defied Gandhiji, he proved to be more than a match for the orthodox group, commonly known as 'no changers' led by Mr. Gandhi, and came out of the conflict with flying colours. The succession to the Congress Dictatorship has, however, been reserved for the more famous Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who, in spite of occasional assertion of a will of his own, has learnt to adjust his views to those of his *Guru*. Be that as it may one thing appears to be very intriguing. Ostensibly the Congress stands for undiluted democracy. But the Congress High Command, have for sometime past, been behaving for all practical purposes as a fascist organisation. Now Mr. Gandhi's decree that succession to Congress Dictatorship shall devolve by nomination gives a complete lie to their democratic professions which are meant only to serve as a handy weapon to defeat the Muslim demand for Pakistan and establish a virtual Hindu Raj in India.

Split Averted

Theoretically Mr. Gandhi is a votary of out and out non-voilence. Nay, non-violence is a religion with him. As such he is eternally opposed to participation in any War. To him even the independence of India is not worth having if its advent is to be the outcome of an armed conflict. One would have thought, there could be no compromise on the issue of non-violence where conscience so powerfully intervened. But Mr. Gandhi's sense of realism triumphed over his conscience at Wardha and he induced himself to advise the members of the All-India Congress Committee to support the Bardoli resolution. An otherwise inevitable split in the Congress has thus been successfully averted.

This stroke of political wisdom has been lustily applauded by the Hindu Press. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* in its leading article on the 17th of January writes:—Advising the Congress immediately after the Bardoli resolution to present a united front and avoid a split, we recalled the dictum of Lord Melbourne: 'It does not matter what we say so long as we all say the same thing'. The dictum cannot be acted upon on all occasions and at all times, but at this moment of supreme crisis in the life of our nation the Congress has done the right thing in acting upon it. By unity we might hope to pull through whatever calamity may befall us, but if we are divided it will be all over with us. The one joyful news from Wardha that will cheer our countrymen is—there is no split in the Congress. With that farsightedness, that indomitable courage and that power of feeling the pulse of the nation, Gandhiji has advised the All-India Congress Committee to accept the Bardoli resolution from which he differed, and on which he at one time thought he would divide the Congress. He thought over the matter again and decided that he would do nothing to bring about a cleavage in the Congress.

The Editor does not accept responsibility for the views expressed by contributors.

Muslim Solidarity

Laudable sentiments beautifully expressed; Whether it is Congress solidarity or Hindu Mahasabha solidarity, the *Patrika* is one of it most ardent advocates. But it can hardly suppress its anger or conceal its glee when another group of Indians who call themselves Muslims strive for the same solidarity in their own ranks or fight like cats among themselves. The Muslims are a much smaller and economically a far weaker people than the Hindus and, as such at a critical time like this it is they who more than any other Indian community need to adhere together if they want to survive. Can they not say with greater justification than the Hindus that "By unity we might hope to pull through whatever calamity may befall us, but if we are divided it will be all over with us?" It is a thousand pities that some Bengali Muslims are absolutely indifferent to the danger lurking ahead and instead of lending their weight to the promotion of unity have been for some time past playing into the hands of our enemies and allowing themselves to be used as instruments to strike at the root of Muslim solidarity.

Hindu Raj Vision

The essential change in the Congress attitude brought about by the Bardoli and the Wardha decisions is that Congress is prepared to eschew non-violence and co-operate with Britain in her War efforts in case India's independence is recognised by the former and real power is immediately transferred. It is a pity that Congress has not yet been able to shed its partizan spirit. All the eminent men assembled at Bardoli and Wardha have but indulged in self-delusion in an extraordinary degree.

Supposing England is prepared to transfer power, to whom can the power be transferred? To the Congress or to the Muslim League or to both combined? England is not likely to commit the folly of handing over the reins of power to one of these bodies in exclusion of the other in violation of her solemn declaration and promises. Transfer of power is only possible if the Congress and the Muslim League can come to an agreement to assume the responsibility jointly. So nothing can be reasonably expected until and unless these two representative bodies can come to at least an interim working arrangement for the exercise of power.

It was expected that a sense of reality would prevail at Wardha and something would be done to make a Congress League reapproachment possible. That expectation has been belied. Evidently the Congress is still seeing the vision of a Hindu Raj. There can be no salvation for India unil the Congress awakens from this dream.

Calcutta. Yours etc.

Tamiz-ud-Din Khan

(Ex-Minitser, Bengal.)

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The Dawn

DELHI

Sunday, February 1, 1942.

UNION OF HEARTS

What a blissful idea—union of hearts! And this is how Mr. Gandhi talks about it in last Sunday's ***Harijan*** "Freedom will not come through parliamentary effort. Therefore, communal pacts, whilst they are good if they can be had, are valueless unless they are backed by the union of hearts. Without it there can be no peace in the land. Even Pakistan can bring no peace, if there is no union of hearts. This union can come only by mutual service and co-operative work". Thus he admits that union was lacking so far and that it is yet to come. Why, then, in the absence of that union—without which 'there can be no peace in the land'—bully the British Government into recognising the Congress as their legal heir in India, pretending all the time that the sub-continent, the British-made India, is one homogeneous *country*, that all the different peoples inhabiting this sub-continent constitute one happy nation and that the Congress alone, of all the parties, represents that hypothetical nation?

Getting sick, perhaps, of John Bull's unresponsiveness Mr. Gandhi now proposes to proceed the other way round —leaving this bullying business to his associates with instructions, of course, to hang on to that game doggedly. He now comes out with the plea that since freedom "*will* not come through parliamentary effort" it is no use having 'communal pacts' unless there is previous 'union of hearts'. What, then, he proposes to do till that union is reached? And what exactly does he mean by 'union of hearts'? If by that union is meant the mutual goodwill of the different peoples of the Indian sub-continent, well, it 'can be had' even to-day. Let the Hindus, including Mr. Gandhi, as represented by the Congress and allied organisations, give up the preposterous pretension that they alone are the legal heirs of the British Government in the entire Indian sub-continent; let them honestly share the sub-continent between themselves, the Muslims and other rightful claimants. This done, that 'union of hearts', without which 'there can be no peace in the land', will have been achieved.

But if by that union is meant the merging of identity of the different peoples into that of the Hindus, and in spite of the latter's touch-me-not, attitude (caste system, untouchability, etc.), then we are afraid he will have to wait till doomsday and in vain. His assertion that "even Pakistan can bring no peace, if there is no union of hearts" lends support to that interpretation. But does he suppose that union of hearts is possible between Muslims and Hindus without the latter conceding the principle of Pakistan? If Pakistan cannot bring about a union of hearts between the Muslims and the Hindus, what else can?—Refusal to concede Pakistan? Subordination of Muslim interests to those of the Hindus? ***Shuddhi***? What?

The Muslims know what is best for them, even as the Hindus or any other people in the world claim to know what is best in their interests. They want Pakistan. And all concerned know by now what is meant by Pakistan. It is no use pretending that Pakistan is not good for Muslims. Good or bad, this is what they want. And it is nobody's d—d business to tell somebody else what he should or should not have.

True, "there can be no peace in the land if there is no union of hearts". And no doubt union comes through 'mutual service'. But if by that service is envisaged something of the kind rendered to the Muslims during the Congress regime in the Hindu majority provinces—'mass contact'; rejection of Urdu as the common language of India, just because it happens to include in its vocabulary words of the languages spoken in other Muslim countries, besides words of Sanskrit origin; suppression of Muslim civil liberty—the Muslims, not being prepared to return the compliment elsewhere, decline the offer with thanks. Even if started, will that game lead to a union of hearts?

That Great Mughal, Akbar, tried to bring about (and he had the means to do so) that happy consummation of an abiding union of hearts between the Hindus and the Muslims through intermarriages and by admitting the Hindus most magnanimously to the highest ranks in the Mughal Empire. But the result was almost nil. Then, the Congress Hindus, who, as Mr. Gandhi supposes, represent all the different faiths in themselves, must have been doing their utmost all these years (if not, why not?) to bring about that union of hearts. But the result has been the worsening of Hindu-Muslim relations And, any why, how presumptuous on Mr. Gandhi's part to claim that a Hindu, by just becoming a four-anna-member of the Congress and donning a Gandhi cap, 'represents equally all the other faiths in himself'!

How long more does Mr. Gandhi propose to wait for that 'union of hearts' behind which he *now* tries to take refuge? And while he is muddling through his own fantastic experiments, why should other peoples of the sub-continent be kept waiting for their freedom?—To watch the ***tamasha*** of course, amusement-tax-free? And why should Britain go out of her way to reconcile a recalcitrant party, taking up a nothing-doing attitude till that reconciliation is reached—thus giving out the impression that the existence of other parties and their co-operation does not matter much to her?

Mr. Gandhi is perpetually running away from realities and responsibility. He is one of those who know alright where to find 'light' but refuse to find it. For, the 'light', once found, is sure to lead him, in spite of himself, to a sharing of power and freedom in this sub-continent with the Muslims and other rightful claimants which eventuality he is ever at pains to avoid at any or all costs. He must have all or none. And like a true *bania* he is clinging to the vain hope of cheating other claimants of their due share in the freedom and governance of the sub-continent.

By this latest stunt of pretending to have discovered a condition precedent to

Continued on next page

freedom—'union of hearts'—as if he had not seen that 'light' earlier—he only wants to avoid helping Britain in the war, as long as he can, by not coming to terms with the Muslim League even for the duration of the war. Freedom, he asserts *will* not come through parliamentary effort or communal pacts, unless these are backed by *the* union of hearts. That means that, since *the* union of hearts which he envisages is never likely to materialise, the Congress is not going to have even an interim settlement with the Muslim League with a view to put in a combined and maximum war effort. And it must have come as a damper to Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar who somewhere deep down in his heart had been entertaining a hope of arriving at a war-time settlement with the Muslim League. But if the British Government were to part with power to-day exclusively in favour of the Hindus the condition precedent—union of hearts—will soon flee the Mahatmaic mind, and he will be the first to call back the Congress rank and file to 'parliamentary effort'. And why? Because the freedom which he envisages—freedom for the Hindus to boss over the rest of the sub-continent—will have been achieved already.

By this ruse of a union of hearts, which on his part he knows he is not going to promote, he only wants to avoid coming to terms with the Musalmans for the purpose of helping Britain in the war. If not, what prevents him from coming to a permanent settlement with the Muslims by concending the principle of Pakistan which alone, he knows, will bring about almost overnight that union of hearts "without which there can be no peace in the land"?

NOTES

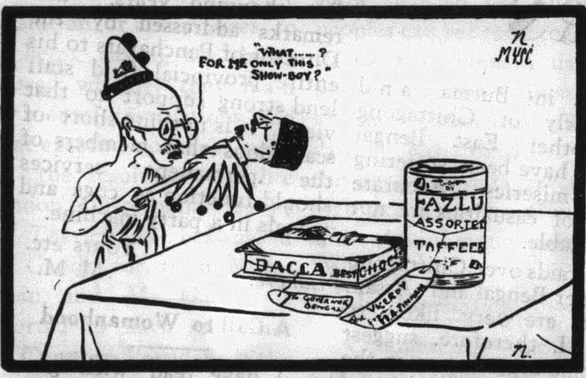
1,300 Years Ago

Thirteen hundred years have elapsed now (completed on Wednesday last) since the day when that great Imam of the Musalmans, Husain, a grandson of the Prophet (peace be on them), preferred death to selling Islam and fell fighting on the arid sands of Kerbala. An utterly unequal fight—72 versus 30,000. But, then, Islam admits of no compromise or strategic withdrawals where principles are involved. The Imam, who had no intention of waging a war and had with him the whole of his family including ladies and children and some faithful followers, found his way barred by enemy forces near Kerbala while he was proceeding back to Medina from Iraq, and from that day (the seventh day of Moharram) the besieged Imam and his family were starved by the enemy to secure their surrender. The Imam, his family and companions had not a drop of water to drink for three days together, from the 7th of Moharram till the 10th of that month. But when that persecution too failed to move the Imam from the *sirat-i-mustaqeem* (the right course) the enemy sent word to fight or surrender. The Imam heroically elected to fight and went down fighting for the glory of Islam.

The sacrifice of this grandson of our Prophet compares favourably with that of his ancestor, Ibrahim (peace be on them). While the latter did not allow filial love to stand between him and his Creater nor hesitated to slaughter his son with his own hands, Husain actually sacrificed in unequal fight (which he had the choice to avoid if he had accepted anti-Islamic terms of his adversary) with the hordes of Yazid his two sons, including the infant Ali Asghar, his cousins, nephews and other relatives and faithful companions and in the end himself and never budged an inch in the service of Allah and Islam. That tragedy saved Islam for all time from the charge that, like so many other religions, it was also corruptible, after all. Lesser individuals could do as they liked, and they have been doing as they liked ever since the inception of Islam, but their conduct could naturally not affect the purity or principles of Islam. But if the Great Imam himself, and a grandson of the Prophet too, had succumbed to temptations and lent his influence or accorded his sanction to untruth where would Islam be to-day?

It was that matchless martyrdom of Husain and his companions and his nearest and dearest (of course, next to God) the thirteen-hundredth anniversary of which event was observed on Wednesday last throughout the whole world of Islam. In this connection it is gratifying to note that the Husain Day Committee at Bombay and like bodies elsewhere, are doing their utmost by holding public meetings to educate the public irrespective of creed on the significance of that astounding sacrifice of all time, undertaken and undergone by Husain (peace be on him) for the uplift of humanity.

GIFTS



(Reproduced through the courtesy of the *Spirit of Youth*, Lucknow)

I make a Christmas present of Mr. Fazlul Huq to Lord Linlithgow. I make another New Year's gift of the Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal.

—Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

The Punjab Sales Act

The enforcement of the Punjab Sales Act has resulted in a trial of strength between the Government and the traders. As a protest the traders have resorted to a *hartal*, causing dislocation of business and lot of inconvenience to the public. It is understood that they are also contemplating to take 'direct action' in this connection. They want substantial changes in the Act. In the course of a statement, Sir Chhotu Ram, the Acting Premier, says that the Government have already conceded some of the traders' demands and that Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan has already promised to reconsider the Act after

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NOTES

(Continued)

it has been in operation for some time. He also stated that vital changes could be made only by bringing an amending bill before the Assembly. Some of the demands of the traders are unquestionably reasonable, for example, right of reference to the High Court in case of law points or appeal based on facts before a tribunal. It is not sound reasoning to justify the opposition to these proposals on the ground that in Bengal and Madras the appellate authority is an executive officer. A wrong precedence is never a happy basis for good law. Justice commands respect only if it is impartial, independent and free from all pollutions. A High Court is always expected to administer that sort of justice. It is unfortunate that a grave situation has developed in the province during the absence of Sir Sikandar. The traders would do well to settle matters through negotiations instead of resorting to direct action.

LETTERS

(Continued)

Red Crescent Units

Sir—In terms of the resolution of the All-India Muslim League, the Muslims of India cannot whole heartedly and actively join the war purposes activities of the British Government unless the national demands of the Muslims of India, as formulated in the Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League, are fulfilled by the British Government, however much the Muslims desire to see the ultimate victory of the Democracies and the defeat of the axis powers.

But after the Japanese entry into the war, I think the Musalmans under the banner of the Muslim League should come forward to relieve the suffering of the people in the affected area, even as the Congress is doing for the protection and relief of the Hindus. This can best be organised with the National guards as "Muslim League Red Crescent Units." They will offer medical and other aid to the people affected by enemy air raids and also in the war zones within the limits of India, Burma and Islamic countries of the Near East.

Some parts of Burma have already been bombarded. Thousands of Indian Muslims in Burma, and particularly of Chittagong and other East Bengal districts, have been suffering untold miseries. Accurate figures of casualties are not yet available.

Air raids over Chittagong and other Bengal and Assam districts are very likely to occur. I, therefore, suggest that some organisation in the nature of the one proposed should soon be formed to enable the Muslims to work for their brothers in the war zones. I am sure many Muslims are anxious and ready to offer their services.

Chittagong. Yours etc.
(Bengal) Najmul Haq.

Impertinence

Sir—At a recent sitting of the Panchayat Conference, held in Lahore on January 16, and presided over by Begum Shah Nawaz, the Director of Panchayats, Mian Azim Husain, I.C.S., while introducing the president referred to her "as the brave woman......... who stuck to the National Defence Council in the teeth of fierce opposition from that conceited, insane political leader." (*Zemindar*, Lahore, January 21).

Such a public utterance by a highly placed Government functionary raises some very grave issues. Are Government servants within their rights to use such irresponsible language about a man of the position of Mr. Jinnah who is the well-beloved and undisputed Leader of Muslim India and is the recipient of a homage which the late Sir Fazl-ie Husain, the father of Mian Azim Husain, and the late Sir Mohammad Shafi, the father of Begum Shah Nawaz, would not have disputed with or grudged him?

Only the other day, a correspondent of the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore referred rather piquantly to the Panchayat Officers of the Punjab Government as the agency meant to make the Punjab safe for the Unionist Government for the coming five thousand years. The remarks addressed by the Director of Panchayats to his entire provincial field staff lend strong support to that view. It is nothing short of scandalous that members of the permanent services should function as cogs and wheels in a party machine.

Yours etc.
Lahore. M. M.

A Call to Womanhood

I have read with great interest the articles appearing in the *Dawn* under the above caption and agree that it is time that the Muslim women got freedom from certain disabilities from which they are suffering. For their emancipation, it is emphasised

(i) that the civil, social and political rights which have been granted to them by the religion of Islam should be given them now and

(ii) that the customs which have been introduced into the Muslim society—mostly borrowed from other faiths in India—are extirpated from the Muslim womanhood for good.

In spite of the religious sanctions for the grant of social, civic and political rights to the womenfolk and our prophet's stern commands for the preservation of the dignity and status of women, as are codified in the various commandments and sayings, the Muslims of India continued to overlook their rights and did rather accept several inhuman customs of a country where a section of the people would burn their womenfolk alive rather than follow the injunctions of the Holy Book.

The wheel, however, has probably begun to turn today and light is dawning on the Muslim mind, though very slowly, as regards the pitfalls in the path of progress of the Muslim society, and it is being realised that the advancement of the woman in educational civic spheres is part of the advancement of the community as a whole and that the obsession of the inferiority complex by the woman has its immediate reaction on the child itself. But this realisation is not yet so profound as one would wish, with the result that while the Muslims have now more or less overstepped the prejudice against education of the girls, steps are yet to be taken to bring the womenfolk at par with the dignity and status fixed the jurisprudence of Islam and to infuse a life into the sex.

This is one of the tasks before the Musalmans of India today. The Muslim women, however, ought to understand that it is they themselves who can best tackle this problem. In this way their rights and privileges would sooner be achieved than if they were to depend on the mercies and the reluctant and half-hearted gifts of the other sex.

A woman's organization undertaking this job should be affiliated to the All-India Muslim League—in fact be one of its wings. In matters common to the children of Islam *e.g.* freedom of the Muslims from the yoke of slavery of every kind, the Muslim women shall march shoulder to shoulder with the All-India Muslim League but in matters concerning their own sex, they will have their own reason to guide them to fight out the existing supersession of religion by custom.

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All-India Hypocrites' Conference

We ask a straight question. Can any sincere, honest and intelligent man read the proceedings of the meetings of the All-India Congress Committee, held at Wardha, without feeling that it was a conference of the leading hypocrites in India who had no definite principles, either to follow or recounce? Does Mr. Gandhi really believe in non-violence? Let us take his attitude in regard to the Bardoli resolution itself. If he was sincere in his faith in non-violence, he ought to have asked the A.I.C.C. members to vote against it, or, at least, should not have interfered with the freedom of voting of those who might have, like Mr. Prakasam, some sincere faith in the efficacy of non-violence. But he used undue influence and even went to the extent of exhorting them to vote against the principles of non-violence by supporting the Bardoli resolution. The apostle of non-violence asks sincere believers in it to vote against non-violence! The speeches of other higher-ups in the Congress hierarchy reveal the same hypocrisy and double dealing. As is the leader, so are his followers.

Interpretation

What does the Bardoli resolution mean? This is not a new question. In the case of every resolution of the Congress, there were always doubts as to what it exactly meant. So, after every resolution of the Congress was passed, one Congress leader after another issued statements to the press which were commentaries on what the resolution implied. That is to say, the words explicitly stated did not convey all the meaning they normally should. That is the way of hypocrisy! You have one thing in your mind and you say another thing outside. To put it differently, Congress resolutions do not mean what they say, and do not say what they mean. Naturally the same doubt arose as to what the Bardoli resolution meant. Those who were parties to the resolution, or accomplices to its being passed, are being pressed whether they had any mental reservations and what exactly do they mean by the resolution. The London Correspondent of the *The Hindu* has asked Mr. Gandhi for an interpretation, and Mr. Gandhi is reported to have said that the Congress President is the proper person who could give such interpretation The usual answer! Mr. Gandhi has no authority in the Congress. All the authority he has is to ask the A.I.C.C. to pass "C.R.'s" resolution unanimously. Those who want interpretations should go to the Congress President, the poor innocent Maulana Azad, and Mr. Gandhi will convey his intrepretation through him, reserving for himself the right to give a later interpretation when circumstances require any change or modification.—*Sunday Observer.*

Joint Session

Suggesting that in view of the danger of war the Congress and the League should convene a joint session, the *Ansari* says: Let a joint session of the Congress and Muslim League be convened with a view to give a united lead to the country. The appeal should be signed jointly by Muslim, Sikh, Hindu and other leaders etc., asking their respective peoples to be united, firm and fearless in the face of the danger. It would go a long way to show that all the different peoples can yet come together to meet a common danger, postponing the adjustment of their differences till the danger has passed. May this appeal of ours reach the high circles of the Congress and the League.—*Ansari,* Delhi.

Hindu Domination

Commenting on the Congress policy the *Inqilab* says: In short what all the Congress demands come to is this that there should be Hindu domination all over India, leaving no chance to the Muslims to safeguard develop according to their own lights. The 100 million Muslims of India would never accept this position. The Muslim League never demanded that the Hindus should be deprived of their majority rights in their majority provinces or of their minority rights in the Muslim majority provinces. What the League stands for is that every nationality must enjoy its majority rights in full and that there should be an all-India policy for the protection of the minorities, satisfactory to all. There is no need of any Centre. If the Congress is agreeable to this fair proposal of the League it would solve all troubles in India.—*Inqilab,* Lahore.

Counsel of Despair

Commenting on the attitude of the British Labour Party and the British Press policy towards India the *Haque* says: There are two powerful organisations in India, namely the Muslim League and the Congress, representing respectively the Muslims and the Hindus. But while the Congress claim of representing 23 crores of Indians is contested by no less than nearly 15 crores of the Indian population, including the scheduled classes, the Parsis and the Christians, etc., etc. the Muslim League's claim of representing 10 crore Muslims stands unchallenged. The Indian problem can be solved only when those two great organisations come to a settlement. But taking advantage of the anxiety and the wavering policy of the Government the Press and the Labour Party of Britain want to impress upon them that India can be defended only through co-operation with the Congress which can be had by acceding to the latter's demands. Agains that counsel of despair we hasten to warn the British Government.—*Haque,* Lucknow.

Muslim History Congress

Sir Zia-ud-din Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University, will preside over the first session of the All-India Muslim History Congress to be held at Lahore in the first week of March, 1942.

Congress Policy Criticised

New Union Ministry At Aligarh

At the Installation ceremony of the new Ministry of the Muslim University Union, held recently amid scenes of enthusiasm, the President, Professor Haleem, announced that a sum of Rs. 1000, which had been subscribed by the members for Muslim Press, had been forwarded to THE DAWN, as a donation to that English Weekly.

Mr. Shakir Husain Khan, the Vice-President, in the course of his inaugural address thanked the members for honouring him a second time by electing him as Vice-President, having first elected him as Secretary last year and declared that his election was really the triumph of the Muslim League. Mr. Shakir referred to the deep-rooted evils of western civilization of which the present war was but a manifestation. Knowledge and material advancement which Europe had achieved had become all the more dangerous because they were being used for destructive purposes in the absence of any noble object and moral purpose. All the higher values of life were sacrificed to the acquisition of brute power and pelf. In India itself the Congress politicians had learnt the antics and methods of Europe and sought to bring the whole of India under their domination.

Preceding the Vice-President critically analysed the policy followed by the two major political parties—Congress and the Muslim League—since the outbreak of war. The shifting policy of the Congress had been determined by the sole consideration of blackmailing and coercing the British Government into ignoring all other parties and handing over all real power at the Centre to the Congress majority even during the pendency of war. The demand for a declaration of independence was a mere eye-wash designed to hoodwink the masses.

Referring to the Muslim League the speaker said that it had followed a straight and consistent policy. The League did not make any impossible demands. The stand taken by the League regarding the framing of the future constitution and the assurance that no final or interim constitution would be foisted on Muslims against their will had been largely met by the August Declaration of the Viceroy due mainly to the courageous and far-sighted leadership of Mr. Jinnah. Recognising the gravity of the international situation which also threatened India's safety the League offered full co-operation in the prosecution of war and the defence of India with a real share in the authority and responsibility of Government but, the speaker regretted, the Government had not seen its way to accepting that reasonable offer.

Touching on Pakistan, Mr. Shakir Husain said that it was now a creed steeped in their blood. He appealed to the Muslim youth to create by their constructive effort those conditions which would make the realization of Pakistan possible.

As regards the students' role in politics, he observed that in a subject country like India where the question of political emancipation dominated all other considerations it was impossible to keep students entirely away from politics. So far as their academic studies permitted it was their duty to help in promoting greater consciousness among their masses and in uplifting them socially, educationally and economically.

"It Means Broken Pledge to Muslims and Other Minorities"

End of Parliamentary Control is no Solution for India

Mr. Mortimer On Sir Sassoon's Views

In a statement issued to the *Associated Press*, Mr. Chapman Mortimer, M.L.A. (Central) says:

"I have just read the report of Sir Victor Sassoon's interview with the Press on the eve of his departure for America.

"Sir Victor Sassoon's statement clearly means:—that he contemplates the possibility of the substitution during the war of non-officials for the remaining official members of His Excellency the Governor-General's Executive Council. It is implied also that if this were done and the powers of the Secretary of State transferred, for the period of the war, to the Viceroy (i. e. the end of parliamentary control) India's war effort might thereby be considerably strengthened. This same point of view has been expressed in other quarters also.

His Majesty's Government have suggested that consideration of the constitutional problem should be postponed until after the end of the war, and that while the war is on all parties should sink their differences and work together for the defeat of the Axis Powers. In the earlier stages of the war Mr. Gandhi indicated that he saw little prospect of any constitutional settlement so long as the war lasted and Mr. Jinnah adopted the attitude that the question of the constitution stand over until the end of the war.

"The Viceroy's offer of August 1940 set out the whole position very clearly, and in promising a post-war conference to review the Government of India Act 1935 gave at the same time definite pledge that the interests of minorities would be safe-guarded. Sir Victor Sassoon in his statement published in the Press on the 19th January 1942 suggests that 'The British Government should give notice that any pledges that have been made will be subject to modification' with the exception of the pledge of Dominion Status.

"It is not perhaps generally realised that what Sir Victor contemplates—namely the end of Parliamentary control and the disappearance of the official element in the Governor-General's Executive Council while the war is on would of itself be a breach of the pledges given by His Majesty's Government and it would inter alia lead directly to the type of Central Government to which the whole of Muslim India is opposed. Incidentally it would lead to the establishment in power at the Centre of precisely those elements that the late C. R. Das feared would gain power. Congress propaganda to the contrary therefore notwithstanding, it is entirely incorrect to think that a solution such as is suggested by Sir Victor Sassoon would take us any nearer a solution of India's political problem. On the contrary it would take us further away for ever from a peaceful solution based upon general agreement among all major elements in India."

Will some enlightened Muslim League ladies take up this noble work? Once they are in the field, there is not the slightest doubt that the Muslim ladies all over India will rally under their flag and the disabilities from which they are suffering will be finally rooted out from the Muslim society. Their task would be uphill in the beginning, may be, but surely not so steep as that of another Women's organization in India which is fighting for rights and privileges which did never exist on any Code. The Muslim women's rights are already on the statute and once they raise the banner, success may be anticipated with confidence.

Yours etc.,
"One Interested."

Relief for Qazaghs

Sir—Persecuted by the Soviet Government of Russia which interfered with religious freedom, several thousand Qazaghs left their homeland five years ago, and wandering homeless all these years over the wastelands of Central Assia, they crossed the frontier into India from the north in November last in the hope of finding a place of refuge. They have undergone untold sufferings to reach the Indus vallley. It is said that no less than 1,00,000 Qazaghs migrated in groups during the last decade to different parts of the world to escape persecution in their own homeland by Soviet rulers who annexed their country, east of the Caspian after the last Great War. A caravan of about 3,000 Qazaghs reached the boundary of Kashmir State in November last when there occurred an unfortunate misunderstanding between them and the Kashmir Frontier Guard who opened fire on the Qazaghs, killing and injuring a number of them. This was due mainly to the difficulty on both sides of following the other party's language. Before surrendering arms they requested the Kashmir authorities to be allowed to pass into British territory. The

LETTERS

(Continued)

Kashmir Government assured them that their arms and property of gold weighing several maunds would be restored to them as soon as they are taken to British territory. Since then they are kept under surveillance at Muzaffarabad Camp where for want of adequate protection from the intense cold and proper nourishment hundreds of them—men, women and children—have fallen ill or died. And it is said that taking advantage of their helplessness some of the policemen misbehaved with their womenfolk.

These people are orthodox Muslim, and concerted effort should be made by the Musalmans all over India to bring speedy relief to our homeless Muslim brethren of Turkish stock. The Government should provide the immigrants with proper shelter and supply them with the necessaries of life while they are being kept under custody. But the Government would do well to do set them free without further delay, with their gold, arms and other belonging fully restored to them.

Yours etc.,
(Sd.)————
President, Relief Committee,
Muzaffarabad (Kashmir).

The Qazaghs

Sir—As reported in a special article contributed By Mr. J. N. Zutshi to the *Eastern Times*, 3000 Qazaghs Muslims have reached Srinagar after travelling on foot thousands of miles from the Caspian Sea to Kashmir *via* China and Mongolia. According to the statement of their chief, Ilyas Khan, they came there to enjoy religious freedom in British India, which was no longer possible in their own homeland under communistic influences and persecution.

The article shows that these helpless Qazaghs are now detained in Saffapore Camp (28 miles from Srinagar) and are very miserable due to lack of resources. His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir is said to have extended a helping hand to them for which Ilyas Khan, has expressed his thanks to him through Mr. J. N. Zutshi.

This event is remarkable in the history of India and Islam. Thirteen hundred years ago in Madina Our Holy Prophet Mohammad (peace and blessings of God be on him) used to receive and help those Muslim victims of religious persecution who happened to come there from Mecca. So has God sent these Qazaghs to India. We should receive them and help them.

I would suggest that contributions of money and necessary clothing be sent by the Musalmans through His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir so that, on the one hand, their fond hope that they will be welcome by Indian Muslims may come true and, on the other hand, the great tradition of our Holy Prophet may be carried out.

Kasur. Yous etc.
M. Bashir Kasuri.

M. S. F. Meeting

Qa'ide-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah is expected to pay a visit to Rawalpindi to preside over the second annual session if the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation on February 28 and March 1.

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, the Raja of Mahmoodabad and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan are also expected.

Afghan King's Gifts for IQBAL'S MAUSOLEUM

Mr. Ghulam Jilani Khan, the Afghan Director of Transport, has arrived in India with a sarcophagus and other accessories for the tomb of the late Sir Mohammed Iqbal, the celebrated peot.

The sarcophagus, which is artistically built from rare Afghan stones, is valued at 3,000 Afghanis and is the gift of His Majesty King Zahir Shah to the Iqbal Mausoleum Committee.

Allama Mashriqi

ALLAMA INAYATULAH KHAN MASHRIQI, leader of the Khaksar Movement, who was released from jail on January 19, by order of the Government of India, is not the guest of anybody at Madras. He has rented a separate bunglow (No. 1, Ghulam Abbas Ali Khan 1st Street, Graemes Road, Cathedral Post, Madras,) at his own cost and is residing there. All communications addressed to him may be sent to his aforesaid address.

Aligarh 'Varsity News

His Exalted Highness the Chancellor has fixed February 7 as the date for the annual Convocation of the Muslim University, Aligarh. His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, Pro-Chancellor, will preside.

His Highness the Pro-Chancellor will be entertained to lunch by the members of the Court at 1 p.m. the same day.

The customary Convocation Party will be given on behalf of the Pro-Chancellor to which member of the Court, members of the Staff, registered gradutes and a few Senior students will be invited.

* * * * *

It is learnt that construction of a new Hall for the accommodation of ever-increasing number of students is engaging the attention of the University authorities. The Hall will consist of four hostels of single-seated rooms. Dr. Hamid Ali of Hyderabad has offered to bear the cost of one hostel and Nawab Zain Yar Jung is already engaged in preparing plans for the same.

League Working Committee

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League will meet at New Delhi on February 21, followed by a meeting of the Council of the League the next day. Mr. M. A. Jinnah will preside.

The Counil, *inter alia*, will elect the President for the forthcoming annual session of the League to be held at Allahabad during Easter and will also be asked to confirm resolutions passed by the League at Nagpur and also the resolutions, if any, passed by the meeting of the Working Committee on February 21. There will also be nonofficial resolutions in respect of which members of the Council have been asked to give notice not later than February 1.

HAJ PILGRIMS

Eighty Thousand Assemble At Arafat This Year

About 80.000 pilgrims assembled at Arafat this year, where Emir Feisal deputized for King Ibn Saud.

Apart from large incursions from Yemen, Nejd, Iraq and elsewhere, the following numbers of pilgrims had arrived by sea at Jeddah proper for the Haj: Indians, 10,444; Egyptians, 3,613, Sudanese, 1,396; Takroories; 7,048; and Palestinians, 951,

The movement from Suakin comprising the Sudanese and the Takroories was the largest ever made, according to available records. Pilgrims who arrived by sea totalled 23,863, compared with only 11,320 last year.—Reuter.

"No Derogatory Allusions to Mr. Jinnah"

Statesman have been appearing in a section of the Press to the effect that the Director of Panchayats, Punjab, while speaking at a meeting of Panchayat Officers in Model Town in connection with the Ponchayat Officer's Refresher Course, made derogatory allusions to Mr. M. A. Jinnah. The allegation has no foundation in fact. The statements or allusions ascribed to the Director of Panchayats were never made by him, says a Press note.

Next League Session At Allahabad

Preparations In Full Swing

Preparations are in full swing for holding the next session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad. Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman has approached the Government on behalf of the organisation Committee for suitable site to hold the session. It is proposed to hold the session in the Civil Lines Area near about the Allahabad Central Railway Station.

It is proposed that the President elect, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, and the leaders and delegates be accommodated on the conference grounds which will be in itself a small town with all facilities and conveniences. Seating accommodation in the Pandal will be provided for about a lakh of perrons. A Special Publicity Department will work under the supervision of Dr. S. N. A. Jafri, lately Additional Director, information Bureau, Government of India.

Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, Mr. Rizwanullah (General Secretary, Provincial Muslim League) and Mr. Zahoor Ahmad, covenor of the All-India Muslim League session to be held at Allahabad during Easter holidays, announce that Nawab Sir Mohammed Yusuf has donated Rs. 5,000 towards the expenses of the Reception Committee.

Imam Husain Memorial

In order to commemorate the 1300th anniversary of the sacrifice of Hazrat Imam Husain, the Husain Day Committee, Bombay, has decided to collect funds from the citizens to erect a drinking fountain and a suitable memorial at Mohammad Ali Road. It is hoped that in such a noble work the public of the city will contribute its mite.

Those intending to give donations towards this cause may be send their contributions to at the following address:—

"Husain Day Committee".
Ahmadabadi Mansion, near Dongri Junction, BOMBAY.

MOHARRUM IN CARDIFF

New House Of Worship Opened

Over 300 Muslim men, women and children, representing th Alawi Islamic sect, went on Tuesday afternoon in Oriental dress in a procession to their new House of Worship in Cardiff docklands, England. Their Yemani Sheikh priest led the faithful to the opening ceremony of the Zawaia which cost them over £600. An announcement was made on behalf of British friends of Muslims that clothes for poor Muslim children are to be provided by them as a friendly gesture. Khan Kushall Khan led the Indian Muslims, their number being 250, mostly seamen and residents.—Reuter.

Qazaghs in Kashmir

Government to Pay for Maintenance

It is authoritatively learned that the Government of India have undertaken temporarily to pay the cost of the maintenance of the Qazaghs in the encampment prepared by the Kashmir Government at Muzaffarabad, where these homeless and their animals are to be maintained, while the question of their future is being examined.

It is recognised that the Kashmir Government's task of arranging supplies of food and fodder for this horde of people and animals is no easy one, for grazing facilfies in the Kashmir valley during the winter are very limited and the supplies of food available locally require to be supplemented from British India.—A. P. I.

Bengal Muslim League

Nawab Bahadur Of Dacca Expelled

Disciplinary action was taken by the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League recently against the Hon'ble Nawab Habibullah Bahadur of Dacca and the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali Khan for their "gross misconduct, which is calculated to harm Muslim interest and interests of the Muslim League," Mr. A R. Siddiqi presided.

The Nawab Bahadur and the Khan Bahadur were expelled by the Committee from the various offices which they have so long held under the League, as also from primary membership of the organization.

The Committee endorsed the action taken by the Calcutta District Muslim League against Mr. Syed Badruddoja, member of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League, expelling him from membership of the League, and appointed Khan Bahadur Md. Abdul Momin, Joint Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, as member of the Provincial League in place of Mr. Badruddoja.

The Committee also approved the action taken by the Secretary of the Provincial League, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, in declaring February 1 as "All-Bengal Anti-Repression Day" as also his request to his Excellency the Governor of Bengal to receive a deputation consisting of Khan Bahadur Md. Abdul Momin, Sir Nazim-ud-Din, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Mr. A. R. Siddiqi and Mr. Tamiz-ud-Din Khan, to place before him "the grave concern which the Muslim community feel at the repressive measures adopted by the Ministers to stiffle public opinion."

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The DAWN

FOUNDER: MR. M. A. JINNAH

Under the Supervision of NAWABZADA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, Hony. Secy. All-India Muslim League.

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MAY 20 1944

THE PAKISTAN MANIFESTO

ISSUED BY

Muslim Youth Study Circle

PAKISTAN

IS OUR

DELIVERANCE: DEFENCE: DESTINY

WE DENY

THAT WE ARE ONE NATION WITH THE HINDUS AND THE REST

Nothing unites us save arbitrary geographical boundary and temporary shackles of slavery. Nationality based on either of these must in its very nature be unnatural. It cannot, it will not last.

THAT WE HAVE ANY IDEA OF EXPLOITING OR DOMINATING OTHERS

We are a self-respecting people. We respect others rights as we respect our own. We want to live and let live. None need fear PAKISTAN!

WE DECLARE

That we are a NATION not a "minority"—

A NATION of a hundred million, greater than Germans in Greater Germany, and what is more, we are a NATION with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all cannons of International Law we are a NATION.

That no amount of threats or intimidations will ever deter us from the chosen path.

Hints about "a long civil war" we brush aside with contempt. On our part we do not want a civil war; but, in the event of others making it inevitable, a hundred million souls shall look forward to it with the calm confidence of a people who know their intrinsic value.

WE DEMAND

Only the right of self-determination. The absolute right to regulate our affairs in our own lands ourselves according to the genius of our own people, without in any way being ordered about either by the British or the Hindus.

PAKISTAN IS OUR ONLY DEMAND!

* History justifies it.
* Numbers confirm it.
* Justice claims it
* Destiny demands it.
* Posterity awaits it.

AND

BY GOD, WE WILL HAVE IT!!!

Muslims unite! You have a whole world to gain.
You have nothing to lose but chains!!

—*Reproduced from the* Spirit of Youth, *Lucknow.*

Wardha and After

By "ANALYST".

TO Mr. Jinnah's sporting proposal that Mr. Gandhi should include Pakistan in his constructive scheme, the latter has indirectly replied by appealing to the League to co-operate with him in popularising *khaddar*

Pathetically sublime is the faith of this man in Khadi at a time when the tendency all over the world is to mechanise all material production as far as possible; it is as pathetically sublime as his apparent belief in the omnipotence of non-violence in our present day world. We search in vain in the utterances of Congress leaders for a note of political realism. It is good, as is inevitable in the circumstances, that they are keenly alive to the perils with which this sub-continent, from Calcutta to Karachi and from the Himalayas to the Cape, is beset now that war is almost knocking at our door and that they are devoting more and more attention to organising war relief measures.

* * * * *

THE most remarkable thing about the Wardha conclave was that by a thundering majority it agreed to "drop the pilot" and to jettison non-violence, for the time-being, at any rate. Of course, we have eminent authorities like the poetical Mrs. Naidu and the matter-of-fact Sardar Patel. Rajen Babu and Dr. Pattabhi protesting—rather too much—that it has done nothing of the kind and that it has only decided to keep them in a state of suspended animation, in cold storage, so to say, for the present. What the difference amounts to may not be plain to those who are neither in the Congress nor "of it" but, no doubt, it is a clear as daylight to the clever persons who are Congress members. In proof of their assertion they point out that Mr. Gandhi himself sponsored that resolution. But it may be doubted whether the result would have been different, if he had held his peace. Did not Maulana Azad state in his opening speech that those who were of his view could no longer swear by non-violence because the bulk of Congressites did not want it now?

So it has come to pass that for the second time 'Gandhiji' has ceased to be in the Congress, though of course, he will be "of it", "till death do us part," as 'Azadji' put it, while the whole-hoggers of non-violence like Sardar Patel and Rajen Babu will presumably be in it but virtually out of it for the nonce—these subtlties can be appreciated fully only by the initiate.

* * * *

MR. Jawaharlal Nehru has been duly proclaimed as Mr. Gandhi's "legal heir" designated though I fancy, the Pandit's faith in non-violence is neither so burning nor so profound as Mr. Gandhi's or even Patel's or Prasad's. In thus throwing his shining mantle on the Pandit's broad shoulders in advance Mr. Gandhi, perhaps, wished to show his displeasure with his other eminent disciple, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, who happens to be his relative also.

* * * *

BE that as it may, the passing of this resolution was another triumph for this astute Madrasi politician. With his wonted modesty, in supporting it, Mr. Rajagopalachariar paid himself the complement of being "the cleverest man in India", by way of quotation, of course. Few outside the charmed circle of his friends will endorse that description. But there is no doubt that he is one of the cleverest men of affairs in India. He has, like Gokhale, "a politician's head", but it is doubtful whether he has any of Gokhale's statesmanship which gave us the Lucknow Pact in days gone by. He may not be one of those whose minds are hermitically sealed against the infiltration of new ideas and he may be really more anxious for communal unity than many of his comrades. But this is all.

He and his colleagues have been stumping the country ever since the "historic" Wardha meeting was over—you know every Congress meeting is historic—explaining their decision and canvassing support for it. Not a day passes without their chiding the British Premier, the Viceroy and Mr. Amery for their failure to do "their duty by India". Those poor men who at present seem to have their hands pretty full are entitled to ask (as, in fact, they do ask): "What do you expect of us when you, Indians, are unable to reach an agreement among yourselves?

* * * *

THAT the absence of communal unity is *the* supreme obstacle to Indian freedom is now well known to every schoolboy. Let this obstacle be removed and freedom shall be ours for the asking. But so far, the Congress has shown no disposition whatsoever to come to grips with this outstanding problems—this problem of problems which has been and is operating as the sole insurmountable barrier to our independence. In these things we have to go by facts and this is the hard, indisputable, fact, *the central fact* of the Indian situation. You cannot get over it, say what you will.

* * * *

THE League has declare Pakistan to be its goal. The Justice Party of South India demands Dravidistan. At a recent meeting it has resolved that, "any settlement of the Indian question without its consent will not be acceptable to it". The pretentions of the (Protestant) Indian Christians' Association notwithstanding, it is well known that the bulk of Indian Christians do not want *Swaraj*, much less *Poorna Swaraj* now; as for severing the British connection, rightly or wrongly, they simply will not hear of it, especially at this critical juncture. The scheduled people, as a class, still cherish that connection and cherish it deeply. All this being so, where is the use of blaming the Britishers? So long as we are unable to come to an understanding among ourselves, how can we find fault with others? It is obvious that a far greater responsibility in this matter rests on those who in season and out boast that they alone are the representatives of all India. But either the will or the ability to tackle the problem effectively they lack deplorably.

* * * *

IS it not, therefore, our duty to tell them plainly? Please stop your idle political prattle; for goodness' sake give up your bad habit of burying your heads, like the ostritch, in the sand of slogans and phrases; let us have no more of this childish game of 'Let's Pretend'; pray talk no more of a "national unity" which exists nowhere or which, if it exists at all, exists only in your ferverish imagination. wake up from your pleasant but unhealthy day-dreams and bend all your energies on the great task of taking steps betimes to afford all possible relief to the unfortunate victims of the inhuman fury of war which is fast approaching our shores: here is work for all in which all of us, to whichever party we may belong, can co-operate heartily and wish one another Godspeed.

* * * *

NOT that we object to their celebrating "Independence Day". There is a trifling difference. however, between their doing so and other countries celebrating their independence; whereas these celebrate the independence which they have got, they celebrate an independence which they hope to get (God knows when). No harm, though, On the contrary, it may even do some negative good by letting off "national gas" in this way now and then—thus preventing a good deal of brewing mischief.

Girl M. S. Federation

The first Session of the All-India Girl Muslim Students Federation will be held in Delhi during the first week of February under the presidentship of Begum Aizaz Rasool. A reception committee has been formed with Dr. Shaista Ikramullah as chair-woman. Miss Jinnah has agreed to open the Conference.

THE policy followed by the British Government during the last few years has been often based on the principle of side-tracking the main issues and distracting the attention of those concerned from the practical side of things and rivetting it on to some utopian impossibility or other. Their emphasis on the so-called "national unity of India," more often manifested recently than before, couched in euphemistic and melodramatic phrases, is one of those heroic exhibitions, by means of which they have often utilised the sentiments of the people to lead the trend of Indian politics into a labyrinth of cross-roads and meandering side-issues, in which the main path of liberty and freedom is lost in the wilderness. It may sound a bit paradoxical to say that the British Government should have succeeded to disrupt India by forcing upon her the idea of unity; but when one goes deep into the current social structure of the various societies prevalent in India, out of which Hinduism and Islam are by far the greatest and most important, and when one realises how far these societies are essentially and fundamentally at variance with each other, one cannot fail to understand the truism that under the existing condition, united India is a dream.

Not a Nation

India is, by no definition, a nation. She does not embrace within her fold, one homogeneous and compact society but several of them, whose social, moral, religious, cultural and educational laws are different, whose jurisprudence and customs are different, whose philosophy, conception and outlook on life are different, who worship different gods, speak different languages, admire different heroes, and whose intermixture with each other gives rise, not only to unnecessary misunderstandings and suspicions, but, to a great extent, involve bittterest jealousies and hatred. One can recall instances, however scarce, of inter-marriages between the different social units, to bear testimony to how every time all the forces are combined against the unfortunate couple to separate them in order to protect

Special Article.

WE RISE TO ACT

By—**"On Looker"**

the honour and prestige of the respective community. The fact is not the outcome of any particular political movement. It manifested itself even at the time when both the Hindus and the Muslims were trying together to evolve a common national outlook, and were working together for the political salvation of India.

It is true that the Hindus and Muslims had been kept artificially linked together by the force of the British rule for more than a century and a half, but it is also evident that they had always been exploring the possibility of freeing and extricating themselves from this bondage to live separately as separate entities. Wherever the fear of law and pressure of force had been lessened the philosophy of identified aloofness had found expression. One is familiar with countless riots and communal disturbances in the unfortunate history of India. The various communities in India can never be united politically, much less so in other respects, and the British Government have been no friends to India by setting before her the conception of a unified and democratic India.

Power Distribution

There was a time when these communal differences were not as evident as they are to-day. So long as the British Government were carrying on the administration of the country by the force of their sword, and without associating Indians with it, there was no cause among Indians, apparently, for a political quarrel; but as soon as our rulers declared their policy that they wished to transfer power and associate Indians with the administration of the country, there ensued a real fight for the distribution of power between the various communities in their struggle for separate existence. This process of transfer of power, however slow, caused every community to do its best to secure for itself as much as it could in order to strengthen itself. Those who were already organised took the lead and, unfortunately, misused it.

The Indian National Congress, which had been started with "national ideal", at the outset, had during the last 25 years, undergone a radical change in its inner working and practice and its inner policy, although outwardly it had professed to be still "national". The manouvres of the British policy made their games still easier. Under the garb of the western conception of "nationalism" democracy and unity they put forward the demand for freedom, liberty and power, leaving the less organised communities flabbergasted and thus deceiving the ignorant and the innocent who knew little that by virtue of Hindus being in a numerical majority the power transferred to Indians in a single democratic national government, could only be a permanent monopoly of the Hindus, only to establish their supremacy. If the British Government had given a lead only for sentimental slogans and catchwords, the Congress not only seized the opportunity and followed it to the full but went a few steps further. If the former had taken upon itself merely the task of political advancement of India, the Congress pretended to embrace all aspects of life—moral, social, political, cultural and economic. Congress politics were immediately charged with the highest type of assumed morality. The movements of *charkah*, *ahimsa* and civil disobedience were started, but all this outward show was nothing but the shortest cut to the detriment of the other communities in India's political life, out of which the Muslims were the greatest and who had been a constant eyesore to the Hindus. One movement after the other was flown, like baloons into the sky, in quick succession, so that while all the eyes were busy watching them flying, the Congress could get time to work slowly and steadily to be able to cut off the thread of those progressive communities which would be a hinderance in the Congress way. The Harijan movement ended with the Poona Pact to the extirpation of the Harijans from the political field. The boycott of foreign goods concluded in the expulsion of Muslims from the economic world, and in attempt at Hindu-Muslim unity produced the Wardah and Vidya Mandir schemes of education for all. For a considerable time the Congress went on playing the game with a loaded dice, but the Government of India Act of 1935 proved to the hilt that the motives of the Congress were not genuine and honest.

Muslims Wake Up

The eyes of the public and specially those of the Musalmans were now open. But they could only watch helplessly, as they were now powerless. Every Muslim had realised the need of organisation and unity. The All-India Muslim League led by the Qa'id-e-Azam, came to their rescue.

The immediate success of this organisation so much bewildered the other camp that before long the leaders of the Muslim League were dubbed communal and anti-national, reactionaries and agent of British Imperialism, Job-hunters and self-seekers, who, according to them, were busy engineering the Muslim movement among the Muslim masses to the detriment of the Indian peoples at large. But did the Hindu Congress leaders ever realise that a movement which is not one of the masses but of a selected few, engineered for their own ulterior motives, does not survive the need of it and even its maturity? If the present movement of the All-India Muslim League had not been essentially that of the masses, it would have gone down by now into the obscurity of oblivion. No, it came as a counterblast to those who were busy exploiting the frail state of Muslim politics and who maliciously wanted to push the Musalmans into an eternal nothingness, from where they thought they would never come out.

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Special Article.

The "Unity" Myth

By **Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad**

ONE can understand why the Congress and other Hindu Leaders talk so much of the so-called "unity" of India. It pays them; for if the "unity" of India with all its political implications were accepted it would inevitably result in the establishment of a system of government which would bring about the domination of the Hindu majority and the consequent serfdom of the Muslims and other minorities. But it is rather difficult to find out as to why British Statesmen rave about the supposed "unity" and "national life" of India. In fairness to them it must be said that in spite of these verbal confusions they have begun recently to acquire some insight into the complexity of the Indian problem and also the unsuitability of Western, especially British, democracy, to Indian conditions. In several of his speeches Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, who has a knack for putting his case lucidly, shows a fairly correct grasp of the Indian situation and its intricacies. He has readily admitted that, constituted as India is, no settlement of the constitutional issue in India is possible by a mere majority vote. He recognises the Muslims to be the foremost among the "large and powerful element" whom the British Government would not coerce into submission to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by them. The Muslims are not a mere numerical minority; but, to use his own words, they have to be regarded as a separate constituent factor" in any future Indian policy, entitled to be treated as such in any discussions for the shaping of India's future constitution.

"National Life"

But, perhaps from force of habit, Mr. Amery speaks of India's national life and its underlying unity, as if the different peoples of India were living as one nation. If there is a nation in India there can be no question of separate constituent factors, entitled to be treated as such. Referring to the "great Muslim community" of nearly 100 million strong, Mr. Amery observes: "In religions and social outlook in historic traditions and culture, the difference between them and their Hindu fellow-countrymen goes as deep as, if not deeper than, any similar difference in Europe." It is clear that in Europe similar difference exists between nations, each with a sovereign state of its own. If, therefore, Mr. Amery's statement is carried to its logical conclusion it is inevitable that Hindus and Muslims will have to be recognised as two nations which must have states of their own. Similar appreciation of the realities of the Indian situation is to be found in the following observations made by an authoritative body like the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform—"India is inhabited by many races........often as distinct from one another in origin, tradition, and manner of life as are the nations of Europe. Two-thirds of its inhabitants profess Hinduism in one form or another as their religion. Over seventy-seven (now nearly 100) millions are followers of Islam and the difference between the two is not only of religion in the stricter sense but also of law and culture. They may be said, indeed, to represent two distinct and seperate civilizations."

Majority Vote

Numerically speaking, there is a major nation and a minor nation in India. Therefore, the parliamentary system of government, based on the simple majority vote principle, would inevitably mean the rule of the major nation and the vassalization of the minor nation. That is why the Muslims refused to have anything to do with a constitution framed by a constituent assembly, elected by a majority vote in geographicaly constituencies. It is, therefore, well that the British Government have not pre-determined the form of the constitution-making body and the methods of reaching conclusions therein according to the patent design of one element, namely, the Congress. The Government have declared there was no type of body which was ruled out, provided it was agreed upon by those principal elements and was in that sense representative of those elements. The Muslims and other minority elements attach, for obvious reasons, the utmost importance to the question of the composition of the constitution-making body and the process of taking decisions therein before the principles and outlines of the constitution itself are taken up. If their representation is ineffective and the method of reaching conclusions is based on mere counting of heads, thus stifling their voice, the constitution which would emerge from such a body will seal their fate.

Contradiction

But some of the expressions in Mr. Amery's speeches are self-contradictory. His otherwise clear-cut and rational interpretation of the Indian situation is marred by certain enphemisms and catch-phrases which convey a contrary sense. For instance, he states in one place: "There is the fact that India can boast of an ancient civilization and of a long history common to all its peoples of which all Indians are equally proud....... Underlying them too is the unity not merely of administration but of political thought and aspiration which we here can justly claim to have contributed to India's national life." It is, indeed, very difficult to reconcile these pious expressions with Mr. Amery's analysis of the Indian situation. This inconsistency is either due to want of knowledge or wishful thinking. Which is that ancient civilization and that long history common to all the peoples of India? There is an ancient civilization of the Aryan or the upper-caste Hindus—a civilization distinguished by the phenomenon of its rigid caste-system, social and economic distinctions based on birth, untouchability, social exclusiveness and cultured insularity. There is no social intercourse between Hindus and Muslims, not even inter-dinning and certainly not inter-marriage. The members of different Hindu castes do not dine with each other, to say nothing of living with the Muslims who are regarded as *maliksh* (impure). The Muslims have an entirely different culture and civilization. The British Statesmen themselves admit that Hindus and Muslims represent separate civilizations. On Mr. Amery's own showing "the differences between Hindus and Muslims in religions and social outlook, in historic traditions and culture go as deep as, if not deeper than, any similar differences in Europe." Mr. Amery admits differences in historic tradition. It, therefore, passes one's understanding as to whom is that history which Mr. Amery regards as common to all the peoples of India.

Truth

The truth of the matter is that almost all the victories and defeats in the long annals of Hindu-Muslim relations overlap. The victory of one has been the defeat of the other; the hero of one is the villain of the other. The Muslims came into this country as conquerors and ruled it for well-nigh eight hundred years. The traces of their rule are still to be found in various parts of the country. Their administrative traditions have left a deep impression on the British administrative system prevailing in India to-day. They have every reason to feel proud of their contributions to the progress, development and prosperity of the peoples of India as a whole.

The present generations of Muslims have inherited from their forbears their administrative genius and abilities a also their traditions of just, impartial and beneficent rule. The claim is justified by the record of work of Muslim officers and ministers both in British Indian provinces and Indian States. Does it not redound to the credit of Muslims that even the admittedly defective schemes of provincial autonomy of the Act of 1935 has worked in Muslim majority provinces with at least greater success than it did in Hindu

(Continued on page 10)

LETTERS

Qazaghs: How To Help?

Sir—Your 'Leader' on Qazaghs has been much appreciated. Will you kindly let me know as to whom money should be sent for their relief? Kindly give the name of some reliable agency. There are lots of people ready to help these unfortunate Muslims.

Minhas Road, Yours etc.,
Amritsar. M. A. Minhas.

Note: So far as we know there are two parties to whom money or other contributions towards the relief of our Qazagh brethren may be sent, but we cannot vouch for the reliability or otherwise of those parties—they are: (1) Mr. Azam Hashmi, Publicity Officer, Turk Mahajarin Office, House No. 1831, behind Kalan Masjid, Delhi; (2) President, Relief Committee, Muzaffarabad, Kashmir. The latter's appeal for relief, in the form of a 'Letter', has already appeared in *The Dawn* of February 1 last. We are, however, making inquiries in that regard and hope to let our readers know at an early date as to whom should they send their contributions.—EDITOR.

Serajgunj League Conference

Sir—On the eve of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference at Serajgunj I beg leave to make the following observations:—

It is expected that the ensuing conference will be able to give a correct lead in the matter of Muslim reconstruction in Bengal which holds the key to Islam in India, but which admittedly forms the weakest link in the chain. There must be something wrong with the Bengal Muslim somewhere. I hope the conference will be able to make a proper and correct diagnosis of the disease. As for myself I have been preaching for the last 24 years of my life that intellectual servitude is the worst form of servitude which befalls an individual or a people; intellectual servitude is the outcome of cultural defeat which again is due mainly to an imposition of a foreign language on a people. Language is undoubtedly the soul of a people as the only known vehicle of thought.

For the information of the Qa'id-e-Azam, as also of the non-Bengali Muslim leaders of upper India who are expected to attend the conference. I may submit that the current notion that Bengali is the language of the Musalmans of Bengal is to my mind, absolutely incorrect. "Language Problem of Bengal Muslims"—a pamphlet written by me several years back—leads me to the conclusion after a historical survey of the Bengali Language, that Bengali is as much foreign to the Musalmans of Bengal as any other foreign tongue? It was for this reason that the Urdu movement was started by me about the year 1920. At the first session of the Bengal Provincial Urdu Conference, held at Calcutta in July 1933, I stated in my address that it was difficult for the Urdu language to take a correct stand in the Province unless Urdu was recognised as court language in Bengal. That idea was endorsed by the *Star* (Weekly) of Allahabad which suggested that Urdu could be made a court language, at least, in Calcutta, Murshidabad and Dacca.

It will be for the Conference to decide whether a resolution should be adopted recommending the adoption of Urdu as a court language in Bengal, side by side Bengali language. The language that goes by the name of Bengali is only a kind of Sanskrit governed by Sanskrit grammar. I do maintain here that to maintain their separate existence Muslims of India must not adopt other people's language, dress, diet, etc.

Unfortunately our leaders have hitherto paid no attention to this important question which, to my mind is the root cause of the intellectual, political and economic deterioration of the Musalmans of Bengal. It is necessary therefore, that Bengal should receive the greatest attention of the All-India Muslim League.

I have one other suggestion to make—introduction of the principle of Dictatorship in the Muslim League organizations of Bengal.

Yours etc.,
Calcutta. Muzheray Towheed.

Impertinence

Sir—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the so-called Indian Nightingale, in her speech on Husain Day on January 31 at Bombay compared the present *Satyagrah* movement of the Congress with the martyrdom of Imam Husain—a result of wishful thinking. *Satyagrah* and *Shahadat* (martyrdom) are contradictory terms. These are poles apart and diametrically opposed. Imam Husain with his seventy two followers faced and fought an army of thirtyfive thousand, instead of offering *Satyagrah* by tamely prostrating himself on the ground. To compare the great Imam's astounding sacrifice in blood with the pusillanimous Gandhian *Satyagrah* is an unpardonable impertinence.

Yours etc.,
Bombay. Syed Shariffuddin.

Red Cresent Units

Sir—I have read with great pleasure the latter of Mr. Najmul Haque, Chittagong, (Bengal) appearing in *The Dawn* under the above caption. I strongly support his point of view that the Muslims under the banner of All-India Muslim League should realise the necessity of relief to Muslim brethren in the affected areas in case of enemy air raids on India. Under the Muslim National Guard organisation the proposed Red Crescent Units can be well trained in first aid and other primary medical lessons. The units will be very helpful to the Muslims in the affected areas. I, therefore request the Muslim masses in general and Salar-i-Azam Muslim National Guard in particular to pay attention to the suggestion. An organisation of this nature should soon be formed in order to be prepared for any emergency.

Yours etc.,
Aligarh. S. K. Husain Sabri.

Civil Defence Cor

The Tanti Bagh Muslim League Working Committee, which met recently, "resolved that in view of the present state of war emergency in Calcutta a Sub-Committee be formed of 11 members with right of co-option to form a civil defence corps of the local people in order to help and co-operate with A. R. P. members during air raids in the locality." The meeting supported the action taken by the Qa'id-e-Azam in expelling Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haque from the Muslim League on his betrayal of Muslim cause in Bengal and condemned the present Huq-Mukerjee Ministry for repressing Muslim civil liberty.

Conversion of 'Hijri' Into 'A. D.'

Dr. Ziauddin's Formula

The following is Dr. Sir Ziauddin's formula for converting a Hijri year into the corresponding year A. D.

"Add 621 to the Hijri year and substract from it the following two numbers:—

The first two digits of the Hijri number divided by 33 and the remaining digits multiplied by 3.

For example, take the current Hijri year 1361. The first two digits are 61 and the remaining digits are 13. We thus get 1361+621—(61÷33)—(13x3) which is equal to 1982—1—39=1982—40=1942 A.D. which corresponds to the Hijri year 1361.

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The Dawn

DELHI

Sunday, February 8, 1942.

NEED OF THE HOUR

Unsettled conditions in areas affected by the war provide an overpowering temptation to adventurers who have little to lose under such conditions—and they are legion in India—to exploit the situation to its fullest by fishing for easy pelf in troubled waters. Protection, at least, of our hearths and homes against such internal enemies of peace and order, if not the defence of the no-man's-land (that the Indian sub-continent unfortunately happens to be to its own inhabitants to-day !) against an agressor from outside, is the crying need of the hour. Government of the day in such circumstances can cope with the situation *only* in the event of the *willing* co-operation of the peoples who are prepared to work ungrudgingly and wholeheartedly under governmental discipline and not otherwise. The Congress having definitely declined that co-operation to the Government even for the duration of the war and even in respect of A. R. P. services, Civic Guards and other public service organisations of the Government, it is open to the latter to negotiate with the Muslim League to enlist the active and enthusiastic support of Muslim India.

But Muslim India, which has repeatedly declared, through its accredited representative, the Muslim League, its readiness to co-operate with the Government in their war effort, is not going to remain idle till that move comes from the Government who in their bungling, blundering conduct of the war do not seem to care much for Muslim support. Taking the initiative in the matter the Muslims all over the sub-continent would set up organisations of their own to protect life and property (even as the Congress is doing, ostensibly for the benefit of the Hindus), rather than wait indefinitely for a move from the Government or accept the role of stupid onlookers. These organisations, of course, would serve as auxiliaries to those of the Government. But without previous working adjustment or division of labour between official and non-official organisations there is sure to occur overlapping and unnecessary duplication of effort and a certain amount of unavoidable nuisance, to both sides, of inadvertantly coming in each other's way. If the Government prefer to remain content with a working adjustment with independent non-official organisations, we do not grudge their doing so even with the Congress which, while busy setting up rival organisations, is not prepared to let her followers join Government organisations. If, however, they do not consider that arrangement feasible, the services of no less than 100 million Indians—all having martial traditions—are, as ever, available to them through the Muslim League, provided they care to utilise them.

Any way, the All-India Muslim League would not be caught napping in the event of the war unsettling peaceful life in any part of the sub-continent. The League will go ahead in an organised manner for the protection of life and property of all the peoples, irrespective of their creed—with Government and also Congress co-operation, if available, without it, if not. That is how the Musalmans all over India are feeling in the matter. And they do not propose to wait indefinitely for an offer of or request for co-operation from the Government or the Congress. For, after all, protection of Muslim life and property is not the particular concern of either.

The war has provided a unique opportunity for ***Khidmat e Khalq*** (public service) nearer home which will test to the full the usefulness of the Muslim National Guard and the Khaksars. And it goes without saying that a pooling together of resources under a unified command yields better result than isolated effort. Bound together in the indissoluble bond of Islam—one *Al'ah*, one Prophet, one code of conduct, the *Quran*—the Musalmans, after all, constitute one universal brotherhood. They can see how the two markedly unlike peoples, the Americans and the Russians, have made common cause in the face of common danger. At a time like this when other peoples in India are already getting ready for that or any other eventuality and when even the 'legal heir' to Gandhian *ahimsa* is thinking aloud in terms of *SANGHATAN*, it is certainly not too early for the Musalmans, even of Bengal, to bestir themselvesand close up their ranks.

NOTES

Repression In Bengal

Ever since the formation of the new Cabinet in Bengal Mr. Fazlul Huq has been condemned all over that Province for his betrayal of the Muslim nation. As the criticism comes mostly from the League platform he has picked out League workers and student demonstrators for his vengeance by getting them implicated under the Defence of India Act - a convenient *modus operandi*. This high handed policy has aroused great uneasiness and a sense of insecurity in the League circles of Bengal. Accordingly, a deputation consisting of Sir Nazimuddin, K.B. M. A. Momin, Mr. H. S. Suhrwardy, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan and Mr. A. R. Siddiqi waited upon His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and submitted that the powers conferred by the Defence of India Act were to be used only in cases where acts against war efforts were perpetrated. They rightly pointed out to His Excellency that criticisms of the actions of the Government or of the Ministers could in no way be considered acts against war efforts. Instances of victimisation of Muslim Leaguers and students were placed before His Excellency. The deputation also requested His Excellency to see that Government officers did not take sides in matters political, and that the discretionary powers given to the head of the districts were not used in stopping the legitimate activities of the members of the Muslim League.

(Continued on next page)

NOTES

(Continued)

Mr. Huq, however, seems bent upon suppressing the League in the Province, because in its prosperity and growth he, perhaps, sees the end to his public life. The League leaders have taken the wise step in approaching His Excellency the Governor and bringing home to him how law and authority are being misused in the province.

It is hoped that, as promised, His Excellency the Governor would investigate the cases of oppression against the Leaguers and the students and see that power and authority is not improperly used by the Ministry in furtherance of party politics. The Leaguers on their part should not expect quarter from the Government of Mr. Fazlul Huque. We are confident that no hardship would deflect them from the path of duty and that in the end, they are bound to succeed.

Qazagh Relief

Since we wrote about the plight of Qazagh brethren in our issue of January 25 last inquiries are almost daily pouring in our office from intending donors towards their relief as to whom money or other contributions should be forwarded. One such letter we are reproducing elsewhere in this issue. To ensure that the intended relief does in fact reach the right quarters and to save inconvenience to prospective donors, we expect the Muslim leaders of the Punjab and Kashmir to take the initiative in the matter without delay and enlighten the public in this regard through these columns.

Red Tape

A high official once defined Red Tape thus—"the business methods of Government which are alleged to show up the Government machine on all possible occasions". The important word, of course, is "alleged," the implication being that the showing up is not a fact. Now comes forward another high official, his time from Bombay, with the confession that "generally speaking unreadiness to meet an emergency can be attributed to red tape". Not that he has not a good word to say for the "checks and counter-checks" which protect the public purse in peace time. But there is a war on and that makes all the difference. Be that as it may, it is great news that Burma and Bombay have decided to rid themselves of red tape for the duration of the war. To officialdom, however, it must give a strange feeling to be forced from the reels of red tape with which it loves to bind its hands and its files.

Speeches of Mr. Jinnah

Edited by Mr. Jamiluddin Ahmad, a member of the All-India Muslim League Council, and published by Sh. M. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, which is coming out shortly, contains all the important speeches and other writings of Mr. Jinnah from the year 1936 to the end of the last year (1941.) The period in question has been remarkable for the phenomenal awakening of the Muslims and the resuscitation and growth of their only national organization the Muslim League. It is common knowledge that Mr. Jinnah, is mainly responsible for the renaissance of Muslim India and his speeches have played a vital part in bringing about the awakening. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that his Speeches have been collected in a compendious form by Mr. Jamiluddin Ahmad who has also written an introduction and whose writings on political question have already received recognition. The book is well illustrated and is priced at Rs. 4/8.

Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah

Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah is expected to arrive in Delhi on Friday, February 20 next.

Fraud Should Be Exposed:

SAYS "SUNDAY OBSERVER"

"Hinduism Greatest Curse of India"

Commenting on Mr. Gandhi's Convocation address at Benares, the *Sunday Observer* says:

Mr. Gandhi must have been talking with the tongue in his cheek when he referred to "catholicity as the heritage of Hinduism." For Hinduism is the greatest curse of India, and it is based on intolerance and inequality. To call one's self a "Hindu" is to Confess that one is reactionary and narrow-minded. No decent, civilised, honest and sincere human being who knows what Hinduism is and what it stands for, would like to be known as a Hindu or join this faith of primitive barbarians. For it is on barbarity that this so-called religion is based. No other word can describe the state of 97 per cent. of the population who have been decreed by the gods and goddesses of this precious religion as impure and unclean beings fit only to serve the remaining 3 per cent. of the population. All are equal in the eyes of the Gods of other religious, but under the squint-eyed Hinduism, men are born unequal, and should live as unequals. The Panchama or the "untouchable" cannot aspire to heavenly bliss by himself, whatever penance he may do. If he serves the priestly class well and truly, he will get promotions to the higher class in the next birth—he will be born a Sudra! If he does better service to the community which God had chosen as his power-of-attorney agents on earth, he gets promoted to the Vaisya Class, then to the Kshatriya, and finally to the caste which stands at the threshold of Divinity. It is then, and only then; that he has a chance of thinking of heaven—that figment of the imagination of exploiters and cheats. What a religion!

Mr. Gandhi refers to the "catholicity" of this montrosity. Surely, a religion which treats millions and millions of people as untouchables (Sudras), which considers the shadow of the "low caste" man as perdition, which discourages interdining and intermarriage among the four castes comprising the Hindu society must be described by some other adjective than "catholic." Even in the temples of the gods, there are places assigned in the order of inferiority for the Hindu castes, and the Depressed Classes on whose unfortunate head Mr. Gandhi inflicted the new names of "Harijan," have to stand far beyond the outer gate-way, What catholicism!

Mr. Gandhi wants the students to keep alive this "heritage." We would far rather suggest to the students to prepare in their laboratories of the mind deadly bombs which would

(*Continued on Page 9*)

Scathing Condemnation of Bengal Ministry

Calcutta Protest Meeting

How Defence of India Rules are being Abused

The Muslims of Calcutta and suburbs assembled on February 1 last at Mohammad Ali Park in large numbers to record their protest against the abuse of the Defence of India Rules in Bengal by the present Ministry. Speaker after speaker strongly condemned the repressive measures adopted by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq and his colleagues to stifle Muslim public opinion.

"The policy of the Muslim League on the war is well known. It's aim is not to obstruct war efforts. It has, on the contrary, permitted its members even to participate in war efforts in their individual capacity, and as a matter of fact, many of its prominent members are engaged even at present in furthering and helping in organising the A. R. P. and civil defence services and particularly in recruitment to the armed forces of India."

Thus observed Sir Nazimuddin, ex-Home Minister of Bengal, presiding over a Muslim mass meeting at Mohammad Ali Park yesterday afternoon. The meeting was organised in observance of the "Anti-Repression Day", as declared by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, as a protest against alleged acts of repression and oppression by the present Bengal Ministry and their officers.

Sir Nazimuddin pointed out that the use of the Defence of India Act for the purpose of obstructing League workers and arresting them to enable the Muslim Ministers to have a tour without any demonstration against them, was unpardonable and was calculated to have serious consequences in future because whenever Government would ask for extraordinary powers, the present cases would be cited to prove how dangerous it was to entrust Government with such powers.

Two Instances

Citing two instances, when the Act had been used by the Government "most improperly against Muslim workers and students and Muslim League office-bearers whose policy was certainly not to obstruct war efforts," Sir Nazimuddin said: "While on the one hand, the Defence of India Act is being abused at this critical time when Bengal is faced with the likelihood of an invasion, on the other, non-Muslim members of the Government have not yet openly declared their full support to war efforts. It is true that one or two members have expressed the necessity of participating in A. R. P. and Civil Defence services and in efforts for the defence of India, but so far they have not yet called upon the people of Bengal to support the war."

Concluding Sir Nazimuddin said: "Government is taking, what I must say, dishonest advantage of the war emergency and of the provisions of the Defence of India Act to stifle the legitimate expression of public opinion and feeling against the conduct of some of the Ministers."

Fear Psychology

Mr. A. R. Siddiqi protested against the action taken by the Government under the Defence of India Act and Rules, which were intended, as assured by the Law Member of the Government of India, solely to stop subversive activities and anti-war propaganda during the pendency of the war. The Chief Minister and his colleagues had made use of the Rules in arresting school boys and youthful workers of the Muslim League. This was unlawful and the sooner the powers that be stopped it, the better.

"The repressions" he added, "will not suppress the Muslims as their cause is a cause of righteousness and it is being fought by true Muslim and not traitors. The reign of law must be re-established, for Calcutta is now within the war zone and the sooner Mr. Huq and his Mahasabha companions come to their senses, the better. They shall not succeed in crushing the Muslim spirit.

The meeting adopted a resolution warning the Government of Bengal against "interference with the civil rights of the Muslim population of the province," and calling upon the Council of Ministers to desist from their "policy of repression and oppression and to re-establish the reign of law and particularly, the rights of freedom of speech and freedom of association".

By another resolution the meeting recorded its concern with "the atrocities" committed against the Muslims of Bhagalpore "and urged His Excellency the Governor of Bihar to take immediate and effective steps to punish the miscreant and to assure the Muslims safety of life and property."—A.P.I.

Indians In Malaya

The area of Malaya is little less than that of Assam which has however very nearly twice the population that Malaya has. The Colony has an area of only 1,357 sq. miles out of the total area of 53,197 sq. miles. The remaining area is distributed in a fairly even manner between the Federated Malaya States and the Unfederated Malaya States, the former exceeding the latter by about 3,000 sq. miles. At the end of 1936, the estimated Indian population in Malaya was 657,720. Nearly two-third of this number were in the F. M. S. The Colony accounted for 132,357 persons. Of this a little over 50,000 were located in each of the settlements of Penang and Singapore.

Immigrants From The Provinces

Madras Presidency (inclusive of the adjacent States):		
(i) Tamil	...514,959	
(ii) Telugu	...32,541	
(iii) Malayalee	35,125	582,625
Punjab	...	31,001
United Provinces		1,898
Bengal	...	1,833
Bombay	...	1,388
Rest of India, including Burma and Nepal		5,264

Indian Distribution In Malaya

Singapore	...	51,019
Penang	...	58,020
Malacca	..	23,238
Total: Straits Settlements	...	132,277
Perak	...	159,152
Selangor	...	155,924
Negri Sembilan	...	50,100
Pahang	...	14,820
Total Federated Malaya States	..	379,699
Johore	...	51,038
Kedah	...	50,824
Perlis	...	966
Kelantan	...	6,752
Trengganu	...	1,371
Total: Unfederated Malay States	...	110,951

OBITUARY

We have learned with profound regret that Khwaja Abdur Rahman Toosy, father of "M.R.T." and a staunch supporter of the Muslim League, died last month at his residence in Amritsar at the age of 63 years. A good-hearted gentleman, the late Khwaja Sahib had endeared himself to all who came in contact with him. He leaves behind five sons, two daughters and a large circle of friends to mourn the loss. While praying that the departed soul may rest in peace, we sincerely sympathise with "M.R.T." in his sad bereavement.

Congress Yet To Prove 'Bona Fides'

"Shahids" Suggestions For Change of Heart

Commenting on Mr. Gandhi's reference to 'union of hearts' in a recent issue of the *Harijan*, "SHAHID" in the *Statesman* of Wednesday last writes:

"It is useless to peach mere gospels when the stituation demands something more real and tangible. Unity of hearts can only come after the *bona fides* of both communities has been proved. The Congress has still got to prove it. With all respect to the Mahatma it must be said that he is not the man nor his are the ways to remove Moslem distrust. The lead must be taken by a realist. Mr. Rajagopalachari has begun well. If he pursues in action what he has lately spoken a way out of the tangle may be found.

"As for Mr. Gandhi it is perhaps futile to ask him to point his finger of rebuke at the offenders among the Hindus and the Hindu Press on whom lies the blame in much greater measure than on Moslems for the spirit of suspicion, bitterness and distrust which he deplores. Let him tell them not to do the following things as a beginning towards "a change of heart."

"Let them not support repressive measures against Moslems while they vehemently oppose these when directed against Hindus. In cases of communal rioting and the like let them not always take it for granted that all the hooliganism comes from the Moslems. Let them do to the Moslems as they would be done by: let them not continually instigate disruption among Moslems and laud the disruptors to the skies while they ask Hindus, in the same breath, to unite. And above all, let them not support such Moslems only as are willing to divide the community and form selfish alliance with themselves while they refuse to touch genuine Moslem leaders with a pair of tongs.

"That is not the way to unity, that way lies more bitterness and more distrust. Real understanding, whether temporary or lasting, will only come when Hindus and Moslems representing their respective national organizations have come to terms. When the leaders of one organization take advantage of the weaknesses of individuals belonging to another community and strike bargains behind the back and in defiance of the latter's real leaders the result is not peace and goodwill but more unrest and a sterner struggle. These are basic facts which it will do no good to forget."

Bhagalpur Riots

Not six weeks after the Hindu Mahasabha tried to hold their annual session at Bhagalpur, this town in Bihar has become the scene of communal rioting. Seven people were killed in the disturbances and cases of arson have also occurred.

It is difficult entirely to dissociate these developments from the happenings late in December. That the Mahasabha episode would leave a disturbed aftermath was feared by the Bihar authorities and their apprehensions unfortunately have now received tragic confirmation. —*Times of India.*

A. I. States Muslim League

The All-India States Muslim League will hold its Third Annual session at Allahabad on the same dates as fixed for the next Annual session of the All-India Muslim League.

"Hope For India"

Commenting on Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's recent utterances, Dr. G. S. Arundale in a recent issue of *New India Survey* says:

Mr. Rajagopalachariar has been delivering some excellent addresses recently in Madras. While I cannot altogether see eye to eye with him in all that he says I feel he is giving India on the whole the right leadership and I think we are nearer than we have ever been before to a common policy for the whole of the country. But if I am not mistaken Mr. Rajagopalachariar only touches very lightly in his addresses on the Hindu-Muslim problem. If only he could put forward a formula which would be acceptable both to Congress and to the Muslim League, as I believe he could, India's most urgent problems would be resolved at least under the war is over, and India, could concentrate both on her own defence and generally on carrying the war into enemy countries. So far as I can see, Mr. Rajagopalachariar and those who are with him are at present the hope for India.

Outwitted !—But who?

A woman's club asked Mr. Bernard Shaw to present it with "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism."

Mr. Shaw's reply, was written diagonally across the letter asking for the book. It ran: "D—it, no. A woman's society that can't afford 12s 6d for a copy of my book has no right to exist.

To this came the response: "Thanks for your autograph note on my letter. I took it to a bookseller who gave me a copy of the book in exchange."

At which Shaw wrote: "What fools women are: You could have got £50 for it."

"Hinduism Greatest Curse of India"

(Continued from page 7)

completely smash and destroy Hinduism, the greatest menace to India's welfare and well-being. We hear such men talk of the glory of Hindu culture and the grandeur of Hindu civilisation. The test of greatness is not the culture of stone and pillar and paint and pomp, but the culture of humanity, the culture of equality, caste system and untouchability are the negation of equality. They are synonyms for intolerance and injustice, and only a man who is dead to all the finer instincts of humanity and civilisation can call a religion based on domination and exploitation as a "heritage." heritage! Fiddlesticks! . . . . .

How shallow and superficial his views are will be further evident from his glorification of Japan, which is significant at the present time, to the students of the Benares University on the very ground which he has denounced. Japan, said Mr. Gandhi, "had become a challenge to the West, not by slavishly following everything western, but by learning the best of the West through its own language." Why should not India learn the best of the West through the English language? It is the English language that made India feel the urge for freedom, and it is that language which the Congress is using in all its meetings to get itself understood by the outside world. Why should it be thrown away merely because it is foreign in origin?

To argue like this is to take Mr. Gandhi seriously. This is not fair to Mr. Gandhi. His views are consistent only in their inconsistency, and it is foolish to take him seriously, but it is necessary that the fraud should be exposed. Nobody believes in what Mr. Gandhi says—he himself doesn't— but there is a circle of flatterers and exploiters who glorify him and sing hallelujahs to his name, who have ruined the country by elevating him to the position of Mahatma.

majority provinces where it completely broke down due to the tyranny and incapacity of the Hindu Majority, as represented by the Congress, to wield administrative power? The non-Muslim minorities in the Muslim majority provinces enjoy more than their due share in the executive and the administration and have had no just cause for complaint at the hands of the Muslims.

Misnomer

Let us now examine the so-called unity of administration and of "political thought and aspiration" which he and his countrymen claim to have contributed to India's national life. Mr. Amery speaks repeatedly of India's national life; and this creates doubts as to his real meaning. India's national life is a misnomer. There is no single nation in India. Therefore, to talk of India's national life is illogical and misleading. The impression of unity which the British Government at the Centre, with its branches in the provinces, conveys is false; for, this government is a foreign government and its structure and basic principles do not carry the willing assent of any section of the Indian peoples. In spite of a hundred and fifty years of strong British rule over the whole of India there remain to day as many diverse peoples, faith, races, and extremes of social culture (to use Mr. Well's words) as there ever were.

Mr. Amery has himself admitted that the very prospect of constitutional progress has intensified the differences among the important elements of Indian life which lay dormant under autocratic control. These differences relate to the structure of government, the system of administration, and the division of political power. They lay dormant under autocratic control, because each element felt equally helpless and there was no difference in the status and power enjoyed by them as against one another. The only unity between Hindus and Muslims is the unity of common subjection to a foreign rule, if it is any unity at all. "The only unity", says Mr. H. G. Wells, "that I have ever discovered in India is the ever-

The "Unity" Myth

(Continued)

growing and spreadingsuffocation with the British Raj." He further observes that "India has no intrinsic unity and no natural cultural frontiers." He also characterises India as "an administrative phantom which is already fading out of existence."

India, as a matter of fact, has never known a central national government for the simple reason that there has never been nor there is to-day, a single nation in India. No doubt, there have been central governments over large portions of India under autocratic monarchs during the Muslim period and perhaps once or twice during the Hindu period of Indian history, as there is a central government under British control to-day. The whole of India had never been brought under an indigenous central government. Invariably, in every case in Indian history, whenever the hold of the autocratic central government slackened, there sprang up independent states in the various regions of India. A central national government is foreign to the genius of the peoples of India. The central government in India is a graft, an imposition; it can never be an organic growth.

Aspirations

As for the unity of "political thought and aspiration", nothing could be further from truth than to suggest that such unity exists in India. What political thought is common to Hindusand Muslims Each has a different world-view, a different social out-look, a different idea of happiness and salvation. Hindus and Muslims have different concepts of state-structure and government and even different economic principles and needs. As for aspiration it is now clearer than ever that Hindus and Muslims are animated by different ambitions. The Mahasabha leaders speak plainly and bluntly. They say frankly that Hindustan is the land of Hindus and others can only live at the sufferance of Hindus. They want Hindu rule, Hindu kingdom or Hindudom. They have declared that the Muslims in India are like the Jews in Germany and would be treated as such when Hindus came into power. The Congress wants the same thing, only it has a subtler way of presenting it. The Congress leaders make use of certain terms and catch-words borrowed from European politics, for they serve their purpose. They talk of democracy, unity, nationalism, joint electorates, parliamentary government and so forth; because they know that in a government established on these principles all real power passes into the hands of a permanent Hindu majority and Hindu Raj is virtually established. They have had a foretaste of it under provincial autonomy. In a democratic national state of the Western type the position of Muslims *vis-a-vis* the Hindus is one against three, which means perpetual political subjection of Muslims.

The aspiration of the Muslims, on the other hand, is to have an equal share of power and authority, so that they could have equal freedom and opportunity to live their own life and develop their political, educatioual and cultural institutions, as also their social and economic life, according to their ideals and genius. To that end they seek to carve out independent States of their own in the north-western and north-eastern regions of India where they are in clear majority, leaving the Hindus free to do the same in areas of their majority. They wish to provide adequate effective and mandatory safeguards in the constitution for the political, religious, civil, cultural economic, and administrative rights and interests of the minorities, Muslim and non-Muslim, in the respective Hindu and Muslim zones. Every canon of international law and self-determination justifies the proposal. This is the aspiration of Muslims. Where is, therefore, the unity of aspiration among Hindus and Muslims on which Mr. Amery waxes eloquent, perhaps, in his enthusiasm over recounting the achievements of British rule in India?

Not Unitary

But the glaring realities of the Indian situation lead Mr. Amery to admit that "India cannot be unitary in the sense that we are in this island; but she can still be a unity". It is clear that Mr. Amery does not envisage for India the sort of unitary state and government that there is in England. Then, what does he mean by saying that India can still be a Unity. If he visualises some such unity as exists between England and the United States of America or the dominions of the British Commonwealth, or the unity that existed between England and France before the latter's downfall in the present war, so far so good. The Muslims are not opposed to such unity; indeed they would welcome it. This would be real unity, springing from voluntary alliance on equal footing between peoples and states possessed of sovereign power. It will endure and conduce to mutual amity and prosperity, for it will lead the Hindu and Muslim nations to learn to understand and respect each other. A balance of power will be created and the ambition to dominate over the other will disappear, because the chance of clashes and the causes of conflict will have been minimised. There is nothing in the Muslim League proposal to prevent such unity being attained and even consummated in the form of some common machinery to deal with matters of mutual interest But this machinery can only be of an international character in which each participant will have a position of equality.

"Many Mansions"

Perhaps it is the vision of some such prospect which prompted Mr. Amery to observe, "India's future house of freedom has room for many mansions." Mr. Amery has a flair for speaking in metaphors and euphemisms. If by "mansions" he means "independent states" in the various distinctive regions of India, he has got to the root of the problem and will be able to solve it in such a way as to deserve well of all the peoples of India.

But, whatever the intent and purpose of Mr. Amery and other British statesmen, and whatever the rantings, misrepresentations and threats of Congress leaders, the hundred million Muslims of India are clear in their mind that the only solution of the Indian problem and their ultimate salvation lies in the creation of independent sovereign states in the north-west and the north-east of India. They are solemnly resolved to achieve their ideal at any cost. If it comes by mutual negotiation and understanding no one would be happier than Muslims. Otherwise, they are prepared to make every sacrific to vindicate their honour and rigehts and to save India from chaos and disaster,

The Screen

The Hindus, through the Congress, had been endeavouring hard to exact power from the British Government behind the screen of democracy—a screen which could enable them to blind the world and to monopolise a right which belonged to all others equally. Thanks to the Government of India Act of 1935, they, when they assumed office in seven provinces, were thoroughly exposed; and now they stand—these champions of independence and freedom—on the threshold of political immortality, wondering whether independence, now, that the Musalmans are organised, would be worth having. Powerless to do anything against the growing strength of Muslim India, they are like the sailors of a sinking ship, signalling to a third party to save their souls—a party, whose enemies they had professed to be. Adversity makes strange bed-fellows. They ask for help, they ask for declarations that would militate against the Muslims, they resort to dubious methods of coercion, which varieties of begging and whining, so that the British Government may be induced to prop them up once more under the protection of the British bayonets. They pray to the world at large that the vices they have practised may be considered as virtues or, at any rate, forgotten.

The All-India Muslim League, on the other hand, for a considerable time, had been occupied mainly with the organisation of the Muslim masses and Muslim public opinion. At the same time, however, they were watching with keen and serious concern the various aspects of the Indian political situation which were becoming more and more intricate every day. They were, and still are, interested in the freedom and independence of India as keenly and genuinely as any other organisation—and with greater honesty and sincerity—a fact which has been, at last, recognised by Hindu leaders of no less eminence than Mr. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Satyamurthi and Mr. Gandhi.

WE RISE TO ACT

(Continued)

Pakistan

In the year 1940, when the position of the Muslim League was considerably strengthened and when it could claim a whole-hearted support and sanction behind it of Muslim Indian, and when the problem of India's future constitution became the burning topic of the day, on the eve of the declaration made by His Majesty's Government, that the Federal part of the Government of India Act of 1935 was to be suspended, and that the whole constitutional field was open to be examined *de novo*, the All-India Muslim League put forward a scheme embodied in its resolution passed at its sessions at Lahore, which, in the common and popular terminology came to be known as *Pakistan*. This resolution was passed in all sincerity and honesty in the interest of India, which is obviously, as much a motherland of the Indian Muslims as of any other nation or community inhabiting this vast sub-continent.

Unfortunately, however, before this scheme—in fact a practical reality—could reach the public and could be properly understood, before it could be examined on its merits, before it could be put to the test of fair discussion, it was condemned out of hand, by the Congress and other Hindu leaders, as an outcome of a "diseased mentality", for cutting the baby into halves, cutting the "mother cow" and "vivisection" of India. Why all these unfair and unjust criticisms? Is it that patriotism is the monopoly of only those who are in the Congress fold? Or, is it because others are lovers of slavery? Is it because only the Congress has the right to shape the future destiny of India? Is it because the proposals that do not emanate from the Congress quarter are unworthy of a fair examination? Or is it because the proposal of Pakistan has shattered the hopes of the Hindus of *Ramraj* being materialised under, of course, the disguise of nationalism and demorcary? It is because the Pakistan proposal does not contemplate independence? Or is it because it is not in keeping with the Congress conception of independence?

Be Honest

Why not let us consider the Pakistan proposal with a fair and unprejudiced mind? Let us examine our own difficulties first, and find out why India has failed to achieve her freedom so long. We know we have failed to achieve it hitherto. We will not examine the reason why But the fact is that we have failed to do so jointly. Let us now apply our minds to some other proposal and some other method. Let us discuss it thoroughly, independently and separately as well as together. Let us clear our doubts and misapprehensions if any. Let us clear our suspicions and leave aside our jealousies. Let us thrash out a constitution for ourselves and put an agreed scheme of the future constitution of India before the British Parliament. Let us make a joint and united demand and bid all our resources sincerely for the freedom and independence of our people.

The Congress leaders have proclaimed, recently, from the house-tops that "the Musalmans are more ardently for independence than the Hindus". Of course they are and they are proud of the fact. Why not, then, follow the lead of the Musalmans and achieve our independence in the quickest and easiest way? We agree that the communal settlement is the essential prerequisite for the political advancement of India, and it is the "life's ambition" of many of us. Why then, should we stand aloof from each other and say that "the time for communal settlement is not come"? How long are the masses, craving for self-determination, to wait? How long is our present leadership going to keep us under bondage? How long are we to watch the developments? The time has come. Let us be up and doing. Let us not be deceived any more by our rulers who want to keep uncongenial elements yoked together, so that we may never agree with each other. Let us give to others among us what is their due and take what belongs to us, and there is no power on earth which can stop us from achieving our goal as quickly as we desire. But, above all, let us be sincere and honest.

The Martyrdom of Imam Husain

Bombay Observes 13th Centenary

Messages From Princes and Leaders

There was a large and cosmopolitan gathering on the night of January 31 at Bombay to observe the 13th centenary of Imam Husain's martyrdom. Sir S. Radhakrishnan presided over the meeting and the speakers included Mr. B. G. Kher, Dr. Collaco, Mayor of Bombay, Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimatullah, Sir Byramjee Jeejabhoy, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Messages were received on the occasion from H. E. H. the Nizam, Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah, Mr. Gandhi, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior and other distinguished persons.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said that the sacrifce of Imam Husain was not made to seek power, wealth and position but to uphold the principles of democracy.

Mr. B. G. Kher dealt on the life of Imam Husain and emphasized the need for complete Hindu-Muslim unity.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan said that if people had faith in God, it did not matter whether they came from Mecca or Benares. They should realize that all of them came from the same supreme source and they were all brothers.

Mr. Amery Repeats Britain's Pledge

Indians can Give India Freedom

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, in a review of the Empire's contribution to war effort at Leeds on Wednesday last, reiterated that "we shall stand by our pledge—both by our general pledge as to India's future freedom and also by our pledge to the different main elements in India's national life that they shall not be coerced under a system of Government which they are not prepared to accept.

Mr. Amery, continuing, said: "We are pledged to help India to attain as soon as possible after the war, to the same position of freedom and equality with ourselves as is enjoyed by the Dominions. The generally accepted framework upon which self-government must rest can only come by free agreement of those immediately concerned. In the last analysis it is only Indians themselves who can give India freedom. In the absence of agreement we can no more impose a constitution on India and expect it to survive than we could impose a constitution on Europe.

"There is the problem......I believe a solution can be found without undue delay once Indian political leaders face the fact that it is not from us but from each other that they must secure it. We can help, it is for them to act.

"They can do so in the firm assurance that we shall stand by our pledges—both by our general pledge as to India's future freedom and also by our pledge to the different main elements in India's national life that they shall not be coerced under a system of Government which they are not prepared to accept. We are pledged to Indian freedom and we desire Indian unity. We have laid the foundations for both in the past. We look to Indian statesmanship to play its part with our help in raising the nobler superstructure of the future."

Mr. Amery added that "the perplexing and controversial issues of the present period of political transition of India do not affect India's general outlook upon the present conflict. Even our bitterest Indian critics do not wish for any other result than an Allied victory."—*Reuter.*

ISLAMIC CULTURE

Reuter's Muslim correspondent writes from Oxford:

Islamic culture was the subject of a lecture given on Tuesday last, at the Oxford University Majlis by Prof. Gibb.

Describing in some detail the condition of Islamic cultural life, as detached from Islamic civilization, Mr. Gibb pointed out that in practically every branch of spiritual life Islamic religious teachings had contributed to the progress of goodness in the world. Early periods of several Caliphs had encouraged scholarships in all forms of learning, and emphasized the fact that learning had then, as it has now, its roots in mystical elements and practices of the preaching of Islam. Through the course of Islamic history Islam's culture was challenged, but never overpowered, for Sufi and other mystical thought always came to the rescue of its most dogmatic preaching, and always gave it that strength and power which no challenge can destroy.

The strength of Islamic culture was due to the fact that "as thought and life are governed by the same ideas, there is consistency and wholeness in their intellectual and social activity, the serenity of conviction which is the key to that good living which is true culture."

This lecture was one of the "Culture Series."

Mr. Gandhi Asked to keep his Word

Commenting on Mr. Gandhi's statement in the *Harijan* of January 25 regarding separate electorates as having resulted in the separation of hearts, Malik Barkat Ali, M.L.A., a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, says:

When Mr. Gandhi was in England on the occasion of the Round Table Conference, he was asked by the Eton boys to give them the Hindu case just as the late Maulana Shaukat Ali had given them the Muslim Case. In those days the Hindu Mahasabha had launched a crusade against separate electorates as being incompatible with "nationalism" and as calculated to perpetuate differences and deepen distrust. Reverting to this argument of the Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. Gandhi said: "The Hindu Mahasabha will have a national solution of the situation, not because they are Nationalists but because it suits them. I call that destructive tactics. They must step out and give to the smaller communities what they want, and the atmosphere would be clear as if by magic."

The 'Mahatma', today, is adopting those very destructive tactics himself. He does not believe in communal pacts. They are useless, he says. Conjoint parliamentary effort is also to him taboo. Underfield nationalism—the once familiar and favourite cry of the Mahasabha—has to day become his pet slogan. He has, accordingly, called upon Congressmen in the four Muslim majority provinces "to rigidly abstain from the Legislatures and local bodies governed by separate electorates," as their presence in those bodies "can only be to divide the majority members i.e., to take sides with one Muslim party or another."

May I, therefore, ask the 'Mahatma' to immediately withdraw his Congress Members from the Bengal and Sindh legislatures. In these two provinces the Congress is undoubtedly dividing the Muslims and has rightly exposed itself to that criticism. Their withdrawal from the legislatures of these two provinces would undoubtedly absolve the Congress party in these provinces from this charge and may perhaps pave the way for better understanding.

Mr. Amir Ali's Letter To London "Times"

Mr. Waris Ameer Al I. C. S. (Retired) who is at present in the War Liaison office, India House, London, commenting on Mr. Jinnah's statement to the *News Chronicle* writes in the *Times*:—

"As for suggestion for enlarged cabinets in the provinces these administrations have been topheavy since the Montagu Reforms and it is doubtful if a yeoman or peasant even knows the names of Ministers, unless they are of his own caste.

"In the United Provinces the resignation of the Congress Government in 1939, after greatly increasing the provincial deficit, was greeted with relief by most people.

"The declaration advocated by Sir Stanley Reed may this time be most unsettling to the Indians in the service whether they are Princes or peasants. It would be interpreted as handing over their destiny to the minority,—their more nimble-witted and non-martial fellow countrymen, in the main urban literates—mostly Caste Hindus."

MOHARRUM IN LONDON

Meaning of Martyrdom

The Muslim Society of Great Britain held the tenth of Moharrum Commemoration meeting at London headquarters on Saturday afternoon. Representatives of several Islamic peoples, as far distant as Turkey and Malaya, were present.

The meeting was addressed in English by a Muslim Indian doctor who traced the historical development of the Caliphat and gave salient facts of the tragedy of Karbla which culminated in the martyrdom of Husain, grandson of the Prophet Mahomed.

The Imam of Woking mosque pointed out that the meaning of Husain's martyrdom lay in the fact that it was the supreme sacrifice for an Islamic ideal, the ideal which believed in democracy and not in the governorship of one man which, he said, was anti-Islamic.—*Reuter.*

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BETRAYAL OF MUSLIM BENGAL

Mr. Fazlul Huq's Progressive Coalition Ministry is in the saddle in Bengal. How the previous Ministry fell, what caused its disintegration from within it, how Mr. Fazlul Huq proved disloyal to his Muslim League colleagues and betrayed the former Coalition Party, what intrigues he carried on with the opposition groups and with the well-known enemies of Muslim interests—are now matters of public knowledge.

In a press statement Mr. Fazlul Huq has declared, like Hitler, that Providence is with him and he has asked the people of Bengal to look upon his latest betrayal of his own people as "providential". He has proclaimed (statement on January 3, 1942) that henceforth he would be the best defender of the interests of the Hindus and his newly found colleague, the Finance Minister and keyman of the Cabinet, Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookerjee, would be the best defender of Muslim interests.

The Muslims of Bengal know both Mr. Fazlul Huq and Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookerjee too well to be deceived. These special pleadings were quite obviously an attempt to throw dust into their eyes by a man who is fully aware of the enormity of the misdeed he has committed towards his community and who knows that his only chance of stemming the tide of public feeling and popular resentment lies in successfully side-tracking the main issue of the betrayal of his people, by harping on the need for communal harmony and peace.

The constitutional agitation continues and goes on apace. The Muslim Press fearlessly exposes the foul treachery and the men who perpetrated it. Public opinion in every sub-division, town, and village gathers force and momentum. Those among the betrayers who had the courage to return to their constituencies realise how bitterly their conduct is resented. The people rally to the call of their true leaders.

Mr. Huq's Dilemma

What is he to do? One course open to him is to fight this grand remonstrance of the Muslims with false propaganda. He has at his disposal the entire Hindu Press—which he himself once described as "the Reptile Press." "The reptiles" now hold him in a love-embrace. Their fangs were once full of poison for Mr. Fazlul Huq; today they are full of nectar. He has these reptiles to support and to sustain him. He has also his own newspaper, the "Navayug", which pours forth every day volleys of abuse and barrages of falsehood against the Muslim League in Bengal because it has consecrated itself to the restoration of the honour of the Muslim community which Mr. Fazlul Huq has bartered away for the sake of his Chief Ministership.

In desperation, like a drowning man catching at the straw, Mr. Fazlul Huq grabs at the Defence of India Rules. He makes capital out of the international situation. Knowing perfectly well that what Muslim leaders are now saying or the Muslim papers writing is a hundred times less offensive than things which he himself has spoken and written not so very long ago—he seeks to stifle opposition and suppress legitimate expression of opinion against him with the help of the power he derives from his office. He, therefore, issues this public threat: "It becomes impossible for us to tolerate writings of a character which are bound to set class against class, community against community, and to inflame the worst passions of the multitude." and again he says: "We will not hesitate to inflict condign punishment on all offenders who by their reckless writings attempt to bring about an atmosphere unfavourable to the proper prosecution of the war or of making the fullest war effort impossible."

This threat he is carrying into effect. Attempts are afoot to victimise Muslim newspapers and the vengeance of Mr. Fazlul Huq may soon be visited upon some of them through the misuse, under his direction, of the provisions of the Defence of India Rules. Muslim officials are being transferred or summoned to the High Presence to be threatened or instructed. The blow has already fallen on the student community. League workers' movements are being restricted. Bans and restrictions of various kinds to muzzle the voice of protest are believed to be under contemplation.

Some Questions

In view of these facts it becomes necessary to place before the public certain material which will help them to form their own independent opinions about the situation that obtains in Bengal today. In doing so it will be convenient to ask a few questions and answer them on the basis of unquestionable facts and unchallengeable evidence. These questions may be framed as follows:—

(1) Is not Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookerjee's record as a militant upholder of the ideal of the Hindu Mahasabha of such a nature that he can by no stretch of imagination be ever regarded as anything but a bitter opponent of the political and even religious rights of the Muslims?

(Continued on page 10)

Facts That Musalmans Should Know

On April 17, 1938, speaking at the special session of the All-India Muslim League held in Calcutta, Mr. Fazlul Huq said: *The Congress has during recent months again and again made overtures to me offering me the premiership in a Congress Coalition Cabinet in Bengal. Such a Premiership would have been no better and no more real than the Kingship of Shah Alam or the Nizamat of Mir Jaffar. Had I thus signed with my own hands the death warrant of Islam with what face would I have stood before my Maker and His Prophet on the day of final reckoning?*

Mr. Fazlul Huq has done something worse than accept a Congress Coalition. He is still the Premier but in his own words his Premiership to-day is no better and no more real than the Kingship of Shah Alam or the Nizamat of Mir Jaffar. To use his own language, he has signed with his own hands "the death warrant of Islam". With what face will he (to continue to use his language) stand before his Maker and His Prophet on the day of Judgment?

Whether Mr. Fazlul Huq's conscience is troubling him with these questions or not is no concern of the Muslims of Bengal. If he, having signed "the death warrant of Islam" and accepted "the Nizamat of Mir Jaffar" under the patronage of the Hindu Mahasabha, chooses to improve on his performance by acts of repression against those who stand fearlessly for the cause of Islam and the Muslims, then, that is a matter which he and his Maker will settle between themselves when the day of reckoning comes.—Thus observes a correspondent in the Star of India.

WOMEN CAN MAKE MEN GREAT

Begam A. Rasul Addresses Girls' Conference

RED CRESCENT WORK SUGGESTED

"At the present juncture of world history when human values are being reshaped, there can be no certainty about any of our fundamental principles. The whole basis of modern civilization threatens to crumble and on all sides we hear of a 'New Order,'" said Begam Aizaz Rasul, Deputy President, U.P. Legislative Council, in her presidential address at the All-India Muslim Girl Students' Conference in the Anglo-Arabic College Hall on Saturday. The Hall was packed with girl students. A number of delegates from the Punjab, U.P. and other provinces attended the conference.

Begam Aizaz Rasul, in her speech, said:

"The great political upheavals of the world are shaking and shocking us. The scope in the arena of politics has widened considerably, and although you, as students, cannot just now take any active part in politics, and must concentrate on your studies, yet it is necessary for you to train and prepare yourselves for the duties and responsibilities that lie ahead of you as citizens.

"You must keep abreast of the economic, social and political developments of your country. No nation can be great in which the women do not occupy their rightful place. No country can be free in which women lack initiative, courage and knowledge, for it is women who by the proper use of their influence as mothers, sisters and wives can make their menfolk great. Friends, you have a great and sacred task before you in the matter of giving the right lead to the Muslims of the country—grown-ups as well as students, men as well as women.

SPHERE OF WORK

"You as women have an immeasurable sphere of work inside and outside the home, a sphere in which you can exert for the benefit of your community all your most natural qualities. We know that the percentage of educated girls amongst Muslims is very low; not only that, our girls are still unaware of the realities of the world. They are not only physically excluded from the outside world, but they are also intellectually out of touch with its immediate and distant problems. This is due to many causes. I think the foremost of them has been the lack of understanding in respect of the modern conception of education. Until recently people were sceptical about the utility of a secular and academic education for Muslim girls. Superstitions and false notions of pride and prejudice were advanced against it. There were strong currents of public opinion which could not tolerate this kind of 'demoralization' as they called it. But experience has proved the error and futility of such generalizations, and the progress made in the sphere of female education has been steady and encouraging. We now realize the growing responsibilities that are to be shouldered by our sisters in the difficult days ahead of us. The entire future of our community depends upon whether Muslim women will learn how to tackle the formidable and varied problems of life both inside and outside our homes.

"Islamic history is replete with the accounts of the dynamic personalities of, and the intellectual standards attained by, Muslim women."

Referring to the students' problems, she said: "It is a fact, and a very unpleasant one, that there is a tendency to ignore religion. Taking a fashionable one from the cries of revolution, progress and socialism, educated Muslim girls have begun to think in un-Islamic terms. There is nothing new in these slogans." She pleaded for reduction of the cost of education. She also advocated the organization of a girl students' National Guard.

Begum Shaista Ikramullah, Chairman, Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates.

RESOLUTIONS

The first All-India Muslim Girl Students' Conference ended its two-day session in Delhi on Sunday after adopting a number of resolutions. The conference recommended the establishment of an all-India organization of Muslim girl students with branches all over India, as also the holding of the conference every year.

By another resolution the conference recommended a constructive programme for Muslim girl students, which included the spread of adult education, the popularizing and protecting of Urdu and the encouragement of the use of home-spun clothes with a view to ameliorating the condition of Muslim weavers. The conference suggested that every Muslim girl student should undertake to teach at least one person to read and write Urdu and to see that the rights given to Muslim women by Islam were well protected. The conference also recommended the establishment of a National Guard of Muslim girl students for doing Red Crescent work. Finally the conference recommended that the Anglo-Arabic School for girls should be raised to a degree college.

Begum Aizaz Rasul presided.

HINDU RAJ WITH A VENGEANCE

Looting And Arson Under Official Auspices?

Crusade Against Muslims in Bihar

Mr. M. A. Mannan, B.A., B.L., General Secretary, District Muslim League, Bhagalpur (Bihar), has issued the following statement:—

The anti-Muslim and provocative slogans and demonstrations of the Mahasabhaites in the town of Bhagalpur, unchecked by unwilling Hindu Police and inflamed by the venomous presidential address of Mr. Savarkar that was given a wide publicity in Bhagalpur, had its immediate reaction in Paina, resulting in terrible consequences.

Paina is a village within the jurisdiction of Kishungunj Police Station, Madehpura Sub-division, Bhagalpur District. It is about 16 miles north of Bhagalpur on the other side of the Ganges, and about 28 miles south of Madehpura. This village consists of about 100 Muslim houses. The Mussalmans residing there are cultivators and very poor. The surrounding villages are almost exclusively populated by Hindus who are rich and influential and are either Mahasabhaites or Congressites.

As the result of a pre-arranged plan and conspiracy, about 10,000 Hindus from a number of villages, armed with deadly weapons, beating drums, holding aloft the Mahasabha and Mahabiri flags and shouting abusive and provocative slogans marched on village Paina from all directions and surrounded it before sunrise on December 29 last. Leaders of the Hindu mob were riding elephants and ponies. They set fire to about 40 houses of the Mussalmans, killed three Muslims and burnt one alive and seriously injured others. Muslim women were molested and their ornaments forcibly snatched away from their persons. Some of the Muslim women are said to have been spared. Stored up grain and all utensils and clothings and agricultural implements were taken away. Goats and buffaloes of the Mussalmans were either killed or left tied up in burning houses and sheds.

Besides the Muslims of Paina, the Hindus have similarly looted and tortured the Mussalmans of Bari Ghanda and Khero. The Mussalmans in all these villages are completely upset, terrorised and are extremely panicky. Except the clothes that they are wearing they have got nothing left in the shape of grain, utensils or cash.

It was reported to me on January acts of murder, arson, loot and atrocities took place in the presence of a Hindu Sub-Deputy Magistrate, a Hindu Sub-Inspector of Police and Hindu constables.

AT BAGAHA

Mohammad Zobair Khan, ex-Publicity Officer, District Muslim League, Motihari (Bihar), has issued the following statement:—

It is reported to me on January 11 last, that inflammatory speeches against the Muslims were made at village Bagaha where the Hindus in batches were deputed in bazars and other public places to prevent the Hindus from purchasing any commodity from the Muslim shops. This matter was reported to the S.D.O., Bettiah, who happened to be at Bagaha at the time and the latter is said to have ironically replied: "Why did you Muslims sacrifice cows?" This remark of the S.D.O. emboldened the Hindus of Bagaha who began to oppress the Muslims freely. The Head Master of Bagaha H. E. School is said to have taken an active part in forcibly picketting Muslim shops personally as well as by setting up his Hindu students to do the job, who did accordingly.

Thereafter Mr. Dewan Wirasat Husain Khan, Pleader, ex-General Secretary, District Muslim League, received a telegram from the Secretary, Bagaha Muslim League, which runs as follows:—

"Muslims assaulted and badly looted by Hindus. Situation worst. Come sharp."

He and I immediately proceeded to Bagaha and from inquiry, besides the aforesaid matter, found that there were only five Muslim shops in the whole Bagaha bazar proper and that of the Hindus there were many. About 500 Hindus from different villages, armed with deadly weapons, had made a sudden premediated attack on Muslim shop-keepers and assaulted them and looted their shops in broad daylight at about 4 p.m. Property worth several thousand rupees was looted and destroyed. Nine Muslims were injured whom the police got medically examined.

(Continued on page 9)

Special Article

Not The Old Congress

(BY POTHAN JOSEPH)

IMAGINE the registration of a public venture under the name National Stores, the articles of association providing for general service and the open sales of goods. Imagine that after some years the same concern is secured by a new management intent on converting it into an Ayur-Vedic Pharmacy but preferring to retain the old name and goodwill on the signboard. If with stocking of new goods, customers accustomed to a wider range of purchase or different ideas of efficacy are not found thronging the counters of the pseudo-National Stores, surely they should be spared the accusation of basely deserting the old firm. When Muslim leaders and Hindu Liberals are occasionally reproved upon the circumstance that they had been once Congressmen and have since failed in their devotion to the "national institution," they are wrongly charged with the suggestion of betrayal.

Not long ago in the *Harijan,* Mr. Gandhi dwelt musingly on the democratic and non-communal forum which he sees in the Congress and recalled the days when men like Pherozeshah Mehta and Dadabhai Navroji (members of a tiny community) had been acclaimed as presidents of the Congress. He is pleased to make similar observations on the circumstance that the *Rashtrapati* now on the *gaddi* is a Muslim, which apparently disposes of all suggestions of communalism in the Congress and rebuts Mr. Jinnah's reflection that he had been a "show-boy president." Anyway, they are trading heavily on it and in a foreword to a Life of the Maulana, published last November in London the 'Mahatma' draws the attention of his foreign readers to the fact that the *Rashtrapati* of India is a Muslim. When the learned divine was elevated to the status of "Uncrowned King," Mr. C. Rajagopalachari also loudly ruminated on the claim of cosmopolitanism on behalf of the Congress, deftly recalling the coincidence that Dadabhai Navroji, the father of the Congress, had been a representative of a very small minority.

Fallacy

But there is a lot of fallacy, if not perversion, in identifying the National Stores with the Ayurvedic Pharmacy, for "co-workers." To-day they are there on sufferance and approval upon the token of "heart-obedience" to the 'Mahatma.' The Dadabhai type and the Pherozeshah outlook could never had a place in a Congress recast into a new shape and re-orientated in a new direction by the Author of *Hind Swaraj* who is a fierce opponent of modernism and westernisation, fired with a passion for rustic simplicity, the soulful cultivation of handicrafts and the spread (in a new edited form) of a cult of Hinduism which, as embodied in the Congress creed, puts an entirely new complexion on the future of India which had been very differently envisaged by the pioneers of the national movement.

Dadabhai and Gokhale were great believers in English education and a move-forward from primevalism, whereas Mr. Gandhi in his recent address at Benares was astounded at the patience of students who could still brook English. Pandit Malaviya gave him due assurance about the ascendancy of the *Rashtrabhasa* (Hindi), but the point I stress is that the Dadabhai school had a different conception of national progress and of national synthesis which entitles them to a different memory, because from the secular platform the Congress has swung over to "spiritualized politics" causing deep fissures in the political outlook. A mixture of *bhakti* and low cunning, with a reversal of Dadabhai's ideals, makes it into a novel squatting Samaj with dreams of a civilization 6,000 years old, a pastoral regime, one language, humble diet, *Ram Rajya* and a host of other conceptions that form the staple of the Mahatma's *Kulturkampf.* It is an entirely different ideology of backwardisation, and it is wrong to invoke Dadabhai here for the sake of relevancy or respectability in the claim of toleration.

Episode

An episode in Peel's life was cartooned as follows: "His party was bathing when their rivals walked away with their clothes." The last Congress attended by Mr. Jinnah was at Nagpur, that is, six years after the Moderates stood back upon the old Congress site while smart hands removed the structure and the records in the interests of a new experiment. There was a complete transformation of outlook, and an orthodox brand of "Indian Culture" was staged into full stride while the Liberals saw its disruptive swing towards sectarianism which the presence of a few domesticated Muslims on the Congress platform is still supposed to conceal like tattered clothes. Many who loved the Congress clung hard on the hem of her garment until hot gospellers wrung it away for the raising of a holy tabernacle which banished out of its precincts the rationalism of Gokhale, the Liberalism of Pherozeshah Metha, the mellow Indo-British culture of Dadabhai, the adventurous spirit of trust evinced by Tyabji and Abdul Rasool.

There was the nucleus of a new culture in the pioneering days of the Congress which enabled people with education and judgment to confer together, but it was a different show; their sense of democracy negatived the principle of the outside dictator, the inner voice to which are now the privileges of One as the last appeal of reason.

The 'Mahatma' from his standpoint is convinced of his correctness about civilization, democracy, Indian culture, 'Gowseva,' 'Sanatana Dharma,' Capitalism (as a trust), 'Rashtrabhasa,' and 'Rashtrapatis,' but he should accept the position that who are out of the Congress to-day are not those who are disloyal to Dadabhai and Gokhale. They are out because he, in possession of the tent, is playing with a different bag of tricks.

The trust of other communities had been a terrible thing to lose in the story; there has been a setback in spite of all their vainglory about spurious successes in the name of democracy and Indian culture after the breach of 1920. Dadabhai and Pherozeshah were, so to speak, builders on the principle of modern architecture, while Mr. Gandhi's message is a track-back to ancient archaeology.

REJOINDER TO SIR ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR

By

S.M. Yusuf

THERE is no use glossing over the fact that the Muslim world right from Calcutta to Cairo has a long list of fundamental issues to settle with Britain. Further, the acrimony which these controversial issues often engendered during the period immediately before the outbreak of war is also beyond the power of any propagandist to attenuate. In such a back-ground of dissatisfaction, resentment and bitterness it was really a wonder that the involvement of Britain in the greatest catastrophe of her history did not immediately give rise to any popular tendency even in the semi-independent Muslim States to break away from the Commonwealth or to take advantage in any other way of the unprecedented hardships of a power whose solicitude for their vital interests and legitimate aspirations had not been consistent and steadfast enough to disarm suspicion and give contentment.

The Colonial office and the bureaucratic officialdom may boast of it as a success of their strong, efficient and vigilant administration which, of course, stands in sharp contrast with the bungling of military and foreign diplomatic affairs, but it would be the height of ingratitude to deny that it is at the same time a testimony of the realism and the large-heartedness of the Muslim peoples which would not allow them to stoop to selfish and unscrupulous opportunism. This is amply proved, if proof were needed, by the explicit declarations of Muslim States and representative organisations to put all demands and controversies in cold storage, provided that nothing prejudicial was said or done during the pendency of the war.

Unfortunate

It is, however, a matter of great regret that the unfortunate utterances of the British wiseacres should every now and then serve to remind the Muslims of those grave issues which, though ever uppermost in their hearts, they have agreed to shelve till the end of the war. Quite recently the Air Minister, Sir Archibald Sinclair, in a message to the Zionist Federation said:—

"Your work for Palestine in the past has commanded my admiration and respect and I look forward to the days when re-establishment of the reign of law among nations will enable you to set free all your energies again for this work."

No doubt, this is not a pledge nor a solemn commitment but the words were obviously intended to raise in the mind of the world jewry a vague hope that at the end of war British influence may be counted upon for help in the extension and consolidation of their National home in Palestine. Well, the British Minister must know full well that the whole Muslim world, which is giving such solid support to the Allies, is deeply interested in the vexed problem of Palestine and that the slightest indiscreet hint of any dual policy or incompatible promises such as were made during the last Great War, is bound to cause a rude shock to the Muslims and to damp their ardour for the cause which they have made their own.

The Question

Naturally enough, the first question that the words of Sir Archibald Sinclair bring to a Muslim's mind is; what is the work which has commanded the respect and admiration of the Air Minister and which he is so anxious to encourage and promote? It is not the dispossession of the Arabs of their farms and lands and their pauperisation by an alien people, proverbially callous to the miseries of fellow-beings and notorious throughout the history for their cruel and extortionate methods? Are such a people, driven out ignominiously from Europe and unacceptable even to those who make such loud professions of sympathy for them (the Americans), to be

(*Continued on page 4*)

The Editor does not accept responsibility for the views expressed by contributors.

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

Appeal for Rs. 1,00,00,000

NAWAB OF RAMPUR'S GRANT FOR TECHNOLOGY

HIS HIGHNESS THE NAWAB OF RAMPUR, accompanied by Mr. B. H. Zaidi, Prime Minister, and the staff, arrived n Aligarh on Saturday, February 7 last. He was received at the Railway Station by Col. Nawab Sir Ahmad Said Khan, Lt.-Col. Dir Sir Ziauddin Ahmad (Vice-Chancellor), Prof. A. B. A. Haleem (Pro -Vice-Chancellor), Mr. A. T. Naqvi, District Magistrate, Mr. Evans, Superintendent of Police, and others.

The annual convocation of the Muslim University was held the same morning in the Strachey Hall. His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, Pro-Chancellor, presided. There was a large and distinguished gathering of members of the Court, members of the Staff and registered graduates, among them being the Nawab of Chhatari, the Nawab of Baghpat, Sir Sultan Ahmad, Sir H. P. Mody and the Raja of Jehangirabad.

The colourful procession, led by the Registrar, entered the hall at 11 a.m. After Lt.-Col. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor, had declared the Convocation open, Prof. A. B. A. Haleem, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, read his annual report in which he said that the total number of students on roll excluding the allied institutions had risen to 2,472 and consequently the pressure on hostel accommodation was very great.

Prof. Haleem also referred to the introduction of certain optional and compulsory papers on Muslim History and Philosophy. He expressed gratification at the progress achieved by the new department of Technology. He, however, emphasised the necessity of providing large sums of money on buildings and equipment, if the Department was to be raised to the status of a first-rate Engineering College.

FUNDS

Concluding, Prof. Haleem said: "A spacious Senate Hall, which may also be used for examinations purposes, and a new and properly designed building worthy of a University Library are pressing necessities. The arrangements, hitherto made for the teaching of the Women's degrees classes, are not altogether satisfactory. To make this college worthy of the traditions of Aligarh, however, considerable expenditure will have to be incurred. In short a great and concerted effort is needed to raise funds for the purpose of furthering that development and expansion without which it will be difficult for this University to maintain its position as one of the leading centres of learning in this country. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, speaking recently on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Benares Hindu University, declared that Rs. 1,60,00,000 had been contributed by the public to the funds of the University since its inception and appealed for a further sum of Rs. 3,40,00,000. The Muslim community has so far contributed approximately about Rs. 66,00,000 to the funds of the Muslim University and it will not be extravagant on our part if we demand from the Musalmans a further sum of Rs. 33,00,000, so that the contribution from the Princes and the people to our coffers may be raised to the round figures of a crore of rupees".

More than three hundred Post-Graduates and about the same number of Arts and Science graduates received their degrees. More than a dozen girl graduates, who were wearing black *burqas* and veils, also took their degrees amidst loud cheers.

GROWING NEEDS

During the course of his address, H. H. the Nawab of Rampur reviewed the progress of the University during the past years. Touching on the growing needs, the Nawab said that a sum of Rs. 20,00,000 and an increase of Rs. 3,00,000 in the annual budget were urgently required for the full development of the various departments most of which were at present handicapped by financial difficulties.

Turning to the recipients of the degrees, the Nawab advised them to be ever true to the ideals of their *Alma Mater* which could be summed up as a broad and enlightened outlook on the practical problems of life and a catholic and cosmopolitan spirit in dealings with the whole of mankind. He also urged them to help in the war effort for the preservation of democracy and thus to prove themselves worthy of their ancient traditions.

Towards the end of the Convocation, Mr. Zaidi, Prime Minister of Rampur, announced that His Highness the Pro-Chancellor had been pleased to make an annual grant of Rs. 3,600 to the Department of Technology with effect from the current year. The announcement was received with defeaning cheers.

Prof. A. B. A. Haleem, pro-Vice-Chancellor, then announced two days holiday in honour of the visit of the Nawab of Rampur.

MUSLIM WOMEN'S INTEREST IN NATIONAL LIFE

—:O:—

Meeting Under League Auspices

A large and well-attended public meeting of women was held on February 1 last at Goghari Mohalla, Bombay, under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Women's sub-committee. Dr. Mrs. Mohammad Husain Premji presided.

Speaking at the meeting Dr. Mrs. Mohammad Husain Premji showed great satisfaction that Muslim women were also taking interest in the Muslim national life. The crying need of the time, she pointed out, was unity behind the leader, through which alone the Musalmans could obtain justice and redress to their grievances. Education, she emphasised, was essential, specially amongst women, and it was a part of their duty to spread the love of knowledge amongst the illiterate ones. It was only through education amongst women that a better future generation could be brought up. Poverty, she believed, was not completely the result of foreign domination but was an indirect result of the lack of education.

Mrs. K. Somji, addressing the meeting, laid special stress on the need of economic uplift of the Mussalmans. She appealed to the women to buy and use *garha* and other similar products, as far as possible.

Mrs. Engineer emphasised the necessity of education of women. Islam, she added, had made no distinction between a man and a woman as far as literacy was concerned. It was only through the education of women that the light of learning could be spread in the nation.

The meeting ended with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

PUNJAB LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE

Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, has announced the personnel of the Working Committee of the Provincial League. The following are the names of the members:—

Mian Bashir Ahmed, Syed Amjad Ali, K. B. Maulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, K. B. Nawab Muzaffar Khan, Sheikh Sadiq Hasan, Fatima Begam Sahiba, K. B. Sheikh Kramat Ali, Raja Ghazanfar Ali, Sufi Abdul Hamid, Malik Barkat Ali, Mr. Rashid Ali Khan, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Gilani, Mr. Rahmat Ali Nagra, K. S. Mian Amir-ud-Din, Mr. Rab Nawaz Khan, Pirzada Mahomed Zaka Ullah, Prop. Dildar Khan Muqbil and K. S. Chaudhry Abdul Karim.

15 MILLION IDENTITY DISCS TO BE SOLD

Fifteen million identity discs are proposed to be sold to the civilian population in India at one anna each as part of A. R. P. measures, it is learned in New Delhi. Each disc will have stamped on it the serial number, and a letter indicating religion. When it is sold, a challan will be prepared in triplicate entering the serial number, religion, name and address of the person, the father's or husband's name, caste, and name and address of next-of-kin. One of the copies will be given to the buyer, one will be kept by the seller and the original will be sent to the A. R. P. and Civil Defence Information Bureau, which is to be set up. In case of death or loss of memory, the identity disc would give all the necessary information about the person concerned.—

REJOINDER TO SIR ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR

(*Continued from page 3*)

dumped in an ever-increasing number upon the poor Arabs who have already been reduced to the position of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water and are compelled to fight for their self-preservation?

As a matter of fact, vagueness, deliberately and sedulously maintained, has been the key-note of British policy throughout the present war. She has carefully avoided to give to the world the slightest indication as to the shape of the things to come after "the re-establishment of the reign of law among nations," i.e., when Britain by virtue of her victory over the Axis Powers, is again in a position to decide the fate of the small nations. A clear commitment that the old frontiers of Poland will be restored has been avoided for fear of repercussions on Russia, and China has not been told whether Manchuria and Korea would be returned to her.

AMBIGUITY

This policy may succeed in pulling together diverse heterogenous elements for a time but it cannot evoke the full measure of enthusiasm on the part of any of them. It must also be remembered that it was the same policy of indecision and ambiguity which drove Russia for a time into the arms of Germany with the disastrous results that followed.

Let us hope that if the British Government do not yet think it fit to clarify their intentions towards the Islamic countries, they would at least see to it that responsible Ministers do not indulge in any loose talk which may distract the Muslims from the supreme task which they are so generously helping.

LETTERS

LORDS' DEBATE

Sir,—The recent debate in the House of Lords should not be lost on Muslim intelligentsia. There are still many British politicians who are ignorant of the conditions obtaining here and do not take the trouble to understand the situation in this country. India was regarded till recently by the average Britisher as the land of Maharajas and lions. Now, thanks to the highly organised and vocal propaganda carried on by the Congress, the Maharajas have retired to their palaces and lions either to the lairs in the jungles or cages in the zoo and the 'half-naked Fakir' has caught the fancy of the outside world. A majority of English politicians want the British Government to ignore the Muslim League, that is Muslims, and to ally itself with the Congress, that is Hindus.

The speech of Lord Faringdon, delivered in the House of Lords on February 3, is a case in point. The speech reads like an oration that might have come from Dr. Moonje or Mr. Savarkar. Similar was the strain of many other speeches in the debate. I wonder what it was that gave the noble Lord the idea that the Muslim League did not speak for Muslim India. Had Lord Faringdon studied some of the recent utterances of Messrs. Gandhi and Rajagopalachari, he would not have made the ill-informed and irresponsible statement that he did. The Hindu press was jubilant over the support it received from the Peer of the British Realm.

The Duke of Devonshire, the Under-Secretary of State for India, struck a more sensible note. He said: "The Muslim and Hindu communities do not want the same thing, and to think of them as a majority and minority is to risk a serious error, for that line of thought will suggest that it is the duty of the minority to bow to the wishes of the majority. The minority has no more duty to bow to the wishes of the majority than the smaller peoples of Europe, such as the Greeks, had to bow to the wishes of the Germans merely because they were a minority." In other words the Duke recognises the Muslims to be a distinct nation in India. So wide is the gulf between Hindus and Muslims that no Congress propaganda, however loud, persistent and ingenious, can bridge it. Facts are facts, and if a theory ranges itself against palpable certainties then so much the worse for it.

It is the duty of Muslim nation to nail to the counter the lies propagated against it. But counter-propaganda is not enough. What the Muslim nation needs is active preparation for what the future may have in store for it.

Lahore.

Yours, etc.,
M. M.

QAZAGHS

Sir,—We are shocked to learn accounts about our Qazagh brethren who being terribly persecuted by the Soviet Government left their sweet home to find a place of refuge and religious freedom and about 3,000 of whom entered Kashmir State in November last. Some of them have been killed by Kashmir Frontier Guards and their arms and property of gold weighing several maunds have been confiscated. For want of adequate protection from intense cold and proper nourishment hundreds of them have fallen ill or died. It is further said that taking advantage of their utter helplessness some of the policemen misbehaved with their women. They are undoubtedly orthodox Muslims, genuinely true to their religion. They have sacrificed everything for Allah and Islam.

What is the duty of the Musalmans of India? How can they rest until these helpless brethren are set free all their belongings are restored and they are allowed to come to us. Let our League take the lead and let our *Qaid-e-Azam* move in the matter. The Muslims of India, if they are really Muslims, should organise speedy relief. A small committee of Muslims should be formed without delay and should proceed with sufficient relief to Muzaffarabad Camp and there give the Qazagh brethren full assurance of our real help and assistance. This is the least that we can do.

Gaya.

Yours, etc.,
S. M. Abdul Hai.

EDUCATION AND WOMEN

I

Sir,—I have read with interest all the letters published in The *Dawn* under the caption of "Education and Women". I have my own views and I hope you will allow me the hospitality of your columns to put forward the same. In my opinion, women have gone too far in demanding equal rights with men. Nature has allotted them different functions. The functions of a woman are never less dignified than those of a man.

It is true that women should receive proper education, but again there is controversy over the word 'education'. The word, as I understand it, implies the development of character or mental powers. Modern education does in no way help the girls but to make them "misfits in society". History provides instances of women who distinguished themselves without ever attending any school or college and without having had anything like "modern" education. Modern education is of little use to Muslim girls, and my learned friend M. J. Zahidi may know that a real educated person is not always the one who passes a University examination with flying colours. Only if he had carefully studied Islamic History, he would have known that Khalid and Tariq were certainly not accidents. Their mothers had not received "modern" education, but they certainly were "educated". Can Mr. Zahidi and S. Begum cite one example of a modern educated mother who can boast of a son like Khalid; Tariq or any other luminary of that period? Muslim women should open their own colleges and universities where subjects relating to their true functions in Islamic society be taught.

Gurdaspur, Punjab.

Yours, etc.,
M. Anwar Khan.

II

Sir,—I have watched with interest the different ideas of my brothers and sisters, about "Education and Muslim Women." I am constrained to say that some of my brothers have a very selfish idea of female education. It is in man's interest that woman should be his slave, and his wish can only be accomplished if a woman is uneducated and ignorant. I certainly do not mean that all my brothers are of the same mind. I cannot see why a Muslim girl should receive "only Islamic education." If there is any harm in the present education, it equally affects both the sexes. But if boys can have higher education, why should not the girls? Why should we not help our political leaders and our Muslim League? And surely we cannot be of much help without proper education. I would, lastly, request my educated sisters to prove by their deeds that an educated Muslim girl does not forget her duties and religion.

Allahabad.

Yours, etc.,
Kaisar Hamida Alam.

CALL TO WOMANHOOD

Sir,—Permit me to thank The *Dawn* for the hospitality accorded to, and the other correspondents for the interest displayed in, the "Call To Womanhood" initiated by my humble self. The sponsor is naturally but pardonably proud of the response evoked which may be characterised as a sign of the times. I am quite conscious that mere discussions do not mean much, but discussions must precede formulation of the plan of work. Talk hath its value.

The letter of "One Interested" published in The *Dawn*, dated February 1, puts the finger on the right spot. The rights of Muslim womanhood are codified in the Divine *Magna Carta*—the Holy *Quran*. The *ummi* Prophet of Islam exalted womanhood to a status which must take women of other nationalities years, if not ages, to reach. But truth demands it to be stated that despite their *de jure* status, the Muslim women are far from being what Islam wants them to be. Call it an irony of fate, or what you please, but the assertion is a stern fact.

The Muslim womanhood have their rights and responsibilities unequivocably codified, but they are, as it were, in deepest gloom in the midst of effulgent light which should be theirs. The Prophet of Islam made acquisition of knowledge compulsory for *every* Muslim female, as for *every* Muslim male. But what is the actual position? The position is practically the reverse of what it should be. The Prophet's emphatic dictum has been honoured by us more in the breach than in observance. This is day-light truth.

We, Muslim women, are not even conscious of our rights. There are thousand and one reasons for it, but we ourselves are not above blame. We have not made ourselves worthy and deserving of our exalted position. Let us admit it first before we blame others. The society may have kept us in the back-ground, but if we were, and even now are, conscious of our rights and privileges, no power on earth can stand in our way for all time to come. We, women, must shake off our inertia and inferiority complex and try to occupy our rightful position.

Herein arises the question of ways and means. This is the age of organized and concerted efforts. Politics holds the field and the whip-hand in all matters of social progress. That is why my call to Muslim womanhood to veer round the Muslim League, the accredited organization of the Muslim nation of India. That is why my appeal for the Women's Wing of the League. "One Interested" and others have forcefully endorsed the idea. But who is to ring the bell or set the ball rolling?

We know the Guiding Voice of the League is with us. We are sure of the Qaide-e-Azam's sympathy, as also of others who are well and truly conversant with the spirit of Islam which is the truest democratic polity in the world. An All-India Muslim Women's Majlis or League is long over-due as part and parcel of the All-India Muslim League. I agree that Muslim ladies should take the lead. But should not the Qaid-e-Azam and the League Cabinet pave the way constitutionally by initiating the move?

The task is huge and the jour-

(Continued on page 8)